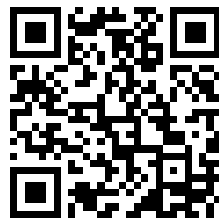
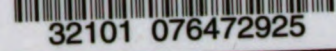

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Modern Philology

VOL. VII

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No. 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USE OF PROSE IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA: 1660-1800

To a superficial observer, sufficiently unfamiliar with the matter to take its form for granted, the most striking difference between the English drama of our times and that of the period of Shakspeare would be the relative preponderance of prose and verse. In the Elizabethan drama prose was exceptional; in the modern drama verse is exceptional. When and how did the change take place? Was it by accident, or of such an organic character as to be of historical significance? Does the relation of the two methods suggest anything as to the ideal form for dramatic expression? These are questions which seem never to have been definitely treated.

In the Elizabethan age, then, verse was the standard medium of dramatic expression, whether in comedy or tragedy, and any departure from the norm is usually to be explained as definite and intentional. The usual explanation of the change is a commonplace: when the dramatist wished to *lower the level* of action or expression, from romantic to humorous, from ideal to colloquial, or (less frequently) from emotional to merely intellectual, he introduced prose, and when he wished to lift the action or expression again to the normally idealized plane of the dramatic form, he returned to verse. Two examples from Shakspeare exemplify this as well as would a dozen: one of them from Act I, scene ii of *I Henry IV*, in which the Prince, after dallying with Falstaff and

his other fellows of doubtful respectability, suddenly returns, on the exit of Poins, to his real self and his princely speech—

I know you all, and will awhile uphold
The unyok'd humour of your idleness;

the other from Act III, scene ii, of *Julius Caesar*, where the purely reasonable speech of Brutus is in prose, the emotional appeal of Antony in verse. In many plays of the period (for example, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*) the same change repeatedly indicates the contrast between the levels of two different but interwoven plots.

When we pass to the next important period, that of the Restoration drama, we find that, despite the many changes in both content and style, the old rule of form still holds good on the whole. Dryden is here, as in all respects, the chief and most typical figure. In his *Marriage à la Mode* verse and prose indicate the two utterly different plots and motifs which go to make up that clever compound of Restorationism and romantic beauty; and in *The Spanish Friar*, a tragi-comedy, the two forms indicate in the same way the interwoven elements. But while the old rule remains, new conditions make the application of it give very different results, so that a glance at the whole body of Dryden's plays shows that the relative preponderance of prose and verse has already shifted conspicuously.

This shifting is clearly due to the new conception of comedy which was altering, in the age of Dryden, the fundamental lines of division between the various dramatic types. The romantic spirit was no longer equally characteristic of comedy and tragedy; on the contrary, while the latter was still thought of as a poetic idealization of life (so, also, the heroic play), comedy was becoming largely realistic, and was held to represent life—if one may say so—on a lower level. Dryden expresses this view, at least by implication, in his discussion of the use of rhyme on the stage in the *Essay of Heroic Plays*: "It is very clear to all who understand poetry, that serious plays ought not to imitate conversation too nearly" (Ker ed., i, 148). The heroic play is a representation of Nature "wrought up to an higher pitch" (*ibid.*, p. 100). With comedy—this is the obvious converse—it is otherwise.

It followed naturally, since comedy was thus becoming unideal, unromantic, and of a low colloquial level, that it should make a much larger use of prose and slighter use of verse. So, in Dryden's typically Restoration comedies, like *The Wild Gallant*, *An Evening's Love*, and their fellows, there is practically no verse; and it is only in the early play of *The Rival Ladies*, which is strongly romantic in tone (and is, in fact, a tragi-comedy), that verse predominates to the other extreme. Tragedies and heroic plays are of course not now under consideration, as it seems more convenient to proceed with the history of comedy by itself.

Dryden's best-known contemporaries used even less verse than he, because they had less need of it. Wycherley and Congreve wrote their comedies altogether in prose,¹ for there was no gleam of romance or idealism in them to require anything above the level of prose presentation. Of the minor playwrights Mrs. Aphra Behn is perhaps the most interesting for our purposes, since, more than any of her contemporaries, she was disposed to mingle romantic elements in her plays, and therefore was led to a conflict in the choice of forms. In *The Amorous Prince*, a genuinely romantic comedy, verse is the principal vehicle; in the purely low and realistic plays, like *Sir Patient Fancy* and *The Widow Ranter*, prose appears almost alone; while in *The Rover*, *The Town Fop*, and *The Younger Brother* both prose and verse are used, with a discrimination of their functions quite according to tradition. In a single play, *The Dutch Lover*, we find prose occasionally used where we should expect verse. Thus in Act II, scene iv, occurs a speech like this, in a scene where verse is also used:

Oh how he kills me! Well, at least this pleasure I have whilst I am dying, that when he possesses the fair Cleonte, he for ever ruins his interest in her heart, and must find nothing but her mortal hate and scorn.—*Plays, Histories, and Novels of Mrs. Behn* (1871), I, 236.

Of itself this instance is trivial enough, and might well be passed over, especially in a play which deserves oblivion even above others of its group; but the point becomes of interest because it would seem that what happened here is just what we shall see

¹ The only possible exception may be found in Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, where blank verse seems to appear in three short soliloquies in I, i, and III, i. (See in *Mermaid ed.*, pp. 392, 428, 431.) In the first instance the verse is of very doubtful character.

presently happened elsewhere—that when prose had become the familiar vehicle of comedy because of reasons inherent in the character of the comedy, it began also to usurp the place of verse in scenes whose tone did *not* demand it.

In the earlier eighteenth-century period Vanbrugh and Farquhar carried on the Restoration tradition. Their usual manner is well represented by Vanbrugh's *Relapse* (1697), which is entirely in prose with the exception of the opening scene, an ironically romantic passage. But Vanbrugh also uses prose in the romantic comedy of *The Mistake* (1705)—sometimes of a quasi-rhythmical character, as in Camillo's soliloquy (Act V, scene i):

How miserable a perplexity have I brought myself into! Yet why do I complain, since, with all the dreadful torture I endure, I can't repent of one wild step I've made? Oh, love! what tempests canst thou raise, what storms canst thou assuage! To all thy cruelties I am resigned; long years through seas of torment I'm content to roll, so thou wilt guide me to the happy port of my Lorenzo's arms, and bless me there with one calm day at last.—*British Theatre*, XXV, 69.

At the conclusion of the same play are speeches of which one wonders whether they should not be printed as blank verse. A similar use of this heightened, romantic prose, in this instance breaking into actual verse, is found at the close of Farquhar's *Inconstant* (1702) (Ewald ed. of Farquhar, I, 419–21).

Further progress in the same direction is marked by the work of Colley Cibber, who may be regarded as the common denominator, for the drama, of the ages of Congreve, Addison, and Johnson. Cibber always preferred prose for comedy, no matter how serious his intent, yet at times evidently felt the need of verse to lift his material to the proper level. Of this the best example is *The Refusal* (1721), all in prose save the love scene between Granger and Sophronia (V, i), where verse seems to have been felt to be indispensable to the depicting of passion. In the earlier play, *Love Makes a Man* (1701), may be found more of the rhythmical prose or bastard verse of which we have already seen a specimen in Vanbrugh. See, for example, such a speech as that of Carlos (V, ii):

Do not debase your generous revenge with cruelty; that every common wretch can take: the savage brutes can suck their fellow-creature's blood, and tear their bodies down; but greater human souls have more pride to curb, and bow the stubborn mind of what they hate; and such revenge, the nobler far, I offer now to you; see at your feet my humbled scorn imploring, crushed, and prostrate, like a vile slave, that falls below your last contempt, and trembling begs for mercy.—*British Theatre*, VII, 102.

There is much more like this, but extended quotation will readily be excused. Most of Cibber's other comedies are wholly in prose, except for the general use of couplet tags and the like; and since in many of them no little romantic feeling is involved, the dominions of prose are seen to have tended steadily to widen.

At the same time with Cibber, Richard Steele was promoting this tendency in his "sentimental" comedies.¹ The conditions in the two cases are almost the same. Thus *The Funeral* (1701) is for the most part written in purely realistic prose, but in the coffin scene (V, iv) we pass through prose of a heightened character (such as "How shall I view, a breathless lump of clay, him whose high veins conveyed to me this vital force and motion?") to genuine blank verse. The same vehicle is used for the didactic, Polonius-like speech of Lord Brumpton, a little later in the same scene, and, it might be added, in the brief lyrical passage on the death of a squirrel, in scene iii. *The Lying Lover* (1703) shows a similar commingling of romantic prose and casual blank verse in the last scene (new Mermaid ed. of Steele's plays, pp. 178-84), while in other scenes occurs the same doubtful rhythmical prose that we have met in Cibber. For example:

She smiled; the ladies clapped their hands, and all our music struck sympathetic rapture at my happiness; while gentle winds, the river, air, and shore echoed the harmony in notes more soft than they received it. Methought all nature seemed to die for love like me. To all my heart and every pulse beat time.—*Ibid.*, p. 118. See also 130 f. and 170 f.

¹ He is usually spoken of as the founder of the form, and perhaps rightly enough. But *Love Makes a Man* exhibits some of the same peculiarities, especially this quasi-romantic prose. Its precise date does not seem to be known, but Steele's *Funeral* was produced late in 1701, and is therefore probably the later of the two plays. Since Cibber's comedies were very numerous, and were fairly popular through a long period, he may fairly be regarded as the leading factor in the new type of comic prose.

In *The Tender Husband* (1705), which is satiric in tone, prose is used throughout; and the same thing is true of *The Conscious Lovers* (1722), though this play is again of the sentimental type. For the most part even the romantic elements here are presented in a realistic and fairly pedestrian prose, occasionally rising into passages for which dramatists of the older school would have demanded verse.

From this time on verse becomes almost an entire stranger to comedy. Foote, Whitehead, Colman, Garrick, Kelly, and Cumberland, who, with Goldsmith, represent the original comedy of the period from 1750 to 1780, wrote wholly in prose.¹ In general this triumph of prose marks the triumph of the *familiar* comedy; but, as we have seen, the form held good even where the romantic note was also present. Goldsmith illustrates both statements. *The Goodnatured Man* and *She Stoops to Conquer* are both worked out on the familiar level and in colloquial prose; in the latter, when we reach a fairly romantic scene, we still find the kind of prose—intended to be at once realistic and romantic—which the comedy of the century had been developing:

Miss Hardcastle. Do you think I would take the mean advantage of a transient passion, to load you with confusion? Do you think I could ever relish that happiness which was acquired by lessening yours?

Marlowe. By all that's good, I can have no happiness but what's in your power to grant me! Nor shall I ever feel repentance but in not having seen your merits before. I will stay even contrary to your wishes; and although you should persist to shun me, I will make my respectful assiduities atone for the levity of my past conduct.—Globe ed. of Goldsmith, p. 675.

The lovers of Sheridan rise to higher reaches than this, though still on the ground of prose. When Julia cries:

Then on the bosom of your wedded Julia, you may lull your keen regret to slumbering; while virtuous love, with a cherub's hand, shall smooth the brow of upbraiding thought, and pluck the thorn from compunction.—*The Rivals*, V, i.

or, in her concluding outburst, tells us that

¹That is, of course, in comedy. Whitehead and Cumberland used verse for their serious plays.

when hearts deserving happiness would unite their fortunes, Virtue would crown them with an unfading garland of modest hurtless flowers,¹ we feel more than ever that prose is laboring under a weight too heavy for it, and, while trying at once to achieve realism and romance, is in great danger of losing both.

Let us now retrace our steps to see whether any similar movement was going on in tragedy. In the Restoration period, as has been noted, tragedy was still treated as an elevated and poetic form; and even Congreve, the most skilled of the writers of comic prose in that age, wrote his one tragedy, *The Mourning Bride*, entirely in verse. Dryden, too, used no tragic prose, save in the one extraordinary and repulsive play of *Amboyna*, in which a contemporary incident was realistically dramatized. In this tragedy occurs a colloquial prose, varied at times by bastard verse (printed as prose), which anticipates the worst efforts of the sort in the eighteenth century drama. (For instances, see the Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, V, 22, 41, 51.) The performance must be regarded, however, as a mere aberration, without significance for the tendencies of the time. Crowne and Southerne, while using prose freely for interspersed scenes in the comic or colloquial manner (see for examples the *Regulus* of Crowne and the *Oroonoko* of Southerne), wrote the serious scenes of their tragedies wholly in verse. The same is true of Otway and (passing into the next century) of Rowe. Even Cibber used verse for all his tragedies and for the pastoral play called *Love in a Riddle*. Ambrose Philips' *Distressed Mother* (1712) and Addison's *Cato* (1713), the favorite tragedies of the second decade of the century, were wholly in verse, as were those of Young and Thomson a little later.

But the rise of the "domestic" drama was destined to affect the form of tragedy also. It seems to be George Lillo to whom belongs the doubtful honor of first writing an English tragedy in prose—*George Barnwell* (1731), for a long time a famous play. That the choice of the form was deliberate we cannot doubt, since

¹ It has occasionally been suggested that these romantic passages in Sheridan's comedies are not to be taken seriously—that he was laughing in his sleeve as he wrote them. Perhaps he was; but I see no evidence that he intended the reader to laugh as he read them; and certain other appearances of Sheridan's romantic prose (see below) tend to oppose such a view.

it harmonizes so clearly with the choice of theme and style. In the Dedication (addressed to an Alderman of the City, as if Lillo were resolved to be consistently *bourgeois* in every part) the dramatist said:

I have attempted, indeed, to enlarge the province of the graver kind of poetry, and should be glad to see it carried on by some abler hand. Plays founded on moral tales in private life may be of admirable use; etc.

It appears, then, that he regarded the play as included in the field of "poetry" in the large sense of the word. The form shows the same wavering between the feeling of a need for rhythm and the desire to represent actual human speech, which we saw in the contemporary comedies of Cibber and Steele. Sometimes prose is sufficient, as here:

As doubts and fears, followed by reconciliation, ever increase love where the passion is sincere, so in him it caused so wild a transport of excessive fondness, such joy, such grief, such pleasure, and such anguish, that nature seemed sinking with the weight, and his charmed soul disposed to quit his breast for hers.—III, ii; *British Theatre*, XIV, 51.

At other times rhythm becomes clearer:

Truman. Shall fortune sever those whom friendship joined? Thy miseries cannot lay thee so low, but love will find thee. Here will we offer to stern calamity; this place the altar, and ourselves the sacrifice. Our mutual groans shall echo to each other through the dreary vault; our sighs shall number the moments as they pass, and mingling tears communicate such anguish, as words were never made to express.

Barnwell. Then be it so. Since you propose an intercourse of woe, pour all your griefs into my breast and in exchange take mine. Where's now the anguish that you promised? You've taken mine, and make me no return. Sure peace and comfort dwell within these arms, and sorrow can't approach me while I am here.—V, ii; *ibid.*, 81.

There are also in this closing act lines which for short periods might well be printed as verse.

In Lillo's later tragedy, *The Fatal Curiosity* (1736), although the theme is again domestic, the medium of expression is blank verse. His *Arden of Feversham* and *Marina* are also chiefly in verse, and the remaining tragedies or tragi-comedies, *The Christian Hero* and *Elmerick*, wholly in verse. But his chief successor in the domestic drama, Edward Moore, followed the example set

by *George Barnwell*, and in *The Gamester* (1753) produced the most completely realistic tragedy which had yet been written. Here prose is used throughout, and prose which only occasionally shows a disposition to break into rhythm. Even where it reaches the highest emotional intensity, it is kept genuinely colloquial with a skill not shown in any of the work we have seen hitherto. See, for example, the soliloquy of the hero at the time of his suicide:

How the self-murderer's account may stand, I know not. But this I know—the load of hateful life oppresses me too much—the horrors of my soul are more than I can bear. Father of mercy!—I cannot pray. Despair has laid his iron hand upon me, and sealed me for perdition. Conscience! conscience! thy clamours are too loud—here's that shall silence thee. Thou art most friendly to the miserable. Come, then, thou cordial for sick minds—come to my heart.—V, iv; *British Theatre*, X, 86.

A priori one would have expected a considerable further development in this direction following the lines already indicated by comedy. But this did not prove to be the case. The old dignity of tragedy could not be overthrown; moreover, if people wanted familiar life treated seriously, they now had the new form of the realistic novel to satisfy them. So the later eighteenth-century writers of tragedy, like Whitehead, Home, and Cumberland, not to speak of Dr. Johnson and his *Irene*, all turned to the earlier type for both style and verse-form. The only noteworthy exceptions are found in two or three romantic plays—tragi-comedies rather than pure tragedies—written under German influence, and dating from the very end of the century. Thus in the dramatized version of Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, written by George Colman the younger and called *The Iron Chest* (1796), prose is used indiscriminately for serious passages, at the same time with verse. In *The Castle Spectre* (1797), by M. G. Lewis, author of *The Monk*, prose is used throughout. The style of the more romantic scenes of the latter play may be exemplified by this passage from Act IV, scene ii:

Angela. Sure an age must have elapsed since the Friar left me, and still the bell strikes not One! Percy, does thy impatience equal mine? Dost thou too count the moments which divide us? Dost thou too chide the slowness of Time's pinions, which moved so swiftly when we strayed

together on the Cheviot Hills? Methinks I see him now, as he paces the Conway's margin; if a leaf falls, if a bird flutters, he flies toward it, for he thinks 'tis the footstep of Angela; then, with slow steps and bending head, disappointed he regains the fisher's cottage. . . . Oh! sigh no more, my Percy. Soon shall I repose in safety on your bosom; soon again see the moon shed her silver light on Cheviot, and hear its green hills repeat the carol of your mellow horn!

Finally we may note Sheridan's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Spaniards in Peru*, produced under the title *Pizarro* in 1799—a romantic tragedy. Of the style of this play one of Sheridan's editors observes:

Long practice in the ornate rhetoric of the House of Commons had told severely on Sheridan's style. Indeed, some of the dialogue in the play is actually culled from his parliamentary utterances. Pitt said that he had heard the tragedy already—in the Begum speech.—R. Dircks, in *Camelot* ed. of Sheridan's plays, Introduction, p. xxviii.

A typical passage from *Pizarro*, illustrative of this tendency to the oratorical style, is this from the conclusion of the third act:

Yes, thou undaunted!—thou whom yet no mortal hazard has appalled—thou who on Panama's brow didst make alliance with the raging elements that tore the silence of that horrid night, when thou didst follow, as thy pioneer, the crashing thunder's drift; and, stalking o'er the trembling earth, didst plant thy banner by the red volcano's mouth! thou who, when battling on the sea, and thy brave ship was blown to splinters, wast seen, as thou didst bestride a fragment of the smoking wreck, to wave thy glittering sword above thy head, as thou wouldst defy the world in that extremity!—come, fearless man! now meet the last and fellest peril of thy life; meet and survive an injured woman's fury.—*Camelot* ed., p. 304. (Compare similar passages on pp. 285, 305.)

This is clearly a hybrid style, which lacks the rhythm needed to support its emotional intensity, lacks the rational element necessary for legitimate oratorical prose, and lacks the element of realism necessary for the dramatic representation of human speech. In connection with this incidental appearance of the question of the oratorical style as related to prose and poetry, it may be worth while to recall an interesting remark of Hazlitt's, in a passage descriptive of the style of Burke; "the most perfect prose style," he calls it, "the most dazzling, that which went the nearest to the verge of poetry, and yet never fell over." Then this:

It differs from poetry, as I conceive, like the chamois from the eagle: it climbs to an almost equal height, touches upon a cloud, overlooks a precipice, . . . but all the while, instead of soaring through the air, it stands upon a rocky cliff, clambers up by abrupt and intricate ways.—“The Prose Style of Poets,” in *The Plain Speaker*, Waller-Glover ed. of Hazlitt, VII, 10.

Like the mountain chamois, then, prose may reach heights which cannot be distinguished from those attained by poetry, but in doing so it must keep its feet on the ground, and proceed by pedestrian processes. Carrying on the figure (which is genuinely illustrative, not merely fanciful), one might say that rhythm represents the wings of poetry—the sign of its imaginative process; they permit and justify its director and less earthy mode of motion.

The historical survey of our subject cannot at present be continued into the nineteenth century. Owing to the persistent separation, during that period in England, of the literary and the acted drama, such a study would necessarily mean something different from what it does for the earlier centuries. So far as the literary drama is concerned, it has of course been largely tragedy, following the traditional form of verse. On the other hand, the acted drama has been largely comedy, and, whether primarily realistic or romantic, it has generally taken the form determined for it in the eighteenth century—prose. In the case of the few dramatists who have written plays both to be acted and to be read, like Bulwer-Lytton, for example, the old distinction has usually been followed—verse for serious or romantic scenes, prose for colloquial or comic.¹ But there has been on the one hand so little genuinely romantic comedy, and on the other so little genuine tragedy outside the closet drama, that the materials for any inductive generalization are largely wanting.

It remains, then, only to summarize the results of our survey of the conditions of the eighteenth-century drama, and to suggest some theoretical considerations which the historical materials have served to illustrate. The gist of the whole matter has been this: verse was gradually abandoned for comedy, first because the

¹ As exceptions to the prevalent fashion one may recall such comedies as Boker's *Betrothal*, Gilbert's *Wicked World* and *Pygmalion and Galatea*, and (very recently) Mr. Mackaye's *Canterbury Pilgrims*—all written in verse, even in the more familiar scenes.

romantic spirit died out from comedy in the interest of a purely descriptive or satiric presentation of human life, and prose afterward held the field even when the romantic element occasionally returned. A similar effort was made to win tragedy for prose, in the interest of the realistic treatment of human suffering, but failed.

As the case is somewhat clearer for tragedy, it will be well to consider this first on the theoretical side. Prose has never proved a fit vehicle for English tragedy; not only has it failed to establish itself, but there is not a single example of a lastingly important prose tragedy in the language. If we seek for the fundamental reason, it may be stated under three aspects: for tragic art, prose is too homely, too crude, and too individual.

The term "homely" has reference simply to the matter of dialogue style. Tragedy, by nature and tradition, is a form of the greatest dignity, dealing with profound problems of emotional and imaginative significance. Prose style, within its normal limits, is inadequate to represent these. We have seen what has happened when it has tried to do so: either it has encroached on the region of verse, and adopted a bastard or hybrid form, or it has encroached on the region of poetical style, laboring under imaginative language which it is ill suited to carry, with a resulting pseudo-oratorical or melodramatic effect. But, it may be asked, since tragedy deals after all with the real emotions of human experience, and since in the case of individual experiences we normally express these emotions in prose, why may not the dramatist imitate this familiar human language?

The second and third points are the answer to this question. If the dramatist tries to represent tragic conditions, whether in dialogue or otherwise, precisely as they are found in real life, he presents too crudely the raw materials of tragedy, and the result is likely to be painful instead of exalting. On this point it will suffice to call two important witnesses, Wordsworth and Goethe. In the Preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, seeking for various justifications for the metrical form of poetry despite his general doctrine that poetry does not *per se* require a different medium of expression from prose, Wordsworth says:

From the tendency of meter to divest language, in a certain degree, of its reality, and thus to throw a sort of half-consciousness of unsubstantial existence over the whole composition, there can be little doubt but that more pathetic situations and sentiments—that is, those which have a greater proportion of pain connected with them—may be endured in metrical composition. . . . This opinion may be further illustrated by appealing to the reader's own experience of the reluctance with which he comes to the reperusal of the distressful parts of *Clarissa Harlowe*, or *The Gamester*; while Shakspeare's writings, in the most pathetic scenes, never act upon us as pathetic beyond the bounds of pleasure—an effect which, in a much greater degree than might at first be imagined, is to be ascribed to small, but continual and regular impulses of pleasurable surprise from the metrical arrangement.—Globe ed. of Wordsworth, p. 858.

Of Wordsworth's psychological theory here there may be some question, but the important point is the testimony as to the æsthetic effect of verse in connection with tragic material. Now compare Goethe, who was discussing the same subject with Schiller in 1797 and 1798. (This was nearly twenty years earlier than Wordsworth's second Preface, written in 1815, but there is no probability that Wordsworth knew anything directly of the Letters.) On May 5, 1798, we find Goethe writing, à propos of the progress of his work on *Faust*:

Ein sehr sonderbarer Fall erscheint dabei: einige tragische Scenen¹ waren in Prosa geschrieben, sie sind durch ihre Natürlichkeit und Stärke, in Verhältniss gegen das andere, ganz unerträglich. Ich suche sie deswegen gegenwärtig in Reime zu bringen, da denn die Idee, wie durch einen Flor durchscheint, die unmittelbare Wirkung des ungeheuern Stoffes aber gedämpft wird.—Letter 457, *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, ed. of 1881, II, 66. (My attention was originally directed to this letter by a note in Professor Gummere's *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 73.)

To which Schiller responded, on May 8:

Ihre neuliche Bemerkung, dass die Ausführung einiger tragischen Scenen in Prosa so gewaltsam angreifend ausgefallen, bestätigt eine ältere Erfahrung die Sie bei der Mariane im Meister gemacht haben, wo gleichfalls der pure Realism in einer pathetischen Situation so heftig wirkt, und einen nicht poetischen Ernst hervorbringt.—Letter 458, *ibid.*, p. 67.

¹The scenes in question would seem to be that in *Auerbachs Keller* (5) and the great last scene, *Kerker* (24). See the *Urfaust*, edited by Schmidt, 1905, pp. 19-31, 83-89.

Surely the truth of these observations is borne out by our own impressions of tragedy as expressed by the masters, notably Shakspeare. The crude data of human suffering and failure, intolerable in themselves, are not merely interpreted and imaginatively beautified, but they are softened, lifted into a diviner air, and universalized by the very fact of rhythmical presentation. On the other hand, as will be considered more particularly a little later, on certain occasions when the rhythm seems to break with the eccentric horror of the emotion, returning to the crude stuff of prose utterance, the impression received is one of pain unrelieved by the usual sense of reconciliation and tragic beauty.

From this point it is hardly a step to the third; indeed the word "universalized" has already been used of the function of rhythm. Prose presents experience in a form too purely individual for tragedy; verse gives the impression of universal law underlying the words of the speaker, and he becomes not merely an idiosyncratic sufferer, but a spokesman for the sorrows of the world. When Lillo chose a Newgate criminal, with no claims to a typical position or to universal sympathy, as the hero of his bourgeois tragedy, he was painfully consistent in choosing prose as the medium of expression. The reader is effectively stirred to pity and terror, but there is no reason why he should be. In this connection we may well look again at the Schiller-Goethe correspondence. In 1797 (November 24), after giving an account of the remarkable way in which a change from prose to verse form lifted the whole tone of his work from the commonplace into the region of imaginative dignity, Schiller added:

Der Rhythmus leistet bei einer dramatischen Production noch dieses grosse und bedeutende, dass er, indem er alle Charaktere und alle Situationen nach Einem Gesetz behandelt, und sie, trotz ihres innern Unterschiedes, in Einer Form ausführt, er dadurch den Dichter und seinen Leser nöthiget, von allem noch so charakteristisch-verschiedenem etwas allgemeines, rein menschliches zu verlangen. Alles soll sich in dem Geschlechtsbegriff des Poetischen vereinigen, und diesem Gesetz dient der Rhythmus sowohl zum Repräsentanten als zum Werkzeug, da er alles inter Seinem Gesetze begreift. Er bildet auf diese Weise die Atmosphäre für die poetische Schöpfung, das gröbere bleibt zurück, nur das geistige

kann von diesem dünnen Elemente getragen werden.—Letter 374, *op. cit.*, I, 329.¹

From all which it appears that that transforming power which in tragedy lays hold of the sufferings or failure of a petty individual spirit, and makes them of significance to the whole race, works normally through the elevating, softening, and universalizing medium of rhythm.

These general conclusions regarding the place of verse in tragedy are not of a character to meet with much opposition. When we pass to comedy, however, the conditions are not quite so clear. The use of prose in comedy has been so long and so firmly established that to question it requires more boldness. But in all that is here said, it will be remembered, reference is had only to *romantic comedy*, not that which portrays life from a descriptive, critical, or satiric standpoint. Our historical study has indicated that it was rather by accident that prose was carried over from the latter type into the former, and that the results were at least questionable.

Briefly, of the three points urged against prose as a medium for tragic expression, the first and third (excluding the argument based on the painfulness of the crude data of tragedy) may be said to hold good for romantic comedy. For in this region also prose is too homely and too individual for the highest purposes of the dramatist.

The inadequacy of prose for the right presentation of the dialogue of romantic comedy should have been made clear by the quotations given in the preceding pages. It is true that they were taken, for the most part, from the work of dramatists of the second rank or under, and that they were written in a period

¹ Goethe replied, giving strong approval to Schiller's observations, and adding: "Alle dramatische Arbeiten sollten rhythmisch sein." It is also interesting to read his condemnation of such hybrid rhythmical prose as we have found in the transition period of the English drama. "Dass man nach und nach poetische Prosa einführen konnte, zeigt nur dass man den Unterschied zwischen Prosa und Poesie gänzlich aus den Augen verlor. Es ist nicht besser als wenn sich jemand in seinem Park einen trockenen See bestellte und der Gartenkünstler diese Aufgabe dadurch aufzulösen suchte dass er einen Sumpf anlegte. Diese Mittelgeschlechter sind nur für Liebhaber und Pfuscher, so wie die Sumpfe für Amphibien."—Letter 375, *ibid.*, p. 330. Lessing made use of an equally interesting figure, when he spoke of some prose translations "in welchen der Gebrauch der kühnsten Tropen und Figuren, ausser einer gebundenen cadenzirten Wortfügung, uns an Besessene denken lässt, die ohne Musik tanzen."—*Dramaturgie*, No. 19.

dominated by certain qualities of style which now seem artificial or affected. Later dramatists have done better, no doubt, and would have done still better if the tradition of a really literary comedy had been maintained. Nevertheless the fundamental difficulty with the style of the passages under consideration is inherent in their position. A prose writer, to depict a romantic or imaginative moment in a drama, must do one of two things: he must either attempt to lift it from mere realism to the level which its character seems to call for, or he must try to present it precisely as it might occur in actual experience. The former method, used by most of the eighteenth-century writers whom we have been considering, results in that bad "poetical prose" which attempts to do something for which prose is not fitted. The latter method, which becomes increasingly common as we pass to the later periods, and includes the best work in nineteenth-century comedy, fails as a rule to strike the genuinely romantic note. It raises a smile (as Mr. Archer has lately complained in the case of all the plays of Mr. Bernard Shaw) instead of the eager sigh of the impassioned hearer or reader. Or, if it succeeds in awakening our romantic instincts for the moment, it does so illegitimately, as it were, without the lasting justification of universalized romantic beauty; in other words, it falls under the other objection, that prose is too *individual* a mode of utterance.

It would be difficult and perhaps tedious to support this position by examples. Instead, let appeal be made to the memory of those who have listened repeatedly, in the case of prose comedies, to scenes in which the passion of romantic love is represented. In most cases it will be found that there is present an element of critical or satiric, if not humorous, enjoyment of the scene, instead of the attitude appropriate to true romance. And when it is otherwise, has the auditor not sometimes felt a certain shamefaced sense, at the height of the scene of passion, as of being an intruder—of eavesdropping where he is not concerned, of seeing what is personal and not for the general eye? Why is there no suggestion of such a feeling in the presence of the loves of Romeo and Juliet, or of Ferdinand and Miranda? Because these are lifted above individualism and realism, to the region of universal love and

beauty. And the rhythmical quality of poetry, as we have seen, is largely instrumental in this.

The fact is, we have gone over so largely to comedy of the non-romantic sort that we have lost the charm and forgotten the laws of the other type. The hand of the Restoration is still upon us, separating comedy and poetry, reality and romance. This has never happened to the same degree in the drama of Germany or France, and there are occasional signs that it will not always be so with us.

In conclusion, there remain a few remarks which may be regarded as answers to two possible objections to the foregoing argument. First of all, what of the relation of this doctrine to the novel? If prose is an illegitimate or inadequate form for the presentation of romantic and tragic themes, how has it been so successfully used in tragic novel and prose romance?

To try to answer this fully would take us a long way. But it may be suggested, in the first place, that the novel is to be regarded as a less fixed or perfect form than the drama, and hence as less imperiously demanding the exact adaptation of means to ends. Without going to the length of certain eighteenth-century critics, who held the new form of fiction to be illegitimate because it could not be fitted into any of the traditional literary categories, one may still perceive that, compared with the drama, the novel is a somewhat inaccurate or lawless genre. We should not expect of it, then, the completeness or ideality which the poetic form implies. In the second place, the novel has never so completely justified itself in the regions of romance and tragedy as in those of descriptive and satiric comedy. The chief of its early masters, Fielding, was right in defining it, at its best, as "prose comic epic" in character, and in giving it a prevailingly satiric tone. Of all the novels of the first rank, but few are of the tragic order; and while the great prose romances may be thought to be more numerous (here the critics would quarrel), here also there is a half-hidden feeling that whatever they can do, poetry after all can do better. In the descriptive or satiric novel, on the other hand, there is a freedom, a fidelity to mere fact, an absolution from the necessity of reconciling life with the eternal verities, to which

prose can minister even better than verse. In the third place, the novel does not present human life, and especially human speech, with the same immediate directness as the drama; all is reported through the medium of the writer. Hence there is provided something equivalent to that veil, that softening or distancing element, which we have seen to be needed in the reproduction of the intensest emotional experiences, especially when they are painful; and the verse-form is not so much missed. Fourthly and finally, the novelist presents the most tragic and the most romantic moments of his story not by any means solely through direct dialogue and direct action, as in the drama, but very largely through suggestion. Hence the problem of uplifting and ennobling human speech, ever-present in dramatic dialogue, is here much slighter. Perhaps the two most poignant tragic scenes in the modern English novel are the concluding ones of Meredith's *Richard Feverel* and Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. In both cases the catastrophe is removed from the actual stage of action; in the one case described, in the other only suggested. Direct human utterance is used as far as it can safely go in realistic form; but when the emotional intensity is highest, it is abandoned for the indirect presentation to the imagination of what lies behind the veil. This hasty outline of certain differences between the possibilities of novel and drama will perhaps help to explain why we are content with prose in the one form when we feel its limitations in the other.

The other possible objection to the views set forth in the foregoing pages is found in an appeal to certain masters of the dramatic form, notably Shakspeare; is it not true—to put it most directly—that, while Shakspeare wrote no tragedy or romantic comedy wholly in prose, he used prose very freely in the more serious plays, and that the proportionate amount of this prose increases as we enter the period of his greatest work? To this one must undoubtedly answer yes. Here again we touch on a matter far too large to be treated adequately at present. The use of prose in the tragedies of Shakspeare is one of the most interesting problems which a student of his workmanship can touch, and whoever should solve the problem, for the play of *Hamlet* alone, would perhaps have reached something like a final state-

ment of the capacities of prose and verse for creative art. All that can now be done is to suggest, as in the question raised by the other objection, why the phenomena under consideration do not militate against the view of verse-form already presented. In the first place, then, the comic and colloquial uses of prose go a good deal farther than what the most familiar use of the terms implies. Hamlet's reflections on the skull in the graveyard scene are by no means comic, but in their brutal presentation of repulsive fact they are as much in contrast with an idealized or poetic treatment of death as the conversation of the grave-diggers themselves. This may give a hint as to why prose is their fitting form. In the same connection Mr. Churton Collins has said that in *Hamlet* prose "becomes the language in which the Prince communes not with himself but with the world" ("Shakespeare as a Prose Writer," *Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 204)—a remark which again may suggest a widened use of the term "colloquial prose."

But passing beyond what can possibly be called colloquial or comic, we find in the plays of Shakspeare's supreme period a considerable amount of prose more difficult to analyze. The cause of it appears to be a matter of intellect, not of emotional expression, and it becomes conspicuous, as by rights it should, in the period when the poet's work was characterized by what one critic has called "the discordant weight of thought" (Mr. D. Laurance Chambers, in *The Metre of Macbeth*). This prose forms no real exception to the general law as to the demand for rhythm wherever the main movement is that of the emotions and the imagination. It may be said to be a kind of precipitate of the predominatingly intellectual view of life, and disappears again, in large measure, in the later plays where life is once more really solvent in the poetic imagination.

Last of all, there are certain passages in which prose is used under conditions of the profoundest emotional intensity. These are very few, but very significant; allusion has already been made to them. In this case we have gone all the way round the circle, past the point where rhythm veils, idealizes, and reconciles pain, to the point where the pain will not be veiled or reconciled, but will appear in the chaotic intensity of anarchic prose. Such a

moment is that of Lear's impending madness, where it mingles in terrible discord with the assumed madness of Edgar and the quasi-madness of the fool. Or, again, that when Othello breaks into raving before he falls in a cataleptic trance, and that when—a little later—he cries in an abandonment even of the manliness of his grief:

Ay, let her rot, and perish, and be damn'd to-night; for she shall not live. No, my heart is turn'd to stone; I strike it, and it hurts my hand. Passages like these are felt to be intensely painful, in the sense in which Wordsworth said that Shakspeare's tragedies are not, on the whole, painful "beyond the bounds of pleasure;"¹ and we pass over them hurriedly, eager for the recovery of the poetic equilibrium, under which the passion is mastered by the reconciling and restraining power of verse—as, for example, here:

Had it pleas'd Heaven
To try me with affliction; had they rain'd
All kind of sores and shames on my bare head,
Steep'd me in poverty to the very lips,
Given to captivity me and my utmost hopes,
I should have found in some place of my soul
A drop of patience.

This is the language of suffering, but of suffering made more than tolerable—made beautiful. And always we shall find that the conclusion of the tragedy becomes rhythmical, the verse once more growing sweet and regular, as the climax of intensity disappears and the sorrow of the defeated actors fades into a steadily pulsing rhythm that seems to symbolize the underlying imperturbable order of the universe.

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APPENDIX

One should not forget an interesting effort made in France to establish the legitimacy of prose for tragedy, by a contemporary of Lillo's, Houdar de la Motte. This charming prose writer and interesting rationalist, though he produced several popular dramas

¹ Compare the *Trüber Tag* scene of *Faust* (22), where Goethe retained the prose form though abandoning it elsewhere.

in verse, professed to do so merely out of deference to public taste, and pleased himself by publishing a prose version of his tragedy of *Œdipe*, side by side with the acted metrical version. He defended the prose form on the fundamental ground of *vraisemblance*. How absurd that a hero, instead of speaking straight out as he would do in real life, should subject all his utterances to the demands of an arbitrary number of syllables and the regular return of the same sounds! "Les passions seront toujours d'autant mieux imitées qu'on leur feroit parler leur vraie langue: or les passions originales n'ont jamais parlé en vers." La Motte added to his theoretical observations, and to his own prose tragedy, a translation of the first scene of Racine's *Mithridate*, in order to exemplify the fact that nothing really valuable is lost by such a proceeding. If any readers do feel a sense of loss, he maintains, the fact will show that they have been in the habit of giving more attention to the verse form than to the more important elements of the tragedy. La Motte, it will be observed, strikes at the very roots of all theoretical justification of the verse drama. The essence of poetry, for him, is "les expressions audacieuses, les figures hyperboliques, tout ce langage reculé de l'usage ordinaire;" and these things, while well enough suited to lyrical writing, are less appropriate to the drama than to oratory; they tempt the poet to a lyricism which usurps the natural utterance of his characters.

To these arguments Voltaire replied in the Preface to his *Œdipe*, but not—it must be admitted—very effectively. It is rhyme rather than verse itself in which he is chiefly interested; and he accepts La Motte's view that the only important charm of metrical form consists in the admiration it arouses for difficulties overcome. The latter replied, in an admirably urbane "Suite des réflexions sur la tragédie," taking the sufficiently liberal ground: "Les tragédies en prose plairoient ou ne plairoient pas. Si elles ne plaisoient pas, . . . qu'aurions-nous perdu? Nous n'en saurions que mieux à quoi nous en tenir; et les vers demeureroient tranquilles dans leur possession. Si elles plaisoient au contraire, n'aurions-nous pas multiplié nos plaisirs?" There follows a pleasant fable of a nation which originally sang all its verse, until an innovator abolished the music in a drama, leaving only

the poetry and the action. Little by little the new method gave pleasure, at length driving out the old. The innovator next proposed to omit the element of verse: "Pourquoi ce reste de musique dans la représentation des choses ordinaires? Puisque vous faites agir des hommes, faites les parler comme des hommes. Vous vous êtes rapprochés de la nature; encore un pas, et vous l'atteindrez." (These various citations are from the *Œuvres de M. Houdar de la Motte*, 1754, I, 555; IV, 391-94, 413, 440-43. See also some remarks of Lanson in his *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 632.)

Somewhat later Diderot made a similar proposal, in connection with his interest in "domestic tragedy." Thus, in the second of the *Entretiens sur le Fils Naturel*, he refers approvingly to *The London Merchant* and *The Gamester*, and adds: "Les tragédies de Shakspeare sont moitié vers et moitié prose. Le premier poète qui nous fit rire avec de la prose, introduisit la prose dans la comédie. Le premier poète qui nous fera pleurer avec de la prose, introduira la prose dans la tragédie." (*Œuvres de Diderot*, 1821 ed., IV, 163. See also some remarks in the tenth section of the essay *De la Poésie Dramatique*, *ibid.*, p. 477.)

Needless to say, these critics did not prove convincing, even to an age when poetic feeling was quite as much thinned out in France as in England. Dramatic verses remained "tranquilles dans leur possession." But it may be observed that the theory which they set forth might at any time have, a priori, a better chance of finding adherents among their countrymen than in English-speaking lands, since the French language has never differentiated the styles of prose and verse with the same thoroughness as English.

NOTES ON THE FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN RUMANIAN

I. THE NUMERALS

The Rumanian multiples of ten are remade on a model found in all the Slavonic languages: two tens, three tens, four tens, nine tens; likewise the units between ten and twenty: one on ten, two on ten, etc. It is commonly held that these formations are due to combined Albanian and Slavonic influence.¹ It ought to be noted, however, that Albanian does not furnish a complete parallel, since it counts the even tens as scores and has additional units (ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and nine) formed like the higher units in Rumanian and Slavonic.

Latin *centu* has been lost and its place taken by a feminine noun, *sută*,² Meyer-Lübke says, without giving any reason, that this cannot come from the Slavonic *sŭto*.³ It is true that Old Bulgarian *ŭ* generally appears as R. *o* in stressed syllables; but there is at least one other case where it makes *u*, to say nothing of the cases where Latin *o* becomes *u*.⁴ Thus we have only to explain the final vowel of *sută*, and this can be done in three ways.

Old Slavonic *a* and Latin *a* give R. *a* initially but *ă* medially and finally, in stressless syllables. Old Slavonic *o* gives R. *o* initially but *ă* medially, in stressless syllables.⁵ Hence it is possible that final *ă* from Slavonic *o* was a regular phonetic development, which took place later than the usual change of Latin stressless *o* to R. *u*.

The number *mie*, 1,000, is feminine; so also is *zece*, 10, when used as a noun in its multiples. It would therefore be natural to give the distinct feminine ending *ă* to the only independent numeral between *zece* and *mie*. This logical treatment is found

¹ Tiktin, *Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 273, 274 (Heidelberg, 1905); Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, Vol. II, § 559 (Paris, 1895); Jensen, *Die slavisch-romanischen Bestandteile im rumänischen*, § 3, in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. I, 2d ed. (Strassburg, 1906); Gartner, *Darstellung der rumänischen Sprache*, p. 75 (Halle, 1904).

² In Rumanian, as in Slavonic, the cardinals above 19 are not used as adjectives.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, § 560.

⁴ Tiktin, *op. cit.*, §§ 32, 36.

⁵ Tiktin, *op. cit.*, §§ 52, 74; 63, 76.

in the Rumanian development of several Latin words: *soră* (earlier *sor*) sister, *nepoată* niece, *mână* hand.¹

It seems to be generally supposed that if *sută* is of Slavonic origin, it must come from *sŭto*. Such an assumption is needless; it might well go back to the Old Bulgarian plural, *sŭta*. Because of its ending, this form would necessarily become a feminine word, like Latin *milia*, *folia*, *arma*.

II. THE SUPINE

According to Meyer-Lübke, the Romance tongues have wholly lost the supine.² In Tiktin's opinion, "das lat. supinum ist als solches erhalten."³ The Rumanian verbal noun, corresponding to the Latin supine in form and meaning is explained by Jensen as being due to a similar use of participles in Albanian.⁴ While this parallelism is remarkable, there is another case that seems worth mentioning: Old Bulgarian has an ending *tŭ* that forms the supine and also one of the past participles.⁵ We may suppose that through Slavonic influence, a new supine was created or the old one was kept from disappearing. Either supposition is less far-fetched than the theory that the Rumanian supine, ending in *-t* or *-s*, originated in an Albanian form ending in *-ne* (later *-re*). It is clear that after the Slavonic supine had produced a Rumanian one in *-t* like the ordinary participle, the few irregular *s*-participles would by analogy take on the same double function.

III. PALATALIZATION

Palatalized *c* and *t* generally become affricate sound-groups (*tš* or *ts*);⁶ but after *s* they appear as *t* when the following vowel remains palatal in Rumanian. Meyer-Lübke says that *sk* developed to *štš* and then to *št* by assimilation;⁷ this seems to be

¹ Tiktin, *op. cit.*, §174.

² Tiktin, *op. cit.*, §283.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, §111.

⁴ Jensen, *op. cit.*, §3.

⁵ Leskien, *Handbuch der albulgarischen Sprache*, §§99, 102 (3d ed., Weimar, 1896). Perhaps the infinitive ending *-ti* helped in the Rumanian development.

⁶ Rousselot's theory that such affricates are simple sounds (*Principes de phonétique expérimentale*, pp. 582-633 [Paris, 1901]) is disproved by his own records; see *Die neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XI, p. 327 (Oktober, 1903).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, §473 (Paris, 1890). Meyer-Lübke uses phonetic spelling, ordinary orthography and mixtures of the two without distinction, so that, for example, the Rumanian derivative of Latin *lepore* appears as three different words in the index (*epure*, *iepure*, and *jepure*), though they all mean exactly the same thing phonetically. I use italics for ordinary spelling alone.

a mistake for "dissimilation," which is the term he applies to cases like *f(1)aĩble* and *prop(r)io*.¹ Or he may have intended "assimilation" for the first part of the process, *stš* to *štš*. After illustrating the change of *st* to *št*, the same writer refers for explanation to a preceding paragraph where nothing is said about the matter.²

The fact is that Rumanian has followed Slavonic habits of palatalization here, just as it has in the weakening of *tš* to *š* before a consonant, and in the strengthening of palatal vowels at the beginning of syllables.³ The change of *sk*, before any original palatal vowel,⁴ through *štš* to *št*, and likewise that of palatalized *st* to *št*, are regular developments in Bulgarian⁵ and Servian.⁶ As these two languages furnished most of the Slavonic loan-words in Rumanian, we cannot reasonably doubt their influence on its morphology and phonology.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, § 589.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, § 469. The reference can hardly be misprinted, as it is given again in § 499.

³ Tiktin, *op. cit.*, §§ 134, 50; Jensen, *op. cit.*, § 4; Gartner, *op. cit.*, § 9.

⁴ Not merely before *j* as Jensen says, § 4. Slavonic *j* (written *j* in Servian and the western alphabets) sounds like the Italian consonantal *i* or *j* in *feri*, *feri*.

⁵ Leskien, *op. cit.*, § 31; secondary *e*, *i*, from *ai*, *oi*, change *sk* to *st*.

⁶ Novaković, *Srpska gramatika*, drugo celokupno izdanje, § 94 (u Beogradu, 1902).

THE SOURCES OF OLIVIER DE MAGNY'S SONNETS

Of the poets, outside the actual *Pléiade*, who gathered round Ronsard and Du Bellay, the most attractive figure, at any rate of those who confined themselves to non-dramatic poetry, is undoubtedly that of Olivier de Magny, born at Cahors about 1530. His lively temperament and pleasant disposition made him a favorite among his contemporaries; his romantic relations with Louise Labé, *la belle cordière de Lyon*, his untimely death, and, it must be said, the intrinsic value of part of his work, have enabled him to maintain his place, modest as it is, by the side of the brighter constellation of the *Pléiade*, since the day that Sainte-Beuve revived the study of French sixteenth-century literature. His inborn talent, which was considerable, would have made it possible for him to occupy a more exalted position in the poetic firmament if he had followed his natural bent, instead of systematically resorting to Italian models.

It is our intention in the present paper to show how great was his indebtedness to Italian models, as far as the *Sonnets* are concerned.¹ That he lacked originality has been suspected or assumed, and in a few cases actually proved, but although Olivier de Magny's works have been republished and annotated² twice within recent times, and made the subject of a voluminous thesis for the Paris doctorate,³ the question has never been thoroughly investigated. Such investigations may not have very great importance in themselves, but when looked at in the broader light of comparative literature they assume a different and more significant aspect. Not until the chief French writers of the sixteenth century have been subjected to a similar process will it be possible to

¹ While the present paper (written in the summer of 1908) has been waiting for the press in America, I have been anticipated in a few of my results by J. Vianey in *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle* (Montpellier-Paris), which appeared in the early months of the present year.

² By P. Blanchemain, 1869-76, and by E. Courbet, 1871-80.

³ Jules Favre, *Olivier de Magny: Étude biographique et littéraire*. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, Paris, 1885.

estimate with any finality the debt of French literature in that period to the sister literature across the Alps, and to solve a problem of comparative literature of the greatest interest and importance. That the influence of Italian letters—discernible already in the work of the *Rhétoriciens* of the Burgundian school, transformed and reinforced by Marot and Saint-Gelais, and later by Ronsard and his associates—was far-reaching and permeating during this epoch is known, thanks to the labors of scholars such as Flamini, Toldo, Lemer cier, and especially J. Vianey of Montpellier.¹ Much has been done in the course of the last twenty years or so, but much remains to be done. It is for these reasons that I have ventured to present this small contribution to a large and important subject.

The first sonnet-collection of Olivier de Magny appeared in 1553, under the title *Amours*. It consisted of 102 sonnets and some dozen odes addressed to an ideal mistress, a noble lady of the neighborhood of Cahors, the poet's native town.

With regard to the sources of *Amours*, Professor Francesco Torraca, in his learned study on *Gl'imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro* (Rome, 1882), has proved that ten of these sonnets are filched from Sannazaro, but naturally he does not consider Olivier de Magny beyond the precincts of the particular topic he had set himself. Favre (*op. cit.*, p. 156) simply says in a general way that Olivier de Magny was "inspired" by Petrarch, without quoting any instances in support of his statement. This inspiration, however, took a very definite form, as we shall see presently. At least eleven of the sonnets of *Amours* can be shown to have been appropriated, either wholly or in part, from the author of the *Rime*. In some cases the imitation degenerates into mere translation, as in Sonnet XXXI, which reproduces servilely Sonnet CLXIX (No. 224) of the great Italian master:²

¹ For the bibliography of the subject compare pp. 175-91 of Louis-P. Betz' *La littérature comparée. Essai bibliographique. Deuxième édition augmentée*, par Fernand Baldensperger, Strasbourg, 1904. A supplement to Betz-Baldensperger was published in *Modern Language Notes*, XX (1905), 235-39, by C. S. Northup. Reference should also be made to various articles in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, *Revue de la renaissance*, *Bulletin italien*—to mention only the more important periodicals.

² Petrarch is quoted according to the convenient little edition published by G. Barbera of Florence, and Olivier de Magny according to Courbet's text.

Si vn vray cuer, vne foy amoureuse,
Vne langueur d'honorable desir,
Vn long erreur, lequel on peult choisir
Au labyrinth d'une tristesse heureuse.

Avoir au front la peine doloieuse
Protraite au vif, & se voir dessaisir
De sa couleur & de tout son plaisir,
Par la rigueur d'une mort doucereuse.

Avoir autrui plus que soy-mesme cher,
Brusler de loing, glaçant à l'aprocher,
Ayant tousiours deux ruisseaux au visage,

Bref si le soing, & le trahistre tour-
mant
M'afflige ainsi (ma Dame) en vous ayant,
La coulpe est vostre, & mien est le dommage.

S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto,
Un languir dolce, un desiar cortese;
S'oneste voglie in gentil foco accese;
S'un lungo error in cieco laberinto;

Se ne la fronte ogni penser dipinto,
Od in voci interrotte appena intese,
Or da paura, or da vergogna offese;
S'un pallor di viola e d'amor tinto;

S'aver altrui più caro che se stesso;
Se lagrimar e sospirar mai sempre,
Pascendosi di duol, d'ira e d'affanno;
S'arder da lunge ed agghiacciar da
presso,

Son le cagion ch'amando i'mi distempe,
Vostro, donna, il peccato, e mio fia'l danno.

In other instances Olivier de Magny follows his original almost as closely, though allowing himself a few variations in the phraseology, as in Sonnet XXIII (= *Canz.*, No. 12):

Si ie puis tant me deffendre au tourment,
Et au trauail qui me ronge & chagrine,
Qu'à l'auenir vostre beauté diuine
Ie puisse voir changer d'acoustrement,

Ces tresses d'or aussi leur ornement
En fin argent, ceste face benigne
Perdre son teinct, & d'une merque & signe
De grauité se peindre seulement:

Amour alors me donra tant d'audace,
Que hardiment, & deuant vostre face
Ie conteray mes ennuyes endurez.

Et vous helas! voyant ma foy constante,
Et l'aspreté de ma peine euidante,
De mes trauaux me recompenserez.

Se la mia vita da l'aspro tormento
Si può tanto schermire e dagli affanni,
Ch'ì veggia, per virtù degli ultimi anni,
Donna, de' be' vostri occhi il lume spento,

E i cape' d'oro fin farsi d'argento,
E lassar le ghirlande e i verdi panni,
E'l viso scolorir che ne' miei danni
A lamentar mi fa pauroso e lento;

Pur mi darà tanta baldanza Amore,
Ch'ì vi discovrirò, de' miei martiri
Qua' sono stati gli anni e i giorni e l'ore.

E se'l tempo è contrario ai be' desiri,
Non sia ch' almen non giungafai mio dolore
Alcun soccorso di tardi sospiri.

Or again in the penultimate sonnet of the collection (= *Canz.*, No. 132):

Si d'Amour vient mon gracieux martyre,
L'effet d'Amour, las quoy! quelle chose
est-ce?

Si bonne elle est, les siens comment oppresse,
Pourquoy à mal incessamment les tire?

Si mauuaise est, quell' raison ay ie à dire
Doux mon tourment, plaisante ma tristesse?
Si elle plaist, à quoy plain-ie sans cesse?
S'elle deplaist, que m'y vault dueil ou ire?

O viue mort! o mal plaisant à voir!
Comme avez vous sur moy tant de pouuoir,
Puis que vos loix ma volonté n'approuve?

O feux iumeaulx! o trompeuse esper-
ance!

Vous seuls causez en moy tant d'inconstance,
Qu'en bien ou mal, content ie ne me trouue.

S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' i'
sento?

Ma s'egli è amor, per Dio, che cosa e quale?
Se buona, ond' è l'effetto aspro mortale?
Se ria, ond' è sì dolce ogni tormento?

S'a mia voglia ardo, ond' è'l pianto e'l
lamento

S'a mal mio grado, il lamentar che vale?
O viva morte, o dilettooso male,
Come puoi tanto in me s'io nol consento?

E s'io'l consento, a gran torto mi doglio.
Fra sì contrari venti, in frate barca
Mi trovo in alto mar, senza governo,

Sì lieve di saver, d' error sì carica,
Ch'ì medesimo non so quel ch'io mi voglio,
E tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno.

Further examples are Sonnets X, XLI, LI, LXI, LXXXVI, XC, which may be compared to Sonnets XC, CX, CXLIII,

CXLVI, CXXXIV, LXXXIV of Petrarch's *Rime*; Sonnet XX, which is an amplification of the seventh sestina ("Non ha tanti animali il mar fra l' onde"), and Sonnet LXIII, which is formed on the pattern of Canzone XV ("S' i'l diissi mai, ch' i' venga in odio a quella"). More interesting, perhaps, because less obvious, are the loans which the author of *Amours* levied on the poets of the school of Bembo, or Venetian Petrarchists as they are sometimes styled, who were then coming into prominence and several of whom were contemporaries of the French poet. Great as was their vogue, it had been considerably enhanced by the recent publication of an anthology of their lyrical work with an introduction by Lodovico Domenichi, a friend of the Cardinal's and a not undistinguished member of the group. The first volume of this important selection¹ was issued at Venice in 1545 by the well-known publisher Gabriel Giolito under the title *Rime diverse di molti excellentiss. auttori nuovamente raccolte, Libro primo*. It very quickly ran into three editions. Here was a convenient and abundant garner containing the best grain of Italian contemporary poetry which the French poets could pillage at their ease without being immediately detected even by the initiated. M. Vianey, in his admirable essay on the sources of Du Bellay's *L'Olive*,² has shown with what prodigality Ronsard's lieutenant drew on that supply. It is not improbable that Olivier de Magny had his attention drawn more expressly to this precious anthology by his friend Du Bellay, although the latter had already publicly, if somewhat cryptically, published his appreciation of it in his literary manifesto—"pour le sonnet donques tu as Petrarque et quelques modernes Italiens."³ However that may be, Olivier de Magny was not slow to follow the example of his predecessor, in the composition of his first sonnet-sequence. He was, indeed, somewhat more discreet; but nevertheless he showed his appreciation of this new publication in no uncertain manner. The

¹ The second edition appeared in 1546, and the third in 1549. A second volume was issued in 1547, and further additions were made to the collection till the year 1556.

² *Les sources italiennes de l'Olive*, in the "Annales internationales d'histoire" (Congrès de Paris, 1900), Paris, 1901, pp. 73 ff.

³ Du Bellay had also written in the preface to the first edition of *L'Olive*: "vrayment je confesse avoir imité Petrarque, et non luy seulement, mais aussi l'Arioste et d'autres modernes Italiens."

ninth sonnet of *Amours*, which Favre, quite innocent of its source, admires for its originality and for its "freshness" and "Virgilian grace" (*op. cit.*, p. 157), is picked from the bunch of sonnets contributed to Giolito's anthology (I, 279) by Bernardino Tomitano of Padua, and reproduced with startling literalness:

Comme au printemps la Pastourelle gaye,
A qui le froid de l'hiver la passé,
Anoît d'ennuis grand nombre pourchassé
Et de langueur faict mainte amere playe:

Maintenant va, puis santelle, & s'essaye
Parmy les champs d'un desir insensé,
Rendre du tout son cuer recompensé
Par la verdeur de ce temps qui l'esgaye:

Mais il auient qu'elle foule en sautant
Un froid Serpent dessous l'herbette estant
Si qu'il la mord, dont apres ell' trespasse.

Ainsi m'auient quand de voz doux propos
Me prometiez allegence & repos,
Blessant mon cuer du trait de vostre grace.

Si come all' hor, che lieta primavera
Tornando a noi rimena i fiori & l'erba;
Et Progne, che sfogar suoi danni spera,
Con dolci note a lagrimar si serba:

La pastorella, a cui dannosa, & fiera
Stagion poco anzi fe la vita acerba
Di piaggia in piaggia va destra, & leggiera;
Hor che'l suo danno in tutto disacerba;

Tanto che mal accorta preme poi
Freddo serpente, che tra l'erba giace;
Ond' ella offesa a poco a poco more.

Tal fu donna di me quel di, che voi
Sotto lusinghe di tranquilla pace
Di mortal piaga mi feriste il core.

The same remark applies to Sonnet XVIII, except that this time it is Tomaso Castellani (Giolito, I, 50) who supplies the model:

Sous autre Ciel, par eau plus fauorable,
Me fault voguer, ou me retraire à rive,
Puis que ma nef que la Fortune priue
De vent prospere est ainsi miserable.

Si douce ouys la chanson agreable
D'une Sirene en forme humaine & vive,
Que m'oublant en douceur si naïue,
Le vis ma barque en danger incroyable.

Face le Ciel qu'estoile plus benigne
L'errant espoir des maintenant destine
Au port heureux, au haure plus licite:

Et ce grand Dieu, donneur de tant de
graces,
Par autre mer, par de meilleures trasses
Conduyse à port ma nasselle petite.

Homai sott' altro ciel per miglior acque
Correr conviemmi, over ritrar a riva:
Poi che mia nave di buon vento priva
Sempre in quest' onde a la fortuna spiacque:

Si dolce canto a le mie orecchie piacque
D'una Sirena in forma humana, & viva;
Che mentre errando troppo m'aggradiva
Il legno mio quasi sommerso giacque;

Hor faccia il ciel, che piu benigna stella
L'errante mia speranza homai destine
Al porto ver, per via piu dritta & bella;

Et quel gran donator de le divine
Gratie: la mia smarrita navicella
Per altro mar conduca a miglior fine.

In Sonnet LXXXIV, Guiseppe Betussi (Giolito, I, 354), another of Bembo's disciples, is laid under contribution by the French poet in much the same manner:

Haste le train de tes coursiers ardans,
O cler Phebus, & en l'Ocean entre,
Esclaircissant l'obscur du profond centre
Et de Thetis le sein iusqu'au dedans.

Car ton flambeau aux humains regar-
dans,

Plaisant en tout, me consume en cest antre,
Et je ne quiers que l'ombre & la nuit, entre
Tant de desirs dans mon cuer residans.

Affretta i tuoi corsier piu de l'usato
Phebo, & ne l'Oceano entra veloce;

E a Theti, che d'amor t'incende, & cuoce
Riedi nel grembo di splendor ornato:

Però che il tuo bel lume al mondo
grato

Fuor ch'a me sol, si mi consuma, & nuoce;
Che co'l desio, co'l cor, & con la voce
Bramo vedermi intorno horror turbato:

Non que ce soit que mon cuer & mes
yeux
L'obscurité de la nuit aiment mieux
Que de ce iour la clarté reluisante.
Mais pour autant que l'espere gagner,
Des que le jour ie verray s'esloigner,
Quelque guerdon de ma peine cuyante.

Non già però, che di costume antico
Le tenebre più grate a gli occhi miei
Siano, & il lume capital nemico;
Ma perche lunga notte esser vorrei
Questa, in che il ciel a me cotanto amico
Mi rendera quel ben, ch'io già perdei.

In Sonnet XLIV, modeled on one of Battista della Torre (Giolito, I, 103), the rendering is perhaps not quite so close, though literal enough, to be sure:

Voisine Echo qui m'ois en lamentant,
Or' dans le creux d'un humide rocher,
Or' dans un boys obscur à l'approcher,
Ayes pitié de mon deuil augmentant.
Si ie me plains mon Esprit tormentant,
Et de mes pleurs ie m'efforce estancher
L'ardante soif qui tant me vient facher,
Le fier destin de mon cuer desmentant,
I'oy à l'instant ta voix si pitoyable,
Qui correspond à mon mal incroyable,
Criant, tremblant, soupirant apres moy,
Te souvenant (peult estre) & ie le pense,
Du tour ingrat, & froide recompense,
De ton amy, l'amoureux vain de soy.

Vicina Echo, ch' ascoltì i miei lamenti;
Et quantunque fra sassi & tra le frondi
Occultamente a gli occhi miei t'ascondi,
Mostri pietà de miei gravi tormenti.
Tu raddoppi i miei tristi ultimi accenti
Tu col mio spesso il tuo dolor confondi:
S'io grido Furnia; & tu Furnia rispondi;
Et meco, s'io mi doglio, ti lamenti.
Te sola ho provato io nimpha pietosa,
Come quella, cui forse anchor soviene
De l'amato Narciso la durezza.
Eguale arde ambidue fiamma amorosa:
Eguale è'l nostro amor, pari le pene;
Et ambidue già vinse egual bellezza.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that this same sonnet of Della Torre was also imitated by Du Bellay in the twenty-fourth sonnet of his *Olive*. However, this did not deter Olivier de Magny from writing a version which on the whole is superior to that of his predecessor.

Other parallels are Sonnets LXXII and XCI, which may be confronted with similar compositions, in Giolito's selection, by Lodovico Corfini (I, 96) and Luigi Tansillo (V, 23) respectively.

Occasionally the imitation is freer and confined to the quatrains as in Sonnet XIX, based on the following sonnet of Anton Giacomo Corso (Giolito, II, 178):

L'Architecteur du grand Palais des
Cieux,
Voulant remplir de merueille le monde,
Orna ce corps d'une perruque blonde,
Qui le soleil rend trouble & soucieux:
Puis d'une flamme éclairante en ces yeux,
L'alme soustien ou mon erreur ie fonde,
Puis d'un Esprit, enrichi de faconde,
Et du tresor le plus prisé des Dieux, etc.

Volse il sommo Architetto al gran lauoro
Quando ne l'alta sua divina Idea
Il tutto fece in quest' alma mia Dea
Ogni pregio donar gratia, e decoro,
Perche il valor, per cui nel primo choro
Ogni spinto è felice, in lei veda
Render il Mondo, e più la bella Astrea
Chiari, e mostrar più aperto il suo thesoro,
etc.

Similarly the opening lines of Sonnet XXVII recall a sonnet of Giacomo Sellaio (Giolito, IV, 30).

The above instances appear to exhaust the series of sonnets in *Amours* filched from specific Italian prototypes. It must not be thought, however, that the rest show much greater originality and spontaneity. If they are not transplanted bodily they are unmistakably confectioned from pieces and patches gathered in Petrarch's *Rime* and those of his long line of descendants in the sixteenth century. It would be wearisome and serve no very useful purpose to strengthen a case, already sufficiently convincing, by accumulating these scattered fragments.

Early in 1555 Olivier de Magny went to Rome as secretary to Jean d'Avanson who was charged with a special mission to the Pope. He was home again the following year, and in 1557 he issued a new volume, consisting this time exclusively of sonnets, under the title of *Les soupirs*. Written at Rome at the time when Du Bellay was inditing his *Regrets*, which it recalls in form and substance, this new effort marks a distinct advance on Olivier de Magny's previous poetic attempts; it might almost challenge comparison with Du Bellay's more famous work if the author did not here again give way to his piratical proclivities. He warns us, it is true, in the sixth sonnet, that his themes are not new—"ce sont tous arguments fort communs à nostre âge"—but even this admission hardly leads us to expect the wholesale and indiscriminate plagiarisms to which he descends in this more mature performance.

In looking for originals the writer to whose works we shall again first turn will of course be Petrarch, and in this instance also the harvest is a rich one. Favre in a feeble chapter on *Les Soupirs* (*op. cit.*, pp. 227-63), by referring some half-dozen sonnets of that series to Petrarch—he does not say a word concerning the other Italian sonneteers—has given quite a false impression of the French poet's originality, or rather the lack of it. Not six, but at least fifteen, of the sonnets of Olivier de Magny's second collection are translated or adapted wholly or in part from the master. Only those not already quoted by Favre and which imitate closely the Italian original will be considered in detail.

Sonnet LXV is an almost verbatim translation of Sonnet LXX of the *Rime* (No. 102):

Eme, quand Tolomée eust enuoié la teste
De Pompée à Cesar, Cesar pour courir
mieux

L'aise qu'il en sentoît, fit soudain deses yeux
Escouler mille pleurs, & n'en feit autre feste.

Quand Hannibal aussi veit finir sa con-
queste,

Et veit perir son heur, seize ans victorieux,
Encor que le destin luy fust trop ennuleux,
Il courroit son despit d'un rire bien honneste.

Ainsi l'homme prudent couure sa passion
Sous vng manteau à son affliction,

Et fait tousiours semblant d'estre content &
libre :

Partant si quelque fois tu m'ois rire ou
chanter,

Ne pense que ce soit pour me sentir deliure,
C'est pour courir le mal qui me vient tour-
menter.

Cesare, poi che'l traditor d'Egitto

Li fece il don de l'onorata testa,
Celando l'allegrezza manifesta,
Pianse per gli occhi fuor, si come è scritto ;

Ed Annibàl, quando a l'imperio afflitto
Vide farsi fortuna sì molesta,

Rise fra gente lagrimosa e mesta,
Per isfogare il suo acerbo despetto :

E così avvèn che l'animo ciascuna
Sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto
Ricopre con la vista or chiara or bruna.

Però, s'alcuna volta l' rido o canto,
Facciol perch' l' non ò se non quest'una
Via da celare il mio angoscioso pianto.

The phraseology and turns of Sonnet LXXXIX of Petrarch
(*Canz.*, No. 133) are rendered with still greater servility in Sonnet
XCVI:

Comme vn blanc à sagette Amour a fait
mon ame,

Comme neige au soleil, & come cire au feu,
Et comme nué au vent, mais il t'en chant
bien peu,

Et m'aides tousiours moins quand plus ie te
reclame.

De ton oeil brunissant sort le coup qui
m'entame,

Contre qui ne me vault hélas ! ny tens ny lieu,
De toi seule procede, & non du petit Dieu,
Le Soleil, & le feu, & le vent qui m'espame.

Mon penser amoureux est le trait si cui-
sant,

Ton visalge divin le Soleil si luisant,

Et mon desir ardent la flamme poursuiuy,
De quoy amour me poingt, m'auengle, &
me destruit,

Et ta voix est le vent au deuant de qui fuyt
Trop vistement hélas ! ma miserable vie.

Amor m'ha posto come segno a strale,

Come al Sol neve, come cera al foco,

E come nebbia al vento ; e son già roco,

Donna, mercè chiamando ; e voi non cale.

Dagli occhi vostri uscio 'l colpo mortale,

Contra cui non mi val tempo nè loco ;

Da voi sola procede (e parvi un gioco)

Il sole e'l foco e'l vento, ond' io son tale.

I pensier son eaette, e 'l viso un sole,

E'l desir foco ; e'nsieme con quest' arme

Mi punge Amor, m'abbaglia, e mi distrugge ;

E l'angelico canto e le parole,

Col dolce spirto ond'io non posso altarme,

Son l'aura innanzi a cui mia vita fugge.

Favre (*op. cit.*, p. 254) commits the imprudence of placing
Sonnet XCVIII under the rubric "Les sonnets originaux ;" it
is obviously a translation of the penultimate sonnet of the first
part of the *Rime* (No. 265, of which, by the way, Desportes, *Les
Amours d'Hippolyte*, No. XLVI, also gave a translation) :

Aspre cueur, & sauuaige, & fiere volonté,
En tant douce, & tant humble, angelique
figure,

Si voz grandes rigueurs plus longuement l'en-
dure,

Aspro core e selvaggio, e cruda voglia

In dolce, umile, angelica figura,

Se l'impreso rigor gran tempo dura,

Vous aures peu d'honneur de m'auoir sur-
monté.
Soit l'autonne, ou l'yuer, le printens, ou
l'esté,
Ou soit-il iour luyant, ou soit-il nuit ob-
scure,
Ie me plains en tout tens de ma rude avan-
ture,
De Madame & d'Amour sans cesse tourmenté.
L'Espoir seul me fait viure, & me fait
souvenir,
Que j'ay vou maintes fois par espreuve
aduenir,
Que l'eau par trait de ;tens les grans mar-
bres entame:
Et qu'il n'est point de cueur si dur ne
si cruel,
Qu'on ne puisse amollir d'vn pleur con-
tinuel,
Ny de si froid vouloir qui parfois ne s'en-
flame.

Avran di me poco onorata spoglia:
Chè quando nasce e mor fior, erba e
foglia
Quando è'l di chiaro e quando è notta
oscura,
Piango ad ogni or. Ben ò di mia ventura,
Di Madonna e d'Amore onde mi doglia.
Vivo sol di Speranza, rimembrando
Che poco umor già per continua prova
Consumar vidi marmi e pietre calde.
Non è sì duro cor che lagrimando,
Pregando, amando, talor non si mova;
Nè sì freddo voler che non si scalde.

In Sonnet CXIII Petrarch is followed with almost equal
literalness (= *Canz.* No. 163):

Amor, qui vois tout seul dans mon pen-
ser ouuert,
Et comme en te suyuant nuit & jour ie
tracasse,
Allege vn peu mon cueur du tourment qui
l'embrasse,
Mon coeur à toy cogneu, à tout autre cou-
uert.
Tu sçais pour te suiuir l'ennuy que l'ay
souffert,
Tu vois ma patience & ma foy qui se lasse,
Et tu ne veux pourtant que l'esloigne ta
trasse,
Ainçois me fais tousiours te suiure en ce
desert.
L'aperçoy bien de loing le feu dont tu
m'alumes,
Mais ie n'ay comme toy pour y voler des
plumes,
Et fault que l'aille ainsi sans espoir de con-
fort.
Mourray-ie donc? ouy. Mourons donc à
cette heure,
Il ne m'en chault, pourveu qu'en bien aimant
ie meure,
Et pouruen que Madame ayt plaisir en ma
mort.

Amor, che vedi ogni pensiero aperto
E i duri passi onde tu sol mi scorgi,
Nel fondo del mio cor gli occhi tuoi porgi,
A te palese, a tutt' altri coverto.
Sai quel che per seguirti ho già sofferto;
E tu pur via di poggio in poggio sorgi
Di giorno in giorno, e di me non t'accorgi
Che son sì stanco e'l sentier m'è troppo erto.
Ben vegg'io di lontano il dolce lume
Ove per aspre vie mi sproni e giri;
Ma non ò, come tu, da volar piume.
Assai contenti lasci i miei desiri,
Pur che ben deslando l'mi consume,
Nè le dispiaccia che per lei sospiri.

Sonnets X, XXXVII, CXVII are either adaptations or free
renderings of Sonnets CXXVI, LXXVI, CXC, while Sonnets VII
and LXXXIX are partly imitated either from the quatrains or
tercets of Sonnets XCIX and LXXXIX. Lastly, Sonnet LX is
based on Canzone XV.

Petrarch, however, was not the only Italian poet who furnished models. Professor Torraca should have noted that Olivier de Magny's imitation of Sannazaro's sonnets is not confined to *Amours*, and that at least three of the sonnets of *Les Soupîrs* are taken from those of the author of *Arcadia*.

Sonnet XI may be fairly described as a translation pure and simple:

O monde malheureux, o desir vain & fressle,
O terre, o ciel, o dieux auares à mon bien,
O vie qui ne peult dissouldre ce lyen
Bien que je te cognoisse & petite & mortelle,
O miserable sort, o fortune cruelle,
Qui mes dolents ennuyx n'estimas iamais rien,
O Parque sans pitié, o Nocher stygien
Que ne m'ameines tu l'infernale nasselle!
Puis qu'on ne veult ici mon tourment secourir,
Puisse-le au moins bien tost miserable mourir.
Pour euitier le mal dont mon ame est at-tainete.
Bien heureux soit le jour auquel la fiere mort
M'enuoira de son dard passer la bas le port,
Puis que par tant de mal du danger ie n'ay crainte.

O Mondo; o sperar mio caduco e frale;
O ciel sempre al mio ben tenace e parco,
O vita, onde d'uscir non trovo il varco,
E veggio che pur sei breve e mortale;
O fati; o ria fortuna a cui non cale
Di questo mio nojoso e grave incarco;
O faretra spietata; o crudel'arco;
Perchè tarda ver me l'ultimo strale?
Ch'almen questa bramosa e calda voglia
Giungendo al fin del sestodecim' anno
Si spenga, e tragga il cor di tanta doglia.
Benedetto quel dì, che'l duro affanno
Caccierà fuor de la terrena spoglia
L'anima che per duol non teme il danno.

Similarly Sonnet LXVI, much in the same vein, is again a verbatim reproduction:

Inutile desir, interdette esperance,
Cautelense pensée & vouloir auenglé,
Larmes, plainctes, souspîrs & tourment dereiglé,
Donnez ou paiz ou tresue à ma longue souffrance.
Et s'au mal le dedain ny l'oubly n'a puissance,
Et que je doine ainsi sans fin estre comblé
De tant & tant d'ennuy dans mon ame assemblé,
Face la mort sur moy sa dure violence:
Ou le ciel promptement me foudroie le chet,
Car le n'ay point de peur de nul mortel meschef,
Pourveu qu'en trespasant ma peine ne me suive.
Sus donc Amour, va-t'en, retire toy, a dieu,
Ta force en mon endroit demeure ores oisiue,
Puis que nouvelle playe en moy n'a plus de lieu.

Interdette speranza, e van desio,
Pensier' fallaci, ingorde e cieche voglie,
Lagrima triste, e voi sospîri e doglie,
Date omai pace al lasso viver mio.
E s'al mio mal non val forza d'obblío,
Nè per disdegno il nodo si discioglie;
Prenda morte di me l'ultime spoglie,
Pur ch'abbia fin mio fato acerbo e rio.
Usin le stelle e'l ciel tutte lor prove;
Ch'a quel ch'io sento mi parranno un gioco:
Da sì profonda parte il duol si move.
Gitta. Amor, l'arco, le saette e'l foco:
Drizza il tuo ingegno e le tue forze altrove:
Che nuova piaga in me non ha più loco.

Favre (*op. cit.*, p. 254) classes Sonnet XCVII among the original sonnets. He ought to have said that it was also translated from Sannazaro:

Cil escriue de toy qui d'un oeillet vermeil,
Pense fleurir l'odeur aux poignantes orties,
Voir des astres du ciel les flammes amorties,
Et veoir en Occident l'Aurore & le Soleil.

Celuy face de toy un oeuvre nompareil,
Qui se veult voir à droit tenaillé des envies,
Et qui veult en mourant voir deux noms &
deux vies,
S'endormir tout au coup d'un éternel sommeil.

Cil escriue de toy qui veult perdre sa peine,
Qui ne bent onc de l'eau de la docte fontaine,
Ny mascha du laurier sur le double coupeau.

Cil escriue de toy sur le vent, ou sur l'onde,
Qui veult semer ton nom vainement par le monde,
Et veoir son nom & luy sous un mesme tombeau.

Scriua di te chi far gigli e viole
Del seme spera di pungenti ortiche,
Le stelle al ciel veder tutte nemiche,
E con l'aurora in Occidente il sole.

Scriua chi fama al mondo aver non vuole;
A cui non fur già mai le muse amiche;
Scriua chi perder vuol le sue fatiche,
Lo stil l'ingegno il tempo e le parole.

Scriua chi bocca in lauro mai non colse;
Chi mai non giunse a quella rupe estrema,
Nè verde fronda a le sue tempie avvolse.

Scriua in vento ed in acqua il suo poema
La mar che mai per te la penna tolse;
E caggia il nome, e poca terra il prema.

The above cases of imitation in *Les Soupirs*, in conjunction with those already instanced by Torraca from *Amours*, are of special interest; Olivier de Magny and Balf were the only members of Ronsard's school who systematically ransacked Sannazaro's sonnets for models.¹ The other members of the group preferred his Latin works and more especially the marine eclogues to which Du Bellay had pointed in the *Défense*.

Olivier de Magny also differed from his associates in his cultivation and imitation of those Italian poets who flourished at the very end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who are known as the *Quattrocento*²—Cariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino of Aquila, and the rest. The quattrocentists exercised considerable influence in France till the advent of the *Pléiade*; as early as 1511 Jean Lemaire de Belges, in the *Concorde des deux langages*, had placed Serafino on an equal footing with Dante and Petrarch, and his *strambotti* as well as those of Tebaldeo had afforded material for more than one dizain of Saint-

¹ At a later date, Desportes, who copied anything Italian that came his way, also utilised Sannazaro's sonnets.

² For details on the *Quattrocento* reference should be made to A. d'Ancona, "Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV," in *Studi sulla letteratura italiana dei primi secoli* (Ancona, 1884), and to Philippe Monnier, *Le Quattrocento* (Paris, 1901).

Gelais and of Maurice Scève, in spite of, or rather because of, their extravagant conceits and far-fetched hyperboles. The example of Du Bellay, who sought his models in the Venetian Petrarchists and in Ariosto, turned the French sonnet away from this channel, till the manner of Tebaldeo and his admirers was revived, toward the latter end of the century, by Desportes in his numerous sonnet-sequences.

From Antonio Tebaldeo of Ferrara, looked upon as a master by his disciples, Olivier de Magny took Sonnet LVIII, which renders the Italian original with great literalness:

Rosignollet ioly, qui dedans la maison
Chantes de ma Maistresse, en vne estroite
caïge,
Naguere tu soulois, libre par le bouscaïge,
Annoncer de ton chant la nouuele saison.
Mais ores plus content de ta douce prison,
Tu ne veux que chanter ton bien heureux
seruaige;
Tout autre prisonnier perd soubdain le
courage,
Mais toi de l'augmenter as meilleure raison.
Ta prison est de bois, & de fer est la
mienne,
Tu t'attens de rentrer en la franchise tienne,
Et moy plus malheureux n'espere iamais
rien.
Toi de voir ma Maistresse as cent mille
allegresses
Et moy pour l'avoir veus ay cent mille des-
tresses,
Peusse-je mon destin changer avec le tien.

Vago uocellin, ch'alla finestra canti
Di madonna rinchiuso in stretta gabbia;
Tu già solevi andar tra liti e sabbia
Libero e sciolto con compagni erranti.
Di stare in carcer ti rallegrì e canti
E gli altri prigionier moron di rabia,
Credo che la dolcezza di lei abbia
Conversi i lieti versi in tristi pianti.
Tu sei fra stecchi preso e io in catena,
Tu sei propinquo a chi ti può lasciare,
Io lungi a colei che al fin mi mena.
Tu di vederla puoi contento stare,
Io d'averla veduta ho doglia e pena:
Potessi io teco el mio destin mutare.

A well-worn theme, found in almost all the Italian sonneteers and originally derived from Ovid's *Tristia* (IV. vi. 1-16), is reproduced almost verbatim in Sonnet XX, from a rendering of Pamfilo Sasso (or more properly Sassi), one of the Ferrarese group of which Tebaldeo was the head, whose sonnets were first published in 1500:

Le soigneux laboureur avec le temps
ameine
Dessous le ioug pesant le plus braue taureau,
Et le faulcon niais au vol de maint oiseau
Avec le tens encore on façonne en la pleine.
On range avec le temps le lyon à la
chaine,
Et l'appriuoise lon comme vn petit aigneau,
Voire avecques le tens par les gouttes de
l'eau

Col tempo el villanel al giogo mena
El tòr sì fiero e sì crudo animale;
Col tempo el falcon si usa a menar l'ale
E ritornar a te chiamato a pena.
Col tempo si domestica in catena
El bizzarro orso, e' l'eroce cingiale;
Col tempo l'acqua, che à sì molle e frale

Se cauent les rochers qu'on tailleroit à peine.
 Avec le mesme tens le vieil chesne se
 rompt,
 Et voit on le sommet du plus superbe mont
 S'abaisser à l'egal de la pleine campagne:
 Mais ie ne puis Maistresse amollir la
 durté
 De ton cœur rigoureux, qui passe d'aspreté
 Taureau, faulcon, lyon, rocher, arbre & mon-
 tagne.

Rompe el dur sasso, come el fosse arena.
 Col tempo ogni robusto arbor cade;
 Col tempo ogni alto monte si fa basso,
 Et io col tempo non posso a pietade,
 Mover un cor d'ogni dolcezza casso;
 Onde avanza di orgoglio e crudeltade
 Orso, toro, leon, falcone e sasso.

Yet another sonnet of *Les Soupirs* (No. LIX) appears to have been adapted from the same poet rather¹ than from Petrarch:

S'amour est vne ardeur, d'où me vient
 tant de glace?
 S'amour est auéuglé, comment me fait il
 veoir?
 S'amour est si douteux, où pren-ie mon
 espoir?
 Et s'il est vng plaisir, que n'a t il en moy
 place?
 S'amour est libre & franc, d'où vient
 donc qu'il m'enlasse?
 S'amour est vne paix, que ne la pui-ie suoir?
 S'amour est vne mort, que me vault le dou-
 loir?
 Et s'il est vn repos, d'où vient donc qu'il me
 lasse? etc.

Se amor è tanto amar come è chiamato,
 Perché è sì dolce ogni amoroso affanno?
 E s'egli è dolce, come è fier tiranno?
 E s'egli è fier, come è tanto onorato?
 S'è liberal, perchè se dice ingrato?
 Se'l serva fede, come è pien d'inganno?
 Se non la serva, perchè d'anno in anno
 De mal in peggio va chi è innamorato? etc.

To the student of the sonnet in France Pamfilo Sasso is particularly interesting from the fact that he supplied models for at least a dozen of Desportes' sonnets.²

Olivier de Magny does not seem to have borrowed much from the more famous Serafino of Aquila. It is not improbable, however, that he came across some or all of the sonnets of the quattrocentists he imitated in editions of the works of that celebrated improviser in which they were not infrequently surreptitiously included. Nevertheless Sonnet L appears to be modeled on the following composition of Serafino rather than on Petrarch's "Quando'l sol bagna in mar l'aurato carro," in spite of the similarity of the opening lines:

Lors que le cler Soleil faisant place à la
 nuit,
 Plonge son char doré dedans la mer pro-
 fonde,

Quando il carro del sol nel mar s'asconde
 E riman l'aria scolorita intorno

¹ The immediate source (vide Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme*, p. 210) is a sonnet of Britonio, whose *Rime* appeared in 1519.

² This interesting discovery is due to MM. Vianey and Vaganay (*Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, X, 277).

Et lors que par le ciel ses cheualx il conduit,
 De ses rais enflammés donnant lumiere au monde:
 Bref de iour & de nuict le malheur qui me suit
 Dessus moy miserable immobile se fonde:
 Et si rien me soulage, & si rien ne me nuyt,
 C'est le seul passetemps de la Muse faconde.
 Les seuls vers de la Muse allagent mes ennuys,
 Et seuls me font passer & les jours & les nuicts,
 Quelque peu consolé parmy tant de martire.
 Etc.

Gli uel lassando il bel cantar del giorno
 Prenden quiete alla sicura fronde.
 Et io che mai non ebbi ore ioconde
 La notte al canto e al suspirar ritorno,
 Ch'è allor nel petto un modular adorno
 Pensando a le mie pen ch' amor m'infonde.
 Prendo la notte in nel cantar riposo,
 Ch' amor m' insegna di sfocar cantando
 Quel che 'l di tengo per vergogna ascoso, etc

The device of printing the same word in the same line or at the beginning of the next line as in Sonnet LXIX:

Maistresse, ie vouldroy, ie vouldroy bien descrire
 Descrire bien le mal, le mal que i'ay pour toy,
 Pour toy i'endure tant, i'endure tant d'esmoï,
 Qu'à la fin tu prendrois pitié de mon martire.
 Je fay bien quelque fois, quelque fois à ma lyre,
 A ma lyre chanter, chanter quelle est ma foy.

the French poet doubtless imitated from certain *strambotti* of the same poet (e. g., "Quando non mi darai più foco foco")—or of Pamfilo Sasso, for he too made use of this childish device, though it must be confessed that neither of them handled it with the same skill as the author of *Les Soupîrs*.¹

Olivier de Magny's dependence on the quattrocentists is further exemplified in Sonnet CVI in which he gallicizes almost word for word a pretty piece of Marcello Filosseno, the author of a miscellany of *strambotti*, sonnets, satires, and *capitoli*, published at Venice in 1507, under the title *Silve de M. Philoxeno*:

Pauvre Aueugle qui vas en mandiant du pain,
 Et qui plains le malheur dont ta vie est pourueñ,
 Tu n'es seul contre qui la fortune est esmeüs,
 Elle ha mis dessus moy plus rudement la main.
 I'ay bien ven quelque fois que i'estoy libre & sain,
 Mais ores i'ay perdu & le cueur & la veñ,
 Toy d'vn fidele chien seurement par la ruë,
 Et moy estant guidé d'vn Aueugle incertain.

Cieco, che vai qui mendicando il pane
 E te lamenti ognor con umil verso,
 Già non sei solo in tal dolor summerso,
 Chè in varii modi van le sorte umane.
 Un tempo ebbi mie membra liete e sane
 Et or l' anima e il core insieme ho perso,
 E vo seguendo un ceco ognor disperso,
 E tu guidato sei da un fidel cane.

¹ J. Vianey shows (*Le Pétrarquisme*, p. 216) that De Magny's immediate model for that trick was one of the madrigals of Luigi Cassola—the Cassola whom Du Bellay mentions in the second preface to *l'Olive*.

Nous mandions tous deux pour sub-
stanter nos vies,
Mais tu meux à pitié ceux à qui tu mandies,
Et nul n'en veult auoir de mon mal doulou-
reux.

Ton ame est en franchise, & captive est
la mienne,
Vy donques plus content en l'infortune
tienne,
Puis que ie t'accompagne & suis plus mal-
heureux.

Tu il cibo, io il mio cor vo meddicando,
Tu acquisti assai per pietà dil tuo pianto,
Ma ognun non mi può dar quel che adi-
mando.

Tu hai l'anima e il cor, et io son meso
morto,
Dunqua sta lieto al caso mio pensando,
Chè l'altrui danno a' miseri è conforto.

The same poet appears to have at least suggested Sonnet
CXIV:

Vine qui viure peult content allaigre-
ment,
Car ie ne vis, Paschal, qu'en estat miserable;
Gouste qui peult gouster vn plaisir agreable,
Car ie ne gouste rien que tristesse & tour-
ment.

Sente qui peult sentir son heur abondam-
ment,
Car ie ne sens plus rien qu'un malheur
effroyable;

Prenne qui prendre peult du repos amyable,
Car ie n'ay que travail & peine incessam-
ment.

Paisse qui paistre peult son penser d'es-
perance,
Car ie ne pais le mien que de dure souffrance,
De souspirs & de pleurs, d'ennuys & de dou-
leur, etc.

Chi non pò come voi vive in affanno
Chi può, come a lui piace se governa,
Parmi che questa usanza ormai sia eterna
Che le cose dil mondo a un modo vanno.

Chi vive lieto e chi teme gran danno,
E chi dà legie a la luce superna,
Tal par che l'altrui fallo ognor discerna
E non se acorge dil suo proprio inganno.

Chi teme l'altrui dir, chi'l stima poco,
Chi brama de arichirsi e chi non cura,
Altri prendon di me, io d'altri ioco, etc.

This completes, as far as I am aware, the list of loans that Olivier de Magny made from the sonneteers of the school of Tebaldeo and Serafino, but it by no means exhausts the sum of his debt to the Italians. He was eclectic in his taste and widely read, and consequently could not resist the temptation of pillaging the sonnets of the author of the *Orlando Furioso*, "le cigne ferrarois du Furieux," as he styles him, more especially as his friend Du Bellay had already recommended Ariosto as a suitable model in the preface of the first edition of *l'Olive*, and, adding example to precept, had borrowed largely from him for the composition of that collection. In one instance he followed a method much affected by Du Bellay of expanding a description of the *Orlando* into a sonnet. This he did in Sonnet XVII which is a paraphrase of the first two octaves of Canto XXI of that epic. Sonnet XXXV is a close adaptation of the Sixth Sonnet of Ariosto:

Ce beau poil est le reth auquel ie fu surpris,
 Ce regard attrayant est le traict qui m'en-
 tame
 Ce beau sourcil est l'arc, & l'œil brun de
 Madame
 Est cil qui m'a feru, non l'enfant de Cypris.
 Dans si belle prison ie nourris mes
 esprits,
 Ie nourris la blesseure au profond de mon
 ame,
 Et captif, & nauré, ie n'adore ou reclame,
 Que l'œil qui m'a blessé, & le poil qui m'a
 pris.
 L'or de ces beaux cheueux cil des Indes
 surmonte,
 Les rais de ce bel œil font obscurcir de
 honte
 Les rayons du soleil quand plus cler il
 reluyl.
 Heureux donc qui captif dans ce beau
 poil demeure,
 Feru de l'œil qui peut faire vn iour d'vne
 nuit,
 Mais plus heureux encor s'il conuient qu'il
 y meure.

La rete fu di queste fila d'oro,
 In che'l mio pensier vago intricò l'ale;
 E queste ciglia l'arco, e'l guardo strale,
 E i feritor' questi begli occhj foro.
 Io son ferito, io son prigion per loro:
 La piaga è in messo il cor aspra e mortale;
 La prigion forte; e pur in tanto male,
 E chi ferimmi, e chi mi prese adoro.
 Per la dolce cagion del languir mio,
 O del morir, se potrà tanto il duolo,
 Languendo godo, e di morir desio;
 Pur ch'ella, non sapendo il piacer ch'io
 Del languir m'abbia e del morir, d'un solo
 Sospir mi degni, o d'altro affetto pio.

In like manner Sonnet XCI presents a close paraphrase of the twelfth sonnet:

L'vn vantera l'or frisé de ces tresses,
 L'autre cet œil qui fait honte au soleil,
 L'autre ce teint de cinabre vermeil,
 L'autre ce riz pour ses delicatesses.
 L'autre ce port imitant les Déesses,
 Ou ces deux brins de coral nompareil,
 Ou cette voix qui charme d'vn sommeil
 Le fier orgueil des plus fieres rudesses;
 Mais cest esprit qui descendu des cieux
 Flambe icy bas comme au temple des Dieux
 Flambe Cynthie, ou Venus, ou l'Aurore
 Ie veulx sans plus sur ma lyre chanter,
 Et de l'oubly ses vertus exempter,
 Maugré le tens qui les ans nous deuore.

Altri loderà il viso, altri le chiome
 De la sua donna, altri l'avorio bianco
 Onde formò natura il petto e'l fianco;
 Altri darà a' begli occhj eterno nome.
 Me non bellezza corruttibili, come
 Un ingegno divino ha mosso unquanco;
 Un animo così libero e franco,
 Come non senta le corporee some;
 Una chiara eloquenza che deriva
 Da un fonte di saper; una onestade
 Dicortesi atti, a leggiadria non schiva.
 Che s'in me fosse l'arte a la bontade
 De la materia ugal, ne farei viva
 Statua, che dureria più d'una etade.

Both these renderings may be compared to Du Bellay's versions of the same pieces in *l'Olive* (Nos. X and XVIII). As if to make up for his neglect of Bembo in *Amours*, Olivier de Magny intercalated several of the Cardinal's compositions in his second sonnet-sequence. Sonnet XXII, to which Sonnet II dealing with much the same theme may be compared, is manifestly adapted from Bembo's canzone: "O Rossigniol che'n queste verdi fronde," while containing reminiscences of his sonnet: "Soave augel ch'al mio dolce soggiorno" and of Petrarch's "Vago

angelletto che cantanda vai," the original parent of them all. Sonnet XLVII, in spite of a few variations in the phraseology, renders another of Bembo's sonnets with the usual literalness:

Ces beaux cheveux dorés, ce beau front
spacieux,
Ce teint blanc & vermeil, ce beau sourcil
d'ébène,
Cette bouche d'œillets & de musc toute
pleine,
Cet œil, ains ce soleil digne de luyre aux
cieux,
Cette gorge de lis, ce sein délicieux,
Oh Venus à l'esbat ces trois Graces ameine,
Ce beau port de Déesse, & ce chant de
Syrène,
Qui tire à scy le cœur des hommes & des
dieux:
Ce ris qui pœult fieschir le Scythe plus
sauvaige,
Cest esprit desia meur en son verdissant
age,
Et ce parler disert qui coule si tressoux,
Alument celle ardeur qui brule en ma
poitrine,
Dame, pour vostre amour, & sont encore en
vous,
Graces qu'à peu de gens la Nature destine.

Crin d'oro crespo, e d'ambra tersa e
pura,
Ch' a l'aura, su la neve, ondeggi e vole;
Oochi soavi e più chiari che'l Sole,
Da far giorno seren la notte oscura;
Riso, ch' acquetta ogni aspra pena dura;
Rubini e perle, ond' escono parole
Si dolci, ch' altro ben l'anima non vuole;
Man d'avorio, che i cor distringe e fura;
Cantar, che sembra d'armonia divina;
Senno maturo a la più verde etade:
Leggiadria non veduta unqua fra noi;
Giunta a somma beltà somma onestade,
Fur l'esca del mio foco; e sono in voi
Grazie, ch' a pochi il ciel largo destina.

Change of form does not prevent us from identifying Sonnet CLXXI ("Qui desire sçavoir quelle chose est amour") as a condensation of Bembo's famous *capitolo* "Amor è Donne care un vano e fello." The mention of Bembo leads naturally to a consideration of those of his disciples whose sonnets Olivier de Magny utilized for the composition of *Les Soupîrs*. For this cycle he did not make much use of Giolito's selection, as he had done for *Amours*, which goes to show that the range of his reading in the Venetian Petrarchists was wider than that represented by this popular anthology. He had recourse to Giolito (II, 133) once only for the material of Sonnet CLXXII, which faithfully reproduces a composition of an unknown author which had already served for Sonnet XCI of *l'Olive*:

Vos celestes beautez, Dame, rendez aux
cieux,
Et aux Graces rendez vos graces immortelles,
Et rendez vos vertus aux neuf doctes
pucelles,
Et au soleil rendez les rais de vos beaux
yeux.

Rendete al ciel le sue bellezze sole,
E le gratie a le gratie, onde conquiso
Havete ogn' alma, che vi mira fiso
Di cui più pianger, che parlar si suole.

Rendez, dame, rendez vostre ris gracieux,
Et de vostre beau sein les pomettes nouvelles
A la mere d'amour, qui les fait ainsi belles,
A fin d'enamourer les hommes & les dieux.

Rendez à Cupidon son arc & ses sagettes,
Dont vous rendez si bien les personnes sub-
gettes,

Et puis ayant rendu ces diuines beaultez,
Et toutes ces vertuz d'où vous les auez
prises,

Vous verrez qu' en rendant ces graces tant
exquises,

Vous vous trouuerez seule avec vos cruaultez.

Et rendete i pensier e le parole
E i sembianti e gli sguardi, e'l dolce riso,
Et tutti gli honor suoi al paradiso,
E al Sol rendete la beltà del Sole.

Et rendete ad Amor l'arco e lo strale;

Et rendete lor prima libertade
De l'alme tolta a i miseri mortali.

Che s'ogni altrui rendete in questa
etade;

Non restera se non con mille mali
Altro di vostro in voi che crudeltade.

Although Sonnet LXXII owes something to Petrarch's "Passa la nave mia colma d'obblio," it is evidently constructed, more particularly the two tercets, on the model of one, a distant descendant of the Petrarchan prototype, by Lodovico Domenichi:

A toute heure ie voy croistre l'ire &
l'orgueil

De l'orage cruel qui si fort me tempeste,
A toute heure ie voy cent flots dessus ma
teste,

Pour me faire en vn gouffre vn horrible
cercueil.

Mon bateau n'est chargé que d'angoisse
& de duel,

Et quelque temps qu'il face il est tousiours
en queste,

L'anchre, c'est ma raison qui iamais ne
l'arreste,

Pour peux d'un vent contraire ou crainte
d'un escueil.

Toy donc, mon Avanson, qui vois quel est
l'orage,

Et qui peux, si tu veux, me sauuer du nau-
frage,

M'esloignant du danger, du mal & du soucy,
Mets la main au tymon, & me fais faire
voile

En plus heureuse mer & sous plus douce
estoile,

D'un fauorable vent m'enleuant hors d'icy.

Io che solco d'amor le torbid' onde
Con mal securo e disarmato legno,
Non pur del ciel, ma di mia stella a sdegno,
Che già mostrommi il lume, or lo nasconde;
Sento procelle in mare aspre e profonde
Crescer più sempre, e non veggio alcun
senno.

Perch' io mi creda di salute degno,
Ma temo pur che il mio naviglio affonde.

Che debbio io far. Remigio? A cui mi
volgo?

Il periglio è vicino, lontano il porto
Sì, che le vele indarno anco raccolgo.

Tu che per prova sei nocchiero accorto
Porgi mano al mio scampo or ch'io ti tolgo
Per luce e guida in cammin cieco e torto.

Another Bembist¹ of later date, in the person of Orsatto Giustiniano of Venice, furnished the material for Sonnet LXXVII, in which the French poet may be said this time to have bettered his instruction:

Que verrez vous mes yeux desormais
d'agreable,
Puis qu'il me fault partir & changer de
sejour?

Oochj, perchè sì lieti oltre l'usato
Sieta, se pianto sol piacer vi suole?

¹ Here J. Vianey (*Le Pétrarquisme*, p. 211) points to Marcello Filosseno.

Que verrez vous mes yeux & de nuit & de
 iour,
 Qui ne vous soit par tout par trop espouven-
 table?
 Quel chemin prendrez vous, qui ne soit
 desuoyable
 Pauvres pieds douloureux, attendant le
 retour?
 Vous oreilles aussi pleines de mon amour,
 Que pourrez vous ouir qui ne soit effroyable?
 Bouche que ferez vous? ie paistray de
 fiel,
 Et de cris & de pleints ie rempliray le ciel.
 Mains, que toucherez vous? toutes choses
 horribles.
 Et toy mon pauvre cuer? ie mourray de
 langueur.
 Sus donq aprestez vous à ces tourments ter-
 ribles,
 Pauvres yeux, pieds & mains, bouche,
 oreilles & cuer.

Perchè tosto vedremo il nostro sole
 Da noi sì lungamente in van bramato.
 Orecchie, a che desir tanto v'è nato
 Di vostre parti usar? Perchè Amor vuole
 De le soavi angeliche parole
 Farci tosto messaggio al cor beato.
 Piedi, ond'è che sì pronto avete il passo?
 Perchè n'andremo a quelle luci sante,
 Ch'avrian virtù di far muovere un sasso.
 Ma tu, cor, perchè vai così tremante
 A tanta gioja? Perchè io temo, lasso,
 Di perir per dolcezza a lei davante.

Although in the following instance Olivier de Magny did not follow his pattern with his customary servility, it requires no great perspicacity to detect the original of Sonnet CXII in the well-known composition of Celio Magno, a friend of Giustiniano, whose fame lasted till the rise of the *Seicento*; Marino, coupling their names in one of the *Ritratti* of his *Galleria*, celebrates him and Giustiniano as "d'Apollo e d'Amor lumi gemelli:"

Dame, ie viens à toy ce poignard en ma
 main,
 Afin de te prier de finir mon martire,
 Ou bien en me donnant le bien que ie desire,
 Ou bien m'outreperçant de ce fer inhumain.
 Auras tu donc sur moy telle ire & tel
 dedain,
 Que du don de mercy me vouloir escondire?
 Auras tu donc sur moy tel dedain & telle ire.
 Que vouloir de ce fer m'outrepercer le sein?
 Sur-sus ne tarde plus, ie voy bien à ta
 mine
 Que tu me veux ficher ce fer dans la poitrine,
 Frens le donc, le voilà, occis moy vistement,
 etc.

Poichè nè il lungo mio gridar mercede
 Con voce dal dolor già stanca e vinta,
 Nè la fronte portar di morte tinta,
 Donna, al mio foco interno acquistan fede;
 Questo ferro prendete, e là ve siede
 L'imagin vostra nel mio cor dipinta,
 Fate a gli occhj la via, ch'ivi se finta,
 O se vera è mia fiamma, a pien si vede.
 Nè si resti per voi, stimando errore
 Quinci mostrar che dal benigno aspetto
 Abbiate dentro sì diverso il core, etc.

A consideration of Olivier de Magny's *Soupirs* would be incomplete without some mention of the famous sonnet to Charon ("Hola Charon, Charon, nautonnier infernal") which filled the court of Henry II with enthusiasm, and was set to music by the celebrated composer Orlando di Lasso. Although it requires no great knowledge of Italian poetry to suspect that it is derived

from one of the quattrocentists, it is only recently (1905) that its exact source has been determined by J. Vianey¹ (*Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XII, 467). The French scholar, taking a hint from one of E. Pèrcopo's publications,² has demonstrated that it is an elaboration of a *strambotto* ("Caron, Caron! Chi è l'importun que grida?") attributed to Marc' Antonio Magno di Santa Severina, a poet about whom very little is known, by Fabrizio Luna, the author of a curious work entitled *Vocabulario di cinq mila Vocabuli Toschi nō men oscuri che utili e neccesarij del Furioso, Boccaccio, Petrarca e Dante; novamēte dechiarati e raccolti* (Napoli, 1536). Magny probably heard it sung or recited at Rome during his stay there, or may have come across it in Luna's treatise, where it appears most unexpectedly in a chapter with the rubric "Di Q. Lettera."

This sonnet of Olivier de Magny has a special interest for students of English literature, and for that reason I may be excused for having dwelt on it more amply; it seems very probable that it was from it that Herrick, who is known to have been acquainted with the poetry of the *Pléiade*, derived the idea of his two dialogue pieces—*Charon and Philomel* (in *Hesperides*), and *Charon and Eucosmia, upon the Death of Henry, Lord Hastings*. The first piece especially, though considerably expanded, bears a close resemblance to what I take to be its original.

As far as I am aware at present the instances quoted in this paper represent fairly completely Olivier de Magny's indebtedness in *Amours* and *Soupirs* to the Italian sonneteers. The evidence is strong, not to say crushing, and it is difficult to see how the French poet can withstand the accusation of wholesale plagiarism. This charge being admitted, how does it affect our estimate of the poet? M. Favre (*op. cit.*, p. 153), with the zeal of a special pleader, and with startling irresponsibility, makes light of Olivier de Magny's lack of originality, though it must be admitted that he had no idea of its extent, by asserting that in the sixteenth

¹ H. Morf, in his manual on the French literature of the Renaissance (*Das Zeitalter der Renaissance*, 1896, p. 172), had already identified the source of Magny's sonnet, but, by a singular error, attributes to Fabrizio Luna the *strambotto* from which it is derived.

² The Italian original is published on p. 29 of E. Pèrcopo's *Madrigalisti napoletani anteriori al MDXXXVI* (Napoli, MDCCCLXXXVII).

century form was everything in love-poetry. This assertion contains a manifest exaggeration, but even if it conformed more exactly with the truth it could not affect our judgment of the case. Other critics, no better informed, have defended Olivier de Magny's methods and those of some of his fellows in the sixteenth century on equally erroneous grounds. They have argued that the poets of that time based their whole poetic scheme on imitation. Was not the basis of Du Bellay's poetic evangel imitation? They, too, have allowed their zeal to outrun their discretion. By "imitation" both Du Bellay and his chief Ronsard meant something very different from what we do. To them it spelt what may be called assimilation or *innutrition*, to borrow M. Faguet's word. They have made their meaning plain in more than one passage. The poet was urged, as in the *Défense* for example, to imitate the ancients and the Italians, but only in the sense that he must absorb and digest their ideas to his own use—"se transformant en eux, les devorant, et, apres les avoir bien digerez, les convertissant en sang et nourriture."¹ He might adopt the images, the turns, and even the thoughts of his model, provided he breathed into them that undefined and intangible thing, the soul of real poetry, which we call spirit. This is how Ronsard and Du Bellay understood poetry; their aim and ideal was what may be called original imitation. They did not always realize their ambition—in fact it was only fully realized by the great poets of the seventeenth century—yet their teaching and their works leave no doubt on that score. True they faltered at first, but no one would think of judging Ronsard on his Pindaric *Odes* or Du Bellay on *l'Olive*, that mosaic of Petrarchan conceits. That would be a vital error, substituting the accidental and the exceptional for the essential. To set off against this borrowed tinsel they have store enough of precious jewels, chiseled with incomparable art, which live and always will, while the originals are long since forgotten. They did not copy; they created anew, and their own genius infused and molded the matter they drew from foreign sources. In this sense, and in this sense only, can their poetry be called imitative. The case is very different with Olivier de Magny. He

¹ *La deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, I, 7.

did copy. Except in his *Odes*,¹ by which he must stand or fall, he rarely succeeded in emancipating himself from servile imitation. He failed to assimilate his models, and now that the nature and extent of his plagiarisms have been revealed, it seems evident that a large proportion at least of his sonnets must be relegated to the rank of interesting literary exercises. A cursory perusal of the sonnets quoted will, I think, suffice to attest the justice of my conclusions.

L. E. KASTNER

ABERYSTWYTH
September, 1908

¹ The *Odes*, published in 1559, consist of four books. The longer odes, addressed to various friends and patrons, are wearisome enough reading, but the shorter and more lively pieces of the three latter books reveal genuine poetic gifts. In some of the *Odes Magny* borrowed from Horace and Theocritus, on the whole with good taste and discrimination.

SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES

Etymologien beweist man nicht, sie müssen durch die ihnen inwohnende Schlagkraft wirken. Aber man kann bei einer guten Etymologie doch jederzeit manches anführen, was zu ihrer Bestätigung dient.—Skutsch, Festschrift C. F. W. Müller, 1900, p. 85.

1. *Anviso*

The word occurs also as *ambiso*; once, *Fuero Juzgo* p. 3 V. L. 30, I have found *ambisso*, an incorrect spelling as shown by the rimes S. Mill. 9 *ambisa*: *guisa*: *divisa*: *aguisa*, 460 *parayso*: *promtso*: *anviso*: *mtso*, *Milagr.* 14 *paraíso*: *mtso*: *anviso*: *viso*.

Anviso < **ante visu* as *annado* < *ante natu*. The intermediate stage is seen in *Fuero Juzgo* p. 3 V. L. 33 *ant viso*. The *Thesaurus* has *antevidet* (*Prud. apoth.* 804) and *ante vident* (*Claud.* 20, 500).

For the spelling *ambiso*, s. Meyer-Lübke I §484. For the formation *ambisa* S. Mill. 9 = sagacity, s. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* §80, 3; Meyer-Lübke II §486. Cf. *vista*.

As for the meaning of *anviso* = foreseeing, far-seeing, sagacious etc., *anviso* has joined the large number of perfect passive participles which have taken on active meaning, or more strictly in our case, present active meaning, s. Nebrija (*Viñaza* c. 402), *Correas*, *Arte de la Lengua española* (*Viñaza*) p. 185, *Bello-Cuervo* §1117, *Diez* p. 956 (= III p. 264), Meyer-Lübke III §13, *Lang*, *Canc. gall.-cast.* I p. 162. Cf. *auanuisto*: *Prim. Crón. Gen.* p. 541 a 15 *enuio a aquel onrrado don Yugo abbat de Crunniego a rogarle que enuiasse un uaron sabio et auanuisto en las cosas que eran de fazer; mirado* (Nebrija); *percibido*: *Fuero Juzgo* p. 2 b *Deve* (sc. *El fazedor de las leyes*) *seer muy percibido en dar conseio*, *Sacrif.* 72 *Dixole* (sc. *à su compañía*) *que velase, soviessse percibida; apercibido* (*Cuervo, Dicc.*);¹ *It. avveduto* (*Diez*).

In *enuiso*, which I have found as early as *Calila* (*Allen*) p. 60,

¹Cf. Old Fr. *perceû*, *aperceû* *Tobler, Mélanges* I p. 186; Old Port. *apercebudo* *Lang, Denis* p. 124.

5 etc. and as late as Lucas Fernandez pp. 145, 206,¹ the frequent prefix *en-* has replaced *an-*.

A Latin *ante visu*, at least in Spain, is further attested by the learned form *anteviso*: Fuero Juzgo p. 3 b *El iuez deve seer entendudo en iudgar derecho: deve seer muy anteviso . . .*²

2. Fr. *par cœur*, Sp. *de coro*

1. Tobler, Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Ak., 1904, p. 1272, has shown that *cœur* in such phrases as *savoir par cœur* etc. is connected with *cor*, not with *chorus* as D'Ovidio suggested. He foresaw also that an investigation of the history of Sp. *saber de coro* would not change this fact. The instances Tobler lacked at the time to corroborate his idea, I supply here with the pleasure a grateful pupil feels when he can be of some service to his revered teacher.

Old Sp. *cuer* = memory, *saber de cuer* = to know by heart. This form is the predecessor of *saber de coro*. Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 215) *E los clerigos ensinen á los fijos de la iglesia é á los infantes el credo yn Deum, et el pater noster, asi que lo tengan de cor* (V. L. *Assi que lo saban decor*).³ Sacrificio 164 *Dice* (sc. el Sacerdot) *essas palabras, ca de cor* (Janer *cort*) *las retiene*. Alex. 18 *Nada non oluidaua* (sc. Alexandre) *de quanto que oya, Nunca oya* (l. *oye*) *razon que en(!) coraçon* (l. *cuer*) *non tenia* (Morel-Fatio 18 *non le caye de mano quanto que veye*). 38 (Alexander speaks) *De cuer* (M.-F. 39 *cor*) *sey los actores, de liuro non he cura*. 717 *Porque tenie* (sc. Alexandre) *los nomnes todos de coraçon*. 1637 *Escreuió* (sc. Apelles) [*y*] *la cuenta ca de cor* (M.-F. 1778 *coraçon*) *la sabia*. Appoll. 597 *Reçibieron* (sc. el conçeio de Tarsso) *al Rey commo ha su ssennyor, Cantando los responssos de libro e de cor*. Boc. Oro p. 157 (Timaeus to Socrates) *Si algund omne te encontrase en la carrera e te preguntase por alguna cosa de saber, ¿ terrnias por bien de lo dexar*

¹ The glossary reads *envíso*, the original ed. has at least once (p. 145) *embiso*, Caffete prints both times *en viso*.

² Cf. Fuero de Sepúlveda p. 76 *Juez sabidor, é anvíao, é entendedor*.

³ The Latin text, La Fuente, Hist. de las Universidades [I], 1884, p. 58, reads: "Doceant autem clerici filios Ecclesiae, et infantes, ut symbolum et orationem Dominicam memoriter teneant."

fasta que tornases a tu posada a catar en tus libros? E pues esto non es bien pugna de saber lo que sopieres de coraçon. 7 Part. (1807) I pp. 20 *Ca saber las leyes non es tan solamente en aprender et decorar (V. L. en aprender de corazon) las letras dellas, mas en saber el su verdadero entendimiento.* 258 *et por ende deben (sc. los exôrcistas) saber estas conjuraciones de cuer porque las sepan decir quando menester fuere.*¹ Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 94a 49 *nunqua Julio Cesar tantas batallas ouo ni tantos embargos, ni ouo tanto de ueer que dexasse de leer ni de estudiar noche ni dia, et de aprender muy de coraçon.* 164a 44 *et retenie (sc. Sant Poncio) bien de coraçon lo que aprendie.*

During all this time there existed also *coro* < *choru* e. g. S. Dom. 88, S. Mill. 306.

The earliest instances of *de coro* which I have noted, belong to the sixteenth century. But the number of Spanish texts at my disposal is small. Moreover I have not read them systematically. The cases are: Torres Naharro I p. 386 (Mofiz to Osorio, who belittles something—the context is not quite clear to me) *¿Qué dectis, que no os agrada? No sabeis el bien de coro: Voto á Dios, para ensalada Que vale su peso d'oro.* II p. 313 (here too the context is not clear to me) *Pues á osadas Que cualquier danza de espadas, Que os la sabia de coro.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II p. 202 Pastor. *¡Cuerpo ahora del rey moro, Alegais por buena cuenta Her contra Dios herramienta Y encrabblo como á toro! Herrero. No, hermano, mas sé de coro Que su corazon cubierto(,) Convino que fuese abierto Do manó nuestro tesoro.* Venegas, Agon[ía de la Muerte] punt. 4 cap. 3. *Vemos que la memória del celébro se halla en el corazón virtualmente, de donde tuvo origen esta habla Castellana, con que decimos tomar de coro, por decir tomar de corde, ò de corazón.*² Villalón, Viaje de Turquía p. 19b (NBAE II) *Vinome a la mano vn buen libro de medicina . . . y nunca hazia sino leer en él . . . y como yo tengo buena memoria, tomélo todo de coro.* Autos (Rouanet) III p. 334, 145 (Bobo to Amor Divino) *Señor, ya*

¹ The Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*, probably following one of the earlier editions of the 7 Part., none of which is accessible to me, has *de coro* instead of *de cuer* and continues: "porque las sepan decir de coro, quando menester fuere."

² Quoted from Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*.

sabra de coro que yo no so tan culpado, pues a mi me an cristianado; que aquestotro, qu'es moro, meresçe pesar doblado. Timoneda(?) (Pedroso) p. 84a Cristóbal. *Pues, Pedro, sé mi pastor Y apascienta mis ovejas.* Pedro. *Quisiera, buen Mayoral, Saberte honrar muy de coro.* Barahona de Soto (Rodríguez Marín) p. 736 *Y así, el que vive en miserable vida Tenga este verso escrito muy de coro: "Que nunca medra quien de sí se olvida."* Fonsec. Vid. de Christ. tom. I. lib. I. cap. 2. *Pero la doctrina de Christo Señor nuestro la hizo tan notoria, que saben ahora de coro los niños lo que los sabios entonces no alcanzaron.*¹

Small as the number of instances is, we can add to the meanings of *de coro* given by the dictionaries, that of "certainly, firmly, well."

2. Perhaps *de coro* came into existence in the following way. Very early from *de cuer* (*cor*) a verb *decorar* = *tener de cuer* was formed. Similarly Prov. *decorar*, cf. Tobler, op. cit. p. 1277 note. As to such formations, s. Paul, *Prinzip. d. Sprachgesch.*², p. 226. S. Oria 170 *Non echó esti sueño la duenna en olvido, Ni lo que li dixiera Garcia su marido: Recontógelo todo a Munno su querido: El decorólo todo como bien entendido.* 171 *Bien lo decoró eso como todo lo al, Bien gelo contó ella, non lo aprendió (el) mal, Por end(e) de la su vida fizo libro caudal: Yo ende lo saque (esto) de esi su misal.* Alfonso, Lapidario f° 111 r° b *et presta* (sc. la piedra Anxoniz) *alos moços pora aprender leer et pora decorar todos los saberes.* Calila p. 4, 10 (Berzebuey speaks) *e ley libros, e conosçt e sope sus entendimientos, e afirmóse enel mi coraçon lo que ley delas escripturas delos filosofos. Et decoré las palabras delos sabios, e las questiones que fazian vnos aotros, e las disputaçiones que fazian entre sy.* 7 Part. I p. 20 *Ca saber las leyes non es tan solamente en aprender et decorar las letras dellas, mas en saber el su verdadero entendimiento.* Juan Ruiz (Ducamin) 1200 *Por ende cada vno esta fabla decuere: quien asu enemigo popa a las sus manos muere*

Cf. also *decorado* = *instruido, que sabe de memoria* (Sanchez). S. Mill. 22 *Fue en poco de tiempo el pastor psalteriado, De imnos*

¹ Quoted from Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*.

è de canticos sopra bien decorado. Milagr. 745 *Si ante fo Teofilo bien quisto è amado, Fo depues mas servido è mucho maspreciado: Dios sennero lo sabe, que es bien decorado, Si li venie por Dios ò si por el peccado.*

From this *decorar* derives the postverbal **decoro* = memory, a late formation as the lack of the diphthong shows. It was immediately combined with about the same verbs as *de cuer*. Through haplology then *saber de coro* instead of *saber de decoro*. For cases of *de* instead of *de de*—, s. Rinconete y Cortadillo (Rodríguez Marín) p. 341; Tobler, *Mél.* p. 286 note.

3. *Duecho*

1. Corresponding to O. Fr. *duit d'aucune chose* etc.,¹ O. Pr. *doch*, *dueg de*, *dueich*, *dueitz de*, *dug de*, *du[e]g*,² *duitz*, *duh de*,³ O. Port. *doito de* etc.,⁴ we have in Spanish *ducho en* etc.⁵ As the sixteenth century is represented in Cuervo only by one instance (from Valdés), I may add a few more. Lucas Fernandez p. 147 *Pues días ha que ño lo he ducho.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I p. 416 *desque al mal está ducho, Es muy recio de volver.* Lope de Rueda (1896) II p. 47 *pudíeraste llamar de veras bienaventurado, si fueras como yo ducho en amores.* Autos (Rouanet) II p. 434, 412 *Ducha estoy a la verdad de semejantes baldones.* And two Asturian cases: Caveda, *Poesías sel. en dial. ast.* pp. 71 (s. XVII) *una diosa. . . . Ducha en treveyos, ducha en esperanza.* 132 (s. XVIII) *ye muy llistu nes guerres Y muy duchu en gobernar.*

Besides *ducho* we find *duecho*. This form is not so rare as Meyer-Lübke, *ZrP.* XXVII p. 252, and Baist, *Krit. Jahresber.* VIII, I p. 201, seem to think.⁶ Apart from Milagr. 149 *La madre gloriosa duecha de accorrer*, the instance to which Meyer-Lübke and Baist refer, I have noted: *Prim. Crón. Gen.* pp. 209b 28 *las*

¹ Cf. Richars li Biaus 2446 note; Godefroy s. v. *Duire*.

² Cf. Levy, *Prov. Suppl.-Wb.* s. v. *Dozer*.

³ Cf. Levy, *op. cit.* s. v. *Duire*.

⁴ Cf. Lang, *ZrP.* XXXII p. 394.

⁵ Cf. Cuervo, *Diec.* s. v.

⁶ "Duecho ist nur einmal handschr. bei Berceo überliefert, neben sonst einzig vorhandenem regelmässigem ducho (Sp. Spr. 23) . . . ich fürchte, dass duecho ein Fehler ist."

otras bestias brauas que son duechas (V. L. *duechas* EC, *duchas* OQBN) *de comer los cuerpos muertos*. 210 b 48 *et no eran duchos* (V. L. *duchos* EC etc., *duechos* Q) *de obedecer a ningun sennor estranno*. Encina¹ p. 122 *Quien es duecho de dormir Con el ganado de noche, No creas que no reproche El palaciego vivir*. Garay 399 *Quien de mucho mal es duecho, poco bien le abasta*.² Garay (Sbarbi, Refran. VII p. 65) *ya duecha es la loba de la sogá*. D. Quix. I ch. vii *el* (sc. Sancho) *no estaua duecho a andar mucho a pie*. Finally we have the statement of Covarruvias (1674) s. v. *Dvcho*: "*Dvcho*, en language antiguo Castellano, vale tanto como acostumbrado, del verbo Latino *duco ducis*. xi. *ductum*, porque la costumbre lleva tras si al hombre, si con particular aduertencia no se vâ a la mano. Algunos dizen *duecho*. no estoy *duecho*, no estoy acostumbrado, etc."

2. Concerning previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms, I confine myself to the following remarks. Du Cange s. v. *Ductus* mentions a "*Vetus placitum ann. 876 editum a Baluzio in Append. ad Capitul. n. 104*"³ containing the phrase *mandatarius . . . qui legibus Ductus est*. Carpentier ib. observes: "*Legibus enim ductus, idem mihi est quod, in legibus peritus, exercitatus; unde vetus Gallicum Duit, eodem intellectu, a verbo Duire, docere vel addiscere*." There follow instances ss. XIV. XV.

Foerster, Rom. Stud. III p. 181, derives Fr. *duit* "kundig," Norm. *deit*, from *dpectum*, (Pr. *dohtz* in *ohtz larg*).

Levy enters *doch*—*du[e]g* under *Dozer*, *duitz*—*duh* under *Duire*.

Cornu, Gröber's Grundr. I p. 932, connects *adoito* "acostumado" with *edoctus*. Lang, ZrP. XXXII p. 394, refers for *doito de* etc. to O. Sp. *duecho* and Prov. *duch*, to Lanchetas (who deserves no mention), to Menéndez Pidal, Manual §122,

¹ Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. §3, 3, asserts: "en Lucas Fns. *duecho* < *dōctu*." Probably a slip of memory for Encina. I have noted in Lucas Fernandez only *ducho* e. g. p. 147.

² Quoted from Cejador y Frauca, La Lengua de Cervantes II s. v. *Ducho*. He continues: "De *doctus* = *docto* salió *duecho* . . ." Not to be found in the ed. of Garay by Sbarbi, Refranero VII. For the correct form of the proverb, s. Valdés, Dial. de la Lengua (Böhmer) p. 383, 35.

³ I have not been able to verify this reference. Nor do I know of other examples of *ductus* = *peritus*. *Educere* = *educare* (Du Cange) is, of course, well known.

2 *ducho* < *ductu*, and to ZrP. XIX p. 535. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, at the latter place, says: "Ob [*doito*] auf *doctus* oder *ductus* zurückzuführen ist, steht übrigens noch nicht fest." In a note appended to this statement she seems to favor *ductus*.

Sanchez, II p. 503, expresses himself thus: "Aunque parece que [*duecho*] viene de *ductus*, creo con mas probabilidad que de *doctus* que significa enseñado y vale tanto muchas veces como *acostumbrado*. Tambien es prueba de esto el diptongo *ue* de *duecho* que suele tomarse de la *o* latina, como *bueno* de *bonus*." According to Cornu, Romania XIII p. 293, *duecho* Milagros 149 = **duityo*. (?) Cuervo treats *ducho* and *duecho* under *Ducho*, derives *doito*, Prov. *duich*, *duit*, part. of *duire*, O. Fr. *duit*, *duire* from *ducere*, and confesses: "La forma *duecho* (Covarr.) es menos fácil de explicar en cuanto á la fonética." For an opinion by Menéndez Pidal, s. my note p. 6. Salvioni, Rom. XXXI p. 281, seeks the etymon of *duecho* in *dūctus*. His arguments are opposed by Meyer-Lübke, ZrP. XXVII p. 252, and Baist who, Krit. Jahresber. VIII, p. 201, remarks: "[*duecho*] könnte in einem asturisch-leonesischen Strich lautgerecht sein, nicht im Osten. Aber auch für *doctus* ist dort keine Analogie zu erbringen, *docho* fehlt kastilisch." If I am not mistaken, neither *docto* nor *doto* is found in Spain as early as *duecho*. There remains then only *ductu* as etymon. And that *duecho* comes from *ductu*, I hope to show by the following consideration.

3. Especially in Leonese-Asturian and Navarrese-Aragonese texts, and quite frequently, are noticed, besides the regular forms, some with the unwarranted diphthong *ie* or *ue*. A list of the latter may not be amiss.¹ This list is far from exhausting the matter; it does not even contain all of my material. I have omitted verb-forms, also infinitives and participles and their derivatives, finally words which it would take me here too long to discuss. For my purposes the list is sufficient.

¹ The list was arranged when Menéndez Pidal kindly presented me with a copy of his *Cantar de Mio Cid* I. On p. 150 he brings some cases of *ue* that supplement mine, and for these I refer the reader to him. I have thought it best to avail myself here only of his examples of *frueyt* and *adueyto*.

I. *ie*a) = Spanish *e* < Latin *ai***liegos** Fuero Juzgo p. 16 V. L.¹ 31 Esc. 6.² Fuero de Salamanca (1870) pp. 78, 95.b) = $e < a + ct$ **fiechos** F. Juzgo pp. II V. L. 7 Esc. 6; 9 VV. LL. 24 Esc. 6; 47 Esc. 6.c) = $e < \bar{e}$ **riegla** F. Juzgo p. 100 V. L. 8 Esc. 1. Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 214). Libros de Astr. III p. 164.**rienes** F. Juzgo p. 109 V. L. 9 Camp.**sied** Sacrificio 22. Milagr. 57. 312. Fuero general de Navarra (1869) pp. 13a, 41b, 48a, 61a, 64a, 101b, 102a, 103ab, 104b, 105b, 106ab, 107b, 108a, 118a (*siedes*), 123a, 124a³—50b(*sed*).**sieto**⁴ F. Juzgo p. 146 VV. LL. 7 Esc. 6; 30 B. R. 1. F. Navarra pp. 37a, 70a, 100b, 126ab, 128b.d) = $e < i$ **cabiezas** F. Juzgo p. 9 V. L. 25 Esc. 6.**ciercos** F. Juzgo p. 105 V. L. 32 B. R. 1.⁵**dientro** Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 215). Libros de Astr. I pp. 121, 122, 123. Rato y Hévía s. v.**yende** F. Juzgo p. 10 V. L. 29 Esc. 3. and Camp.**inieces** F. Juzgo p. 105 V. L. 7 S. B. "y así otras veces."e) = $i < i$

In the following two cases the Castilian forms show an *i* which is unexplained.

1. a) But over against *sin* in Castile, we have *sen* in Leon, Asturias (Rato y Hévía), Galicia (Cuveiro) etc.: Fuero de Avilés 22. Concilio de Leon (Muñoz pp. 81, 84); cf. *β*. Concilios de Leon (1267) (Esp. Sagr. XXXVI pp. 230, 231, 232 etc.). F. Juzgo pp. iii. ix, xi etc. Alex. 109 (M.-F. 121 reads differently), 121 (M.-F. 133 *syn*—*Sin*), 385 (M.-F. *syn*) etc. Torres Naharro I pp. 226, 228. The form is likewise fre-

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the text has the Castilian form.

² From MS Esc. 6 and next to it MS B. R. 1, as will be seen, come most of the instances. According to Hansen, Conj. leonesa p. 8, the former represents an Asturian version, the latter the Leonese. It is a pity that nothing more definite can be said.

³ Through influence of *siella*?

⁴ If from *septu*, Gröber, Arch. lat. Lex. V p. 465.

⁵ The text has *ciercos*. The Castilian form corresponding to the meaning of the passage is *cercos*.

⁶ The text reads *alcaldes*, the Latin original, p. 81a note: "De personis iudicum."

quent in Navarre: F. Navarra pp. 7b, 8a, 17a, 20a, 35a, 42b etc.—*senes* 21a, 23b, 74a. Brutails, Documents des Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre pp. 11, 19, 46. *Sen* could be the basis of

β) *sien*. F. Juzgo p. 160a. Concilio de Leon (Muñoz pp. 74, 79 [V. L. *sen*; cf. α]). Carta de Hermandad . . . Valladolid 1298 (Esp. Sagr. XXXVI Ap. pp. clxii, clxiii, clxviii).—*sienes* Leyendas de José (Robles) pp. 191 n., 201 n., 211 n., 214 n. etc.

2. *dumiengo* F. Juzgo p. 13 V. L. 14 Esc. 3. Valuable also on account of the *umlaut*.

f) = *i* < *ī*

lient = *linde* F. Navarra p. 120 b.

If a midform with *e* has never existed, how are we to account for the form with *ie*? I venture to suggest that *liende* may be the result of the equation *timpo*: *ttempo* = *linde*: *liende*. If such an equation is admissible, it would likewise explain *dumiengo* and also *sien*.

II *ue*

a) = *o* < *au*

pueco F. Juzgo pp. 3 V. L. 17 Esc. 6; 35 V. L. 16 Esc. 5.

b) = *o* < *o* < *au*

puebres F. Juzgo pp. VI V. L. 24 S. B., Esc. 6. (*puebres*); 19 V. L. 2 Esc. 6; 29 V. L. 21 Esc. 6. and E. R.; 30 V. L. 18 Esc. 6; 32 V. L. 15 E. R. (*puebres*).

c) = *o* < *ō*

fuerma F. Juzgo p. 2 VV. LL. 5 Esc. 6. "y así despues;" 12 Esc. 6

d) = *o* < *ū*

estuenza F. Juzgo pp. IV V. L. 15 B. R., Esc. 2. (*estuenze*);¹ 5 V. L. 42 B. R. 3. and Esc. 1. (*estuenze*); 47 V. L. 34 B. R. 1. (*estuenze*); 159 V. L. 19 B. R. 1; 169 V. L. 9 B. R. 1. (*estuencia*); 171 V. L. 31 B. R. 1. (*estuencia*). Lope de Rueda I pp. 223 and 225 (*entuenzes*—the word is used by Pablos Lorenzo, simple).² Autos III p. 420, 266 (*estuençes*—Bobo). Lope, Las famosas Asturianas (BAE. XLI p. 482ab *estuenzes*).³

¹ The text has *estoncia*, in the other cases *estonze*, *estonce*.

² A Galician? The same "simple" uses *prepuñito* (p. 194), *conueces* (p. 201). But the same and other words of similar kind (e. g. *neguecios* I p. 149) occur also in the speech of other "simples."

³ In the same play appear *miesma* (pp. 473 c, 475 b, 482 c), *nieña* (p. 475 a). If these words were coined by Lope, as others surely are, they nevertheless deserve mentioning for they are well coined, conforming with a tendency of the "lenguaje antiguo" that had not escaped such a strict observer as was the poet.

luedo F. Juzgo p. 6 V. L. 10 Esc. 2.

puelvo F. Juzgo p. 177 V. L. 7 Malp. 2.

e) = $u < \ddot{u} + lt$

a) In some community of Leon-Asturias (and of Navarre Aragon?), or at least in the mouths of some individuals, the Latin groups *lt*, *ct* following *ü* (and even *ū*) have not prevented the latter vowel from becoming *o*. Thus we find *mocho*: F. Juzgo pp. I V. L. 27 Esc. 6; 22 V. L. 26 E. R.; 24 V. L. 33 E. R. and Esc. 2; 43 V. L. 18 B. R. 2. Carlos Maynes p. 511a (NBAE. VI). Perhaps through Galician influence? Cf. Gal. *moito*, *froita*, Cornu §32. From such a form may have developed

β) **muechas** F. Juzgo p. 24 V. L. 33 S. B.¹

f) = $u < \ddot{u} + ct$

a) F. Juzgo p. 156b *así que en aquellos treinta dias non coman condocho* (V. L. *conducho*). **Docho* then may be considered the midform of

β) **duecho**. At any rate, the etymology *duecho* < *ductu* is further well supported by such unmistakable diphthongized forms from *ducere* as Crón. S. Juan de la Peña (1870) p. 25 *los ditos xpistianos* (!) *indueytos*² *de mas abundosa . . . deuocion*; 44 *Muerto el dito Emperador et el departimiento de las tierras et acabamiento adueyto, senyorió . . . Remiro*;³ 52 *el cuerpo de San Indaleci et de San Jayme . . . fué adueyto por reliquias en Sant Iohan de la Penya*.⁴ A[rchiv.] H[ist.] Benedictinas de Santa Cruz de Jaca *adueyto*.⁵

The semasiological side of the etymology does not require any discussion, cf. Foerster, Rom. Stud. III p. 181.

g) = $u < \bar{u} + ct$

a) **frocho** F. Juzgo pp. I V. L. 22 Esc. 6; 27 V. L. 5 E. R.

β) "**frueyt**, dos veces en un docum. en catalán, A H Benedictinas de Santa Cruz de Jaca . . . año 1294; y **fruyto** (*ua* = *ue* en bastantes documentos aragoneses) . . . en documento aragonés del mismo convento de Jaca."⁶

¹ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I p. 150, cites a case of *muecho* from the *Fuero de Sepúlveda*. To the best of my knowledge the word is not met with in the text. The glossary contains it, but the glossary is "para la mejor inteligencia de este fuero [de Sepúlveda] y otros." The editor Callejas has taken the word from the glossary of the F. Juzgo.

² Lat. text "inducti."

³ "Mortuo quidem dicto Imperatore, et partitione terrarum effectualiter facta . . ."

⁴ "corpora . . . fuerunt translata."

⁵ Quoted from Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I p. 150 note 2.

h) = $u < \bar{u}$

- fuerto** F. Juzgo pp. 91 V. L. 16 S. B.; 101b; 119 V. L. 13 S. B.
nuedo¹ Libros de Astr. I pp. 83 and 140. II p. 251. Juan García de Vynuesa² (Canc. Baena (1851) p. 446b: *muedo*; Michel II p. 99b: *denuedo*). Thus still in Colunga, Munthe Anteckn. p. 81.
suelco F. Navarra p. 45a.

Similar to the case of *liende*, *suelco* etc. may be the result of the equation *furza*:³ *fuerza* = *sulco*: *súelco*. In fact, I feel more and more inclined to believe that equations like those mentioned are admissible (cf. §4), and that they will explain all the cases of the false diphthong *ue* or *ie* as contrasted with Castilian forms with *u* or *i*, so that midforms with *o* or *e* are not absolutely needed.

4. Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. §3, 1, states with regard to such forms as *fuerma*, *luedo*, *pueco* that they are due "á falsa corrección del dialecto leonés hablado por gallegos que, habituados á poner diptongo leonés en voces que en gallego tenían *o*, ponían fuera de propósito otras veces *ue* donde el leonés no tenía sino *o* como el gallego." In the light of the material presented in §3, this statement needs revision. It neither takes into account the cases of Leon.-Ast. *ue* over against Cast. *u*, nor those of *ie* over against Cast. *e*, respectively *i*, nor finally the cases of the false diphthong *ue* or *ie* in Navarre-Aragon. Need we, for the explanation of the latter fact, have recourse to Galician, respectively Catalan scribes? I think not, and offer the following simpler solution. Spanish diphthongization of tonic *ě*, *ô*, if it did not originate in Castile and spread from there to Leon-Asturias and Navarre-Aragon, checked by the influence of Galician-Portuguese (respectively Catalan), took on well-established forms earlier in Castile than in Leon-Asturias and in Navarre-Aragon. This fact is amply illustrated by a comparison of thirteenth-century documents from Castile with other documents from Leon-Asturias and Navarre-Aragon. The latter show not only far less consistency

¹ < *nudu*, Menéndez Pidal, Manual §2 (p. 6).

² "fué, á lo que parece, natural de Vynuesa de Melgar, en la provincia de Soria," Canc. Baena (1851) p. 685a.

³ Cf. F. Juzgo pp. III V. L. 10 Esc. 6. "y así otras veces;" 4 V. L. 16 Esc. 6; 53 V. L. 6 Esc. 6.

in the treatment of tonic ě, ō, but also—and with equal inconsistency—diphthongization of ě, ō even where it is not found in Castilian, viz. before palatals. Cf. Gessner, D. Leonesische p. 5; Munthe, Anteckn. p. 29; Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. p. 18. The same “unsichere sprachgefühl” manifests itself in *mocho* etc. Under the circumstances we may safely seek the authors of *fuerna* etc. in Leon-Asturias, respectively Navarre-Aragon.

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BIOLOGICAL ANALOGY IN LITERARY CRITICISM

II

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

In the special preface written by Ferdinand Brunetière for the English edition of his *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française* the late French critic applies the theory of evolution to the history of literature in the following words:

A given variety of literature, the English drama of the sixteenth century, or the French comedy of the seventeenth century, or the English novel of the eighteenth century is in process of development, slowly organizing itself, under the double influence of the interior and exterior environment. The movement is slow and the differentiation almost insensible. Suddenly and without its being possible to give the reason, a Shakspeare, a Molière, or a Richardson appears, and forthwith not only is the variety modified but new species have come into being: psychological drama, the comedy of character, the novel of manners. The superior adaptability and power of survival of the new species are at once recognized and proved indeed in practice. It is vain that the older species attempt to struggle, their fate is sealed in advance. The successors of Richardson, Molière and Shakspeare copy these unattainable models until, their fecundity being exhausted—and by their fecundity I mean their aptitude for struggling with kindred and rival species—the imitation is changed into a routine which becomes a source of weakness, impoverishment and death to the species.

In this concise formulation—too concise to touch anything deeper than the surface phenomena of literary change—Brunetière does find a place for the individual. He does not succeed, however, in showing just what part the individual consciousness plays in variation, and as he sticks closely to biological terms the parallelisms observed are apparent rather than real. Nowhere does he descend to the real psychological nature of the process involved, and so fails to grasp clearly the genetic relation between all the factors observed. Just as little do his concluding sentences give an adequate explanation of the survival of species in litera-

ture. An analysis of the actual process by virtue of which literary forms survive until supplanted by others will show that their perpetuation depends upon psychological and not biological conditions. Competition between rival species, as in the animal world, there cannot be, and it would be better to omit the word "struggle" altogether from this phase of the problem. However much its use may seem justified from an external point of view, this word fails utterly to give adequate conception of what is really involved. The fitness of literary forms to survive is not a fitness for struggle for itself but a fitness for assimilation and reproductive imitation on the part of others. A literary species does not perish because it has been crowded out by rival species, but because it has lost its utility for the society upon which its life depends. Even at that, certain individual representatives of a given species may outlive the type of which they formed the most conspicuous members. But at the risk of again being tedious we must begin at the beginning.

Natural selection in biology depends essentially upon two factors: the geometric ratio at which a species of plants or animals, if unchecked, will multiply, and the limited food supply in a given environment. The advantage which one species or one individual has over another in the struggle for existence arises from some variation which enables that species or individual to obtain a greater amount of food. Whether the variation in question arose by slow and insensible differences in a fixed direction over a long period of time, as Darwin thought, or whether it came into existence suddenly as one of many variations in several different directions, according to the theory of De Vries, makes no difference. Its perpetuation as the dominant characteristic of the species would depend on its utility to the species itself in the competition with rival species. Stress must be laid on the point here that it is of utility to the species itself. The influence of a variation on the environment is a different question—for the mutual relation, the give-and-take between biological species and their environment, does not exist in any sense analogous to that found in the institutions which form the tissue of human society.

If the factors involved here bear any analogy to the propagation and variation of species in literature, it can only be in relation to those gifted individuals in society through whom literary species are perpetuated and modified. In a former paragraph we tried to define the part played by the individual consciousness in the perpetuation and variation of literary forms. We insisted upon the fact that this consciousness was the medium in which and through which all changes took place. Variation whether definite or indefinite was found to depend in some degree upon the aesthetic inventive power of the individual producer. In like manner the amount of literature produced and the number of variations taking place at any given period must depend directly on the the number of individuals producing it, multiplied by their average productive power. If this be granted, then the question that emerges is: are there any grounds for assuming that a struggle for existence between literary species could arise at any given time, from the fact that the amount of literature or the number of variations produced is greater than the assimilating power, i. e., the consumption of the society for which it is produced? Without touching upon the real nature of literary propagation here we may at once answer this question in the negative.

The fact that man in his social relations, to a certain extent, transcends mere biological law has long been recognized by anthropologists and sociologists. By virtue or by defect of social relations based on intelligent co-operation there is no struggle for existence, no survival of the fittest in human society.

The lack of any selection, natural or artificial, in the propagation of the human species has led to the condition characterized as "panmixia" by Weissmann. As only the notoriously unfit—the criminal and the insane—are socially suppressed, the result may often be the increase of those classes in society which are less desirable. This state of affairs has in our day not escaped the critical eye of Bernard Shaw, as all familiar with his *Superman* know. But the point to be emphasized is that there is no tendency to perpetuate literary talent or genius in human society in the same sense as useful variations would be perpetuated in a biological species by virtue of the advantage which such varia-

tions would give one species over another in the struggle for existence. This makes the emergence of literary talent or genius, from the biological point of view, to all intents a matter of chance. At any rate it is a quantity incalculable from any data which biological evolution affords.

The biometricians, so far as we are aware, have not as yet gathered any statistics to show the ratio of the number of literary talents to the population in a given society. It is a problem beset with great difficulties, as there would probably be little consensus of opinion in regard to the individuals to be included in the group of eminent talents. In any case, from a scientific point of view it will probably be a good while before enough reliable statistics can be collected to show whether the ratio is variable or constant. Judged simply in the light of history, with regard to actual achievement, the amount of productive literary talent would seem to be a variable quantity. We know that real poetic geniuses do not crowd each other. The nation that produces one every four centuries may consider itself fortunate. But neither the perpetuation nor the variation of literary forms depends solely on the geniuses. In the long run civilization probably owes as much to its poets of the second class. These are much more numerous and are quite as likely to introduce variations which will prove of utility to society, though history would seem to prove that the number of these varies greatly at different times.

The Elizabethan age records a longer list of eminent dramatists than any period in the history of English literature before or since. The nineteenth century can make a similar boast for its novelists. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Weimar court gathered the greatest array of eminent poets together that Germany has ever known. At first sight, therefore, it would seem justifiable to assume that productive literary talent is a very variable quantity. But the whole problem is complicated by the fact that some ages are much more favorable to actual production than others. At some periods the ideas, convictions, deeds, events, personalities, etc., which form the materials available for literary production and variation are found in great abundance. At other times they are comparatively meager. It follows, there-

fore, that the amount of actual achievement at any time depends greatly upon the amount of opportunity which the talent may be said to enjoy.

This question: how much the making of history depends upon great men and how much must be attributed to opportunity, has been discussed recently by James Bryce.¹ The eminent English historian takes the view advocated in the "hero worship" of Carlyle. He denies that the force of environment and circumstance always suffices to produce the man with constructive talent enough to solve the problems presented. He makes historical achievement depend entirely upon the presence of the inventive power required and thus reduces the history of the world to a tissue of biographies. In our terms literary production would then depend wholly upon biological heredity. But we must raise the question whether the converse of this proposition is not equally true. If the hour may strike long before the emergence of the man, may not available talent be at hand without the materials with which to construct? We readily grant that the political disintegration of Germany might have continued until the present day but for Bismarck. The foundation for Prussian hegemony had been laid since the days of Frederick the Great, the passionate desire of the German people for unification as well as the imperious demands of their commercial interests for uniform regulation, had existed since the uprising against Napoleon. But until Bismarck came upon the stage, no statesman had appeared with constructive talent enough to unite these elements into a new political institution: the German Empire. Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859 and his fundamental idea rapidly pervaded all branches of thought. But still almost a generation passed before this idea found expression in literature. New material was available but the inventive power requisite to combine it with traditional forms was lacking. Today under the influence of Ibsen, Zola, Hauptmann, Sudermann, and Bernard Shaw this new combination bids fair to become a transforming force marking an epoch in the history of European letters.

Conversely the existence of talent without the proper oppor-

¹ In the *Youth's Companion*, October 31, 1907, and *Pall Mall Magazine*, December, 1907.

tunity to exploit itself seems equally certain. The "village Hampdens, the mute inglorious Miltons and the guiltless Cromwells" do not exist in poetry alone. In his famous review of German literature preceding his time, Goethe¹ long ago pointed out that for a century preceding Lessing there had been no lack of poetic talent in Germany. What the literature really needed was "content," as he expressed it. In other words, national literary traditions as well as available materials to be gathered directly by observation from the environment were both lacking. Individuals with constructive imagination sufficient to produce works which might have formed permanent accessions to the literature there were, but the social environment effectually prevented noble achievement. A high artistic form was never united to a significant content until the days of Lessing. No student of German literature, familiar with the plays of Gryphius, can doubt that here was a dramatic talent which under more favorable circumstances would have made a name in the annals of letters. Everywhere in his writings we find a power for fine observation, a knowledge of human passion, a command of language, with occasional flashes of genius almost, which could not have failed to produce dramas of a high order if he had had any worthy dramatic tradition upon which to lean and an environment furnishing materials worthy of his pen. But in a country intellectually and morally, as well as politically and commercially blighted by a long war, with a public composed of a corrupt and vicious aristocracy on the one hand and of brutalized subjects on the other, confined to a petty round of official duties onerous with ceremony and red-tape, with no political or intellectual horizon beyond the narrow confines of a duodecimo principality, it is little wonder that his talent was squandered on the lurid and blood-curdling spectacles which form the bulk of his tragedies. The same holds true of Günther. In his lyrics there is the ring of emotional sincerity, the simplicity and directness of expression and much of the lilt which go to make up the genuine lyric poet, but he frittered away his talent on subjects too trivial to challenge attention. A song of his may be found occasionally in the "Kommersbücher" but his produc-

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Book VII.

tions as a whole form no integral part of German literature. We must conclude, therefore, that the power of aesthetic invention alone is not sufficient to produce literature. Whether constructive imagination in latent form may be a constant quantity, we cannot tell. But for actual production the circumstances must likewise be favorable. For high achievement the right man must be in the right place at the right time. In evolutionary terms the biological heredity of some individual must conform to his social heredity, if permanent results are to be brought forth. To achieve the naturalistic drama the peculiar temperament of a Hauptmann must concur with a scientific age, heavy with social conflict. By such conformities, and by such conformities alone, is history made. From such a point of view some light is cast on the discrepancy existing between the constant and indefinite variation in the ego and the definite or mutating variation in the product mentioned in a previous paragraph. The actual amount of variation achieved by a given talent depends largely on the presence or the absence of the materials requisite for new constructions. These materials are factors which he cannot create but must find ready to his hand. They are furnished by his social heredity, and upon this factor will depend also the amount as well as the permanency of the variation he can hope to achieve. At all events, the variations that prove of the greatest utility do not necessarily always come from the hand of genius.

Whether aesthetic inventive talent be a constant or variable quantity, it follows from the foregoing that the coincidences or concurrences of talent and opportunity are not necessarily constant. The scientific data necessary for the demonstration of this statement do not exist, but the records of human history all go to show that one age is much more prolific than another in the production of works which after generations care to assimilate and imitate. In the history of German drama the last ten years of Schiller's life produced more really great dramas than the two following generations of effort on the part of the Romantics. Following the example of his predecessor, Lessing, Schiller assimilated and imitated the best dramatic works which the Renaissance had produced in Europe. Without any national foundations, he

succeeded in uniting at least a significant content with high artistic form, and for three generations almost his dramas were the dominant force on the German stage. His cosmopolitan basis was the only basis possible in Germany at that time. But tired of traditional conventionalities, eager for the rehabilitation of individual emotion and finding no better national foundations than Schiller had found before them, the Romanticists simply dissipated an abundance of talent in a vain search for worthy materials. They harked back to the Middle Ages and borrowed the picturesque trappings of an extinct Catholicism, they attempted to revive the fate-tragedy of the Greeks, they penetrated to the Orient and tried to imbibe its mysticism, they soared to the supernatural and reveled in the ideal, but only in exceptional cases did they succeed in attaining artistic truth and reality. The number of literary works that live, form, in any age, only a small fraction of the total number produced. But the fraction here compared with the amount of talent expended and the number of works written is surprisingly small.

Granting, then, that the actual literary output varies greatly at different periods, there is still no reason to assume that this output ever exceeds the assimilating capacity of the public. Indeed, to a certain extent it would seem to be a matter of demand and supply. A successful play can be continued as long as it will draw a house. The means of multiplying copies of a poem or novel being mechanical, the size of an edition can be regulated according to the sale. To be sure this applies mainly to the immediate or temporary success of a work, while novelty still exerts its charm. It forms no basis upon which to calculate the chances of survival or non-survival. The very fact that the supply can be regulated to meet the demand makes it practically a negligible factor, as far as competition with rival works is concerned. But there is another reason for assuming that the actual output never exceeds the assimilating power of a given society. This is the versatile and elastic character of the assimilating process itself. That there must be a limit to this psychological power seems clear, and yet the vast amount of literature that is published and read in these days of "best sellers" would almost seem to point to the opposite

conclusion. The fact, however, that the process of assimilation and enjoyment is psychological renders the application of biological analogy well nigh useless. In the animal world, rival species compete for food. As the supply is limited, the consumption of a given quantity by one species means just so much less for the rival species. Moreover, the failure of the food supply of the proper kind often forces an animal to resort to the other kinds. A carnivorous animal will eat vegetables rather than starve. It is governed first and last by the law of self-preservation. No such necessity obtains in the intellectual world. If all the vaudeville shows in New York were suddenly abolished the public that patronizes them would not clamor for comedy of character or high tragedy. If an individual cannot procure the literature that suits his taste he is not forced to read other works. Owing to the versatility of his mental endowment he may go without. No species of literature, or of amusement either, ever becomes necessary for intellectual sustenance in the sense that food is for life. As a matter of fact, a whole nation can get along for a good while without much art or literature. Witness the Romans.

In the realm of letters different species can compete only for assimilation by the public. But the same public will assimilate and enjoy the most diverse literary products. To be an admirer of Schiller does not mean necessarily that one cannot enjoy Hauptmann. The assimilation of Shakspeare by a given society does not destroy that society's power of assimilation for Bernard Shaw. Both can exist side by side, and as long as the public recognizes some utility in each, no real competition or struggle in the biological sense can arise. Furthermore, there is reason to suppose that society's assimilating power grows not only with the increase of population but much more so as the result of education, which is, after all, only the discipline of this same assimilating power. The circulation attained by some popular novels in our day simply dwarfs the editions of Scott or of Dickens put forth by publishers two generations ago. As the ratio of increased circulation exceeds the ratio of increase of population, some factor has entered in to cause the increased demand for literary works. This factor must be education, which is much more universal than

formerly. At any rate it seems fair to assume that the assimilating power of civilized society is greatly on the increase and is more than keeping pace with increase of production. The rapid growth of the theaters in this country recently points in the same direction.

From the view-point of actual literary production, then, no data warrant the assumption that a struggle for existence between different species can arise. If society's capacity to assimilate has always proved equal to its productive power then the cause of failure to survive on the part of a literary work or the cause of one literary species' supplanting another must be sought elsewhere. But before considering literary works themselves as mere products and what it is that causes their survival, one or two observations will be in order.

A great drama or a great novel may be said to live or survive in two senses. In its active or productive sense a given variation demonstrates its fitness for reproductive imitation on the part of others. In its passive or assimilative aspect, the same variation may cease to inspire the production of other works of the same type but still live on as part of the literary heredity of the race, to be studied and enjoyed by succeeding generations. Indeed we may go still farther here and assert that some of the most monumental poetic achievements are utterly unfit for imitation, but have become none the less an integral part of the national consciousness. The life of a literary species depends, of course, upon the fitness of a variation to serve as the prototype after which other works of the same kind shall be fashioned. It is this aspect which Brunetière has in mind when he speaks of a species losing its fecundity. He explains this term to mean the aptitude of a type for struggling with kindred and rival species, and asserts that through it, reproductive imitation is changed into a routine which becomes a source of weakness, impoverishment, and death. We would prefer to explain the word "fecundity" as the ability to inspire the production of other works of the same type and make this ability depend directly upon the utility which society finds in a given variation. It follows logically from this that imitation need not necessarily be changed into a routine. On the contrary,

the variation itself may be improved upon by reproductive imitators, as Shakspeare elaborated and perfected the type set by Marlowe, or as Schiller improved upon the drama of Lessing. That depends on the powers of assimilation and aesthetic invention found in the imitators. We are inclined to think that the works of Sudermann are improvements over the works of Hauptmann. That is to say, they contain more of the artistic truth and reality which the coming generation will verify and imitate. The specimens of heroic tragedy produced by Stephen Phillips or Percy Mackaye are, as far as we can see, in no way inferior to those Sheridan Knowles, for example, put forth half a century ago. Yet the latter were a success upon the stage while the former have proved mostly failures. What really has taken place is a change, for some reason or other, in society's views of what constitutes artistic truth and reality. In Knowles' day the belief in the superiority of the individual will over nature and society was supreme. Today, as the result of a scientific conception of society and of the social conflict between the different classes, Knowles' attempt to emphasize the individualistic element seems exaggerated and unreal. As long as the public, patient and long-suffering as it is known to be, sees its own views of life reflected upon the stage, it will stand and pay for a vast deal of mere imitation, as the numberless plays "put together with paste and shears" amply prove. But if this public finds itself at odds with the view of life as presented, then the decline of interest resulting means weakness, impoverishment, and death to the species. Then only the best specimens of the works embodying the discarded view of life will live on as monuments of a past age.

But even in its specific life, literature shows marked divergence in one point from its biological analogue. In the animal world one generation must transmit the specific characters received from the preceding to the one that follows. In literature, the works of some one writer are usually recognized as "unattainable models," and from this prototype the materials, structure, emotions, etc., can be borrowed directly by imitators without the intervention of any connecting link. To use one of Brunetière's examples, Richardson's works may serve as the model for the novel of manners

for an indefinite period of time and every member of this literary species may derive its specific characters from Richardson and not from Richardson's imitators. When this prototype has ceased to be imitated longer, then the species has died out, its utility has been lost, owing to some change in the social environment itself.

On the other hand, as we have already observed, individual members of a given species may outlive the utility of the species itself and in a certain sense enjoy immortality. This is the passive or assimilative phase of the life of literature. It has to do with the relation of a work to society, a subject which was first touched upon by Wilhelm Scherer in his lectures on *Poetics*. Certain works recognized as the great masterpieces of their kind live and continue to be assimilated by society long after the species to which they belong has died out. The Homeric epic, for example, has long ceased to be a productive type, but yet the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have become a part of the literary inheritance of all civilized nations. Up to 1870 a study of these masterpieces formed a conspicuous part in the training of every educated man, and through translations they exerted a wide influence on the general reading public. In like manner Shakspeare among English-speaking peoples and Schiller in Germany will for a long time to come be read and studied as much as ever, as the great masterpieces of the heroic tragedy of character. But the tragedy of psychological individualization can hardly be said to be a productive type any longer. Rostand was its last representative in France, the naturalistic drama is practically the only productive species in Germany today, and the efforts of Stephen Phillips and of Percy Mackaye here in America to revive the heroic drama have done little more than galvanize it into a semblance of life. But this assimilation by the public is the only life that some monumental poems ever enjoy. Poems like Dante's *Divine Comedy* or Goethe's *Faust* are totally unfit for reproductive imitation. The conjunction of constructive power and favorable circumstances to which they owe their origin probably never occurs more than once in the history of any people. Such works are the real literary "hybrids," not Latin literature as Symonds thought. The latter was a Greek exotic simply, which never flourished vigorously under

Roman cultivation. These "hybrids" naturally do not form the beginnings of a new species, but they do form a large factor in the civilization of the nation by which they are produced. They epitomize the culture and thought of a whole epoch and stand forth like colossal monuments to mark the turning-points in the history of the race. Their influence permeates not only the nation from which they sprang but becomes in time a part of the social heredity of all civilized nations. It should be observed, in conclusion, that this passive or assimilative aspect of survival in letters has nothing corresponding to it in biology. It is simply the result of that psychological process by which mental products can be stored up in symbolic form and handed down from generation to generation. Nevertheless, this very process, as Brunetière has already pointed out, is the most important factor not only in literary production but also in education. But it is time now to consider the real cause of survival, decay, and death in literary forms.

As we have already stated more than once, it is its utility to society which causes a literary variation to be perpetuated. In other words, a new literary form must be such as society will find good mentally to assimilate and add to its store of experiences. By virtue of such assimilation and of such assimilation only is the perpetuation of a given species possible. Reproductive talents will not imitate a work which has proved a failure. Fitness for reproductive imitation will depend directly on the fitness for social assimilation. In the last analysis, therefore, the survival or death of a variation depends upon the judgment of the society for which it was produced. The word, "society," of course, is to be taken here in its large sense, as including producers and critics with their diverse opinions as well as mere readers or lay members. This position is the logical sequence of our conception of literature as one of the means by which the ego conveys the emotional values of human life to other egos. Literature is a conscious function of society, for society, and by society. From a scientific point of view, to talk of art for art's sake is to talk nonsense. By the utility of a literary variation to society is meant, therefore, the possibility of such variation being verified as true and real and consequently assimilated by the consciousness of the egos com-

posing society. By virtue of such verification and assimilation certain emotions designated as pleasurable arise in human consciousness, and pleasurable emotions according to the psychologists are those which make for the life both of the individual and of society. To go farther and ask why it is that the human ego finds pleasure in assimilating artificial representations of human life, representations of what in reality is often exceedingly painful, is the business of the psychologist. As a working hypothesis we are content to regard it with Schiller and Karl Groos as the result of the play-instinct, of the pleasure of make-believe common to both animals and man. The significant point for us, however, is the fact that in order to survive, a new literary form must be assimilated by society, must demonstrate its utility by expressing better than society's view of what is real and true in life. Josiah Royce tells us that society recognizes as true that which guides it to more experience of the kind that it desires. In this sense, then, a literary variation to survive must furnish society more of such experience than it has previously enjoyed. In other words, must approximate more closely to society's ideal of truth and reality. Put sociologically the individualistic variation of today must become the collectivistic generalization of tomorrow. If it does not, then the new form is to all intents and purposes dead-born. This process by which the particularization of some individual is made the common property of society is the only way in which literature can be said to survive, the only sense in which it can develop. The new generalization will, in its turn, form the basis for other variations by other individuals, and so on.

If the life of a literary species depends upon society's willingness to assimilate it, then the decay and death of a literary type must follow because it has lost its utility for society. The decay and death of a literary form is not the consequence of the rise of other forms. The rise of new forms generally, but not necessarily, accompanies the decadence of old ones. But the decadence of old species may with more truth be attributed to the same cause as the rise of new ones. The consciousness that the old forms no longer express the truth and reality of life as society now sees it, results alike in the decadence of interest in the old as well as in the

attempt to invent new. And this change in the value which society sets at different times upon the same variation is the result of transformations which have been brought about in most cases by forces at work in realms of thought extrinsic to literature proper. The idea of free will and individual moral responsibility which formed the transforming unit in the drama of psychological individualization was established in England as the result of a fierce theological and political conflict. The dominant characteristic of the naturalistic drama owes its origin to researches in science fortified by the influence of social conflict. In these days of gigantic organizations both of capital and of labor, when the cry has gone forth that the individual must sacrifice his own interests for the good of the whole, the consciousness that man is not the architect of his own fortune in the sense that Shakspeare and Schiller conceived him has been brought home to society often as a very painful reality. These two forces, the scientific and the social, have united to bring about a changed conception of the individual's relation to society. This new conception has found expression in literature and appeals to society as nearer the truth and the reality than the old individualistic conception. The old species has decayed because it has lost its utility. It has lost its utility because society has changed its interpretation of human life, and society has changed its interpretation of human life with its ethical and emotional values not because literature has changed, but because other social forces with which literature has not been directly concerned have been slowly at work transforming man's conception of his place in the universe. All phases of psychic and social life interpenetrate each other, but changes in art are the results, not the causes, of changes elsewhere. Literature simply must vary as the result of changes in the other activities. When in the course of human events a transvaluation of social values, to use Nietzsche's phrase, has taken place, then literature and art as well must either seek to embody these new values or must decay and die.

If this explanation be correct it follows that any social institution may lose its utility without being either crowded out by a rival species or supplanted by something better. For a century

and a half after the Peace of Westphalia the Holy Roman Empire continued to exist, as a ridiculous political anachronism, although people were conscious of its uselessness as a bond of national unity. Voltaire wittily remarked that it was not holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. It was only domestic troubles of their own which prevented neighboring powers from making the German states the prey of aggression. Even after the useless political carcass was buried beneath the conquests of Napoleon, the German people had to wait for full two generations before an adequate substitute could be devised to put into its place. The same holds true of species in literature. Society may become conscious that a given type is losing its utility long before it is supplanted by something truer to society's conception of reality.

From the moment that the yearning of the German people for unification became a concrete reality in the form of the German Empire, the public recognized that the ideals held up in Schiller's dramas had little to teach them. His cosmopolitan idealism furnished no adequate foundation upon which to realize national ideals, his conception of human liberty provided no basis for the solution of social and economic problems among a people where the barriers between the different classes were too rigid to permit of social osmosis. The new political order must needs inculcate the conception of duty, i. e., what each individual owed to others. As the result the ideal of the German nation has become social justice, not human liberty in the cosmopolitan sense taught by the eighteenth century. The effort of Hermann Grimm in the early eighties to make Goethe's works the foundation of national culture shows clearly that Schiller was losing ground long before the problem play emerged. But Goethe's ideal of self-realization proved of little avail. Germany's greatest poetic genius unquestionably anticipated the course of nineteenth-century thought and culture. He embodied its scientific spirit and its historical method, he manifested its preference for characterization in contrast to action and plot, he uttered some of the wisest judgments on art and human conduct that have ever been uttered, he achieved some of the greatest poetic achievements that have ever been achieved, but after all it was the "*suffering human race*" and not the Ger-

man people struggling with political and social problems that he took, to "read each wound and weakness clear." When the naturalistic drama did come, it did, in spite of all its shortcomings, perform at least one service—it united literature and life. If poetry in dealing with acute social problems wallowed in the mire, it at least derived new strength and vigor from its contact with the earth, like the giant Antaeus of old. It is the naturalistic drama, not the works of Goethe or of Schiller, which has made the stage in Germany a powerful factor in national culture. Competent critics tell us that the German theater today, as a social institution, occupies a place in the national consciousness which it has occupied only once before in the history of the human race, namely, at the time when Greek tragedy was in flower. This drama has taught the German people that the stage has a higher mission to fulfil than to furnish a short hour's amusement for the satiated and the idle. This is the lesson which the American public must learn if the great American drama, whose advent has been recently heralded, is ever to become a reality.

But a poetic species, owing to changed social environment, or to changed social heredity, may perish without being supplanted by anything different. It is generally conceded at the present time that Milton's *Paradise Lost* does not hold the place in public esteem that it once held. Not only has the biblical epic died out as a species, but Milton's great masterpiece is no longer studied as it once was. It has ceased to be a living influence in the thought and feeling of men, it has lost its social utility and has become the monument of a bygone age. If we ask what rival literary species have forced it to succumb in the struggle for existence, we are at a total loss for a reply. If we seek for the poetic species which has supplanted it in popular favor, we seek in vain. The only rational explanation of the biblical epic's loss of fecundity and its consequent decay and death is to be found in the changed attitude of society toward religion.

Milton's great epic was the offspring of an age of militant theology. Society accepted the Bible as the inspired Word of God. The truth of Divine Revelation was unquestioned. The problem which agitated men's souls was the true meaning of the

Scripture and the formulation of its teachings into some logical system of doctrine. The fierce conflicts that ensued were all between systems professing to rest on the only true and logical interpretation of Divine Revelation. Today the battle is no longer being waged between the different creeds of Christendom but between Divine Revelation and science, between faith and knowledge. Modern science has not only undermined the foundation of inspiration but the historical method itself has visibly transformed the method of biblical interpretation. The various books of the Bible no longer stand on the same plane of equality. The discovery of the sources from which some of them were drawn and the interpretation of their teachings in the light of the conditions which gave them birth has materially altered the values which the church as a whole puts upon them. That part of society which forms the Christian church manifests little interest in disputes over dogma and creed. The religious center of gravity has shifted from speculations about the life to come to amelioration of the life here. On all sides the cry is heard that the church is a social institution. The mission of the church as a social healer has almost overshadowed its mission as the custodian of a system of revealed truth. It cannot be said that men no longer are interested in religious questions. They are. But they are interested in the influence which the latest generalizations in science will exert on traditional beliefs, in the new constructions which the latest historical discoveries will force upon traditional interpretations, or in the part which the church, as an organization, is to play in the future development of society.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that a poem like Milton's *Paradise Lost* fails to arouse interest. To many minds the legends of the war between the angels in Heaven as well as the account of the Fall have become myths, with little significance for real religion. To many more the Calvinistic basis of Milton's whole theology is no longer a living issue. As a consequence the great biblical epic has lost its utility as an embodiment of religious truth and reality. The species itself has not only long since died out but its best representative exerts but a small influence in an age whose whole bent is for demonstrable facts. It has per-

ished because it is no longer assimilated by society; it has left no successor, so far as we can see, and it has not been crowded to the wall by any rival poetic species, but has perished only because the whole religious attitude of society has been transformed by forces of which literature proper forms no part.

The fate that has befallen the biblical epic naturally raises the question how far the content and how far the form are responsible for the survival of a literary species. In other words, does the life of a given type depend more on fitness of content or fitness of form? This word is to be taken here in its narrower sense as embracing mere aesthetic qualities in contrast to the ideas or social issues which the form may be said to embody. In the light of what has been said the only logical inference is that the specific life of literature depends upon content more than upon form. This follows not only from the fact that the transforming units in literary variation are ideas drawn from other spheres of intellectual life, and not ideas evolved in the course of literary development itself. But it may be asserted also that society's understanding of content is much more highly developed than its appreciation of form. The numberless plays which are nothing but crude copies of some successful prototype and which form the staple of the English and American stage today prove this. A successful novel always brings in its wake a train of weaker imitations which are read and assimilated until the charm of novelty has spent its force. Milton's *Paradise Lost* bears witness to the same fact. So far as form is concerned this biblical epic unquestionably contains great poetry. The broad and deep flow of its diction, the stately tread of its measures, its sustained power of imagination, its aptness of simile and metaphor, all combine to produce those effects known as the vast, the exalted, and the sublime, in a manner which has not been equaled in English poetry. But all its nobility and fitness of style have not saved the species from death nor this masterpiece itself from desuetude. Without content which appeals to society as a living issue, a species of poetry will not long endure. With such a content a species may exert a wide and transforming influence without paying much attention to form, as the naturalistic movement seems to show.

What form does accomplish is this. It insures the existence of individual works in the passive or assimilative sense already spoken of. Such works not only embody the living issues of the time in which they were produced but they embody them in the artistic form which society recognizes as of the greatest excellence. A single generation may fail to appreciate their artistic merits. Even Shakspeare suffered an eclipse during the age of Queen Anne. But in the long run society chooses as the masterpieces of a species those works which represent the highest degree of artistic perfection. These works it cherishes and studies as the monuments which mark an epoch in thought as well as in artistic workmanship. These works are handed down from generation to generation and form the tissue of tradition upon which the literary production of any age must build. They recapitulate the literary development of the race or nation and from them each succeeding generation of writers can assimilate the best that the race has achieved in the past, and make his attempt to adapt it to the thought of his time. In like manner these works are the great literary educators of society. How far the recapitulation theory holds true in biology is a disputed question. But that education simply recapitulates—to be sure only in fragmentary fashion in the case of each individual—the mental and artistic development of the race there can be but little doubt. The great monuments of the past become either consciously or unconsciously the basis for literary taste.

To some readers doubtless the foregoing pages will seem like a disquisition in the demonstration of the obvious. To such a charge we are willing to plead guilty, but add in extenuation that it is just this *obvious* which the biological theory of literary development seems to obscure, or at least not to take into consideration. We have no quarrel with the theory of evolution, we are rather convinced that it is about the only theory which gives any promise of bringing order out of the chaos of aesthetic, biographical, and historical monographs, which form the bulk of critical production today. We shall not be easily persuaded that this theory, when applied in its psychological form with due recognition of the social nature of literature, has not very decided advantages. If it

cannot claim to solve all the problems involved, it at least formulates all the factors entering into the variation, perpetuation, and life of literature into something like their genetic relationship. Only upon some such genetic basis can we hope to adjust the discrepancies and antagonisms that have arisen from the conflicting points of view assumed by the aesthetic, the biographical, and historical methods of literary study. Furthermore, from the practical point of view, an evolutionary theory in psychological form furnishes a simple principle according to which the ever-growing mass of literary data may be classified and arranged into a system approximating the actual process of literary development itself. With such a principle in mind, the relative importance of individual inventive power, of social heredity, and of the influence on society in a given case can be formulated in due proportion. Upon such a foundation something like permanent critical judgments may be built up and some basis obtained for making the study of literature a much more potent factor in education than it has ever been.

We are not blind to the difficulties in the way of the application of such a theory. It will demand a vast array of learning, greater perhaps than any one man will ever possess. In fact it may be freely conceded that all the materials for the construction of such a system are by no means at hand. What is called the history of culture in the broad sense has been written as yet only for one people, the Greek. The investigator in the history of the literature of any nation will doubtless meet with great lacunae in the history of those realms of thought upon which literature draws for its materials. Some of these lacunae may never be filled, a fact which renders the application of any theory difficult. But the magnitude of the difficulty is no good reason for wandering forever amid the chaos of special investigation. Any attempt to reach the firm ground of scientific classification is better than floundering in the quicksand of subjective impressionism.

We are also aware that there is great objection among certain aesthetic critics to any scientific method of criticism. The very hint of strict definition and logical classification causes consternation among them comparable only to the sudden appearance of a

mouse in a class-room of girls. To such the fact must be pointed out that all the progress which literary criticism either as a science or an art has made, has been due to men of logical minds, men whose powers of aesthetic appreciation have been directed and controlled by logical intelligence. The very founder of all criticism, Aristotle, was a man of definitions and classifications if ever there was one. The next landmark in the history of criticism was the work of Lessing. His lack of artistic feeling was notorious, for he accepted nothing in criticism or in anything else which could not justify itself before the bar of eighteenth-century rationalism. Goethe was one of the greatest critics that ever lived. We have Matthew Arnold's word for that. But Goethe was the great exponent of the historical method. His judgments have proved illuminating and enduring because they were all based on inferences from established historical facts. Taine's famous formulation was but the analogue of the principle which Cuvier had applied to the classification of plants. Sainte-Beuve developed no theory, but his valuable inductions rest upon patient observation of countless details, and he at least hoped that literary criticism might become a science. The best that Matthew Arnold ever knew and propagated in criticism he learned from Sainte-Beuve. Finally, Brunetière boldly attempted to make the theory of biological evolution the basis for a criticism which should represent the development of letters as it really is. Criticism, therefore, has not suffered from trying to be scientific. In every case it has really gained. Contemporary literature is being transformed by elements drawn from modern science. Let literary criticism strive to do no less.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

Second only to the good fortune of having Mr. Jusserand as an ally in my investigation of the *Piers the Plowman* poems is that of having him as an opponent. When he and I first discussed my views in conversation some three years ago I cherished the hope that even the brief expository sketch of them in the *Cambridge Hist. of Engl. Lit.* might induce him to adopt the theory as to authorship which a careful study of the poems in many aspects had caused me to form. He had long ago recognized many of the difficulties presented by the poems and had explained them by a highly ingenious and poetical conception of a very complex and self-contradictory personality for the author. It seemed to me a result that might be hoped as well as desired that the additional difficulties disclosed by my discussion should lead him to recognize, as I had felt obliged to do, that the right solution of the problems of the poems lay in their multiple authorship. But this was not to be. My presentation of my views, unpolemical as I tried to make it, has served only to confirm his previous views, and convince him more strongly than ever of their validity. But disappointed as I am of my cherished hope, I have the satisfaction—a real satisfaction to one who is only desirous that we shall reach the truth in this inquiry—of knowing that if my views can support the vigorous and skilful attack made by Mr. Jusserand, no doubt as to their truth can remain in the mind of anyone.

Mr. Jusserand's discussion is, as all who are familiar with his work knew it would be, a masterpiece of persuasive eloquence. In addition to this, the special issues are met and discussed in the middle part of his paper with a dexterity that must have been convincing to every reader who contented himself with being a passive reader only and gave no active personal investigation to the evidence and arguments adduced. Moreover, the whole order and arrangement of parts is skilfully devised to

break such force as the arguments of the adversary may have when properly massed and valued.

How then is this formidable attack to be met? It would seem the part of wisdom to avoid the order and method of discussion chosen by one's opponent, but I shall, in replying to Mr. Jusserand, undertake no detours, execute no flank movements, but, as nearly as I can, meet his onset at every point and discuss the question in the order chosen by him. I shall do this, because I am confident of the truth and strength of my position and because the reader will thus most easily assure himself that the attack really has been met successfully at every point and that the success is not a success of dialectical dexterity, but of sound reasoning. Let us then proceed to the discussion of Mr. Jusserand's arguments in the order in which he has developed them.

I

First, he begins with a celebration of the merits of the *Piers Plowman* poems as, "next to the *Canterbury Tales*, the greatest literary work produced by England during the Middle Ages," accents the unique democracy of *Piers the Plowman* and contrasts its vivid interest in internal reforms with the singular indifference of Chaucer to such matters and his singular lack of national feeling. With the praise of the poems I am in most thorough and hearty accord; indeed, as I have elsewhere said, I regard them as having even greater merits and greater significance than has hitherto been allowed. In addition to the remarkable poetic eloquence of the author of the B text, which has always been recognized, I recognize a clearness of vision and a capacity for artistic and orderly development of ideas on the part of the author of the first part of the A text, which had, previous to my first article on the subject, been generally overlooked. And I maintain that the social and political significance of the work of several men of notable intellectual power, and of ideas and aims of the same general tendency (notwithstanding individual differences), is far greater than that of a solitary, though powerful voice. With the implied criticism of Chaucer—as it has no bearing upon the subject under discussion—I will

not deal here, but may return to it another day, to point out that Alain Chartier, in giving his reasons for not admitting political discussion to his poetry but reserving it for prose, may possibly furnish a clue to Chaucer's supposed indifference.

Great, however, as is the significance of *Piers the Plowman*, it seems to me not to possess precisely the traits ascribed to it by Mr. Jusserand. It is undoubtedly "thoroughly English," but to say that "of foreign influences on it there are but the faintest traces" seems to me an exaggeration. It is on the contrary full of evidences of influences from both French and Latin literature, most of which, to be sure, have been overlooked. And when, in order to establish unity of authorship for the poems, Mr. Jusserand represents them as containing absolutely unique democratic ideas, he seems to me to be going a little too far. "The equivalent of such a line," says he, "as the following one on the power of king, nobles and commons:

Knyghthood hym ladde,
Might of the comunes made hym to regne,

can be found nowhere in the whole range of mediaeval literature; it has but one real equivalent (inaccessible then to the public)—the Rolls of Parliament" (p. 2). That the official records of parliamentary discussion and action were not then accessible to the public is undeniable, but are we asked to believe that Parliament had some esoteric doctrine, some high ideals of government kept secret from the people? Is it not, rather, true that the prevalence in Parliament of doctrines similar to that of the fine lines Mr. Jusserand has quoted is proof—not presumptive, but positive—that they were commonly and widely held among the people of England? What legislative body in the history of the world has ever preceded the advanced thinkers of its time in the formulation of social and political ideals? Indeed, are not such ideals commonly at least a generation old before they can possibly be available for practical politics? We may assume, then, without danger of error, that the views held by Parliament were commonly held and discussed among intelligent Englishmen at the time when the *Piers Plowman* poems were written; and Mr. Jusserand has abundantly shown, in his brilliant and learned book on the poems, the kinship

of these views to the lines quoted. How could it be otherwise? Had not the people of England given practical expression to such views more than once in dealing with their kings, and most notably in dealing with the ill-fated Edward II? Such views had, furthermore, found theoretical expression even outside of England. Unquestionably the most famous political writer of the continent in the first half of the fourteenth century was Marsiglio of Padua, and his *Defensor Pacis* was his best-known work—world famous, indeed. This book is not immediately at hand as I write, so I will quote from the summary of it given by Loserth, *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters* (p. 274): “Im Volke ruht die Quelle aller Gewalten, in seinen Händen liegt die Gesetzgebung, und der Regent ist nur sein vollziehendes Werkzeug. Er ist dem Volke verantwortlich und daher auch absetzbar.” And such views were expressed abundantly by the political writers of the time. The unique merit of England lies in having put such ideas into practice hundreds of years before other nations did more than talk about them.

But the lines quoted by Mr. Jusserand demand one word more, for it may be alleged that their special feature—the point that distinguishes them from such utterances as those of Marsiglio—is emphasis of the power of the Commons. If so, one may detect a difference in attitude between the texts of the poems. I will not insist upon the fact that no such sentiments appear anywhere in the A text; but I cannot refrain from pointing out that C was, for some reason, dissatisfied with these noble lines. In C the passage runs (C, I, 139 ff.):

Thanne cam ther a kyng Knyghthod hym ladde,
 The muche myghte of the men made hym to regne;
 And thanne cam Kynde Witte and clerkus he made,
 And Conscience and Kynde Wit and Knyghthod tegederes
 Caste that the Comune sholde hure comunes fynde.

The function of the Commons is no longer political but purely industrial; they are to provide food for the rest of the community. Shall it be said that l. 140 was changed, not because of any difference of view on the part of the writer, but only in order to secure better alliteration? Was, then, this pioneer of advanced

thought, as Mr. Jusserand will have him, ready to sacrifice his most distinctive idea merely in order to avoid accenting *comunes* on the second syllable—an accentuation common and legitimate, though possibly a little antiquated? I think not. In fact to insist over much upon the democracy of this passage is to read into it very modern ideas, just as the democracy of *Magna Charta* was until recently overstated. Even in the B text the two lines following those quoted by Mr. Jusserand give the same conception of the function of the Commons as is given in C, and in almost the same words; and when, a few lines later the Angel warned the King, he spoke in Latin in order that the uneducated should not understand:—

And sithen in the eyre an heigh' an angel of hevene
Lowed to speke in Latin — for lewed men ne coude
Jangle ne jugge' that justifie hem shulde,
But suffren and serven.

The political and social views of these poems were, indeed, common views of Englishmen of that day; as Mr. Jusserand himself says, "he [the author] is not above his time, but of it."

In view of Mr. Jusserand's insistence upon the author's constant devotion to his poem and to social reform as evidence of unity of authorship, we may note in passing a feature that is certainly very hard to explain if these poems be, as Mr. Jusserand supposes, the work of a single author who took it "for his life's companion and confidant, adding new parts or new thoughts as years pass on and as events put their impress on his mind" (p. 3). The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 finds absolutely no record in the poems. Did this event, certainly the most notable as well as the most picturesque in the social history of England during the lifetime of the author, "put no impress" upon the mind of the man whose principal concern was "the great political movements, the general aspirations of the people;" who kept a copy of his poem constantly before him for the purpose of adding to it such thoughts and emotions as the changing events of the time gave him? The usual reply to such questions is, I know, that the A and B texts were written years before the Revolt occurred and the C text when it had already become ancient history. But obviously this

is an inadequate reply, if Mr. Jusserand's conception of the author and his mode of work is correct, for it immediately suggests the query, But why did he write nothing at this most stirring time? Why did he who, by the hypothesis, was ever making additions to his work, additions involving often only the insertion of single lines here and there, and whose MS was copied in all stages of incompleteness—why did he have no word of encouragement or of criticism for the revolutionists, of blame for the excesses charged upon them, or of chiding for the king upon his unfulfilled promises? Was he moved by none of these things, or was he alone in England ignorant of them?

Mr. Jusserand next wishes to prepare the way for his later discussion of the lost or misplaced leaf and the author's failure to notice it and set it right in the B text. To do this he attempts to establish for his author a character for carelessness and indifference concerning the condition in which his poem was published which is, to say the least, remarkable for a man whose life-work it was. Authors who subject their work to continual revision and amplification proceed always in the same way, says Mr. Jusserand. "The emendations or additions in the already written text are crammed into the margin or written on slips or fly-leaves. . . . It is not always easy to see where those modifications should come in." Such MSS have come down to us from the Middle Ages, and the inability of Montaigne's editors to find the proper places for the additions which he had scribbled in the margin of a copy of his 1588 edition or on loose slips and fly-leaves is cited as a notable example of the dangers of this mode of revision. "Superabundant proofs may be given that the author of *Piers Plowman* wrote his revisions in a similar way, handing, however, to less careful people (professional scribes) material requiring more care" (pp. 3 f.). All of this (substituting authors for author) might be cheerfully admitted without at all affecting the point at issue, for we have abundant proofs that men who were not the original authors of the works which they revised sometimes made their additions and revisions in the same way, and it is an old story in textual criticism that such additions, and even glosses and comments not intended as a part of the text, often found their way into the text when the

MS was recopied. It is a far cry from the establishment of such additions to the assumption of a single author.

Let us, however, examine the arguments a little more closely, for they deserve it. In the first place, a notable difference between the case of Montaigne's *Essais* and that of these poems is that Montaigne was dead when his friends prepared the edition in question for the press, whereas, according to Mr. Jusserand's hypothesis, the author of these poems was alive and constantly occupied with his text. Who can doubt that if Montaigne had lived to carry this new edition through the press or even to complete his preparations for it, he would have found or made right places for all his additions and insertions, as he did when he printed the edition of 1588 with many insertions and expansions in the first two books, which had been published in 1580? Digressions he would of course have permitted, for digressions were his specialty, but misplacements, we may be sure, would not have occurred.

We may next consider these careless professional scribes to whom Langland (as we will for brevity's sake occasionally call him) "handed" his original MS in various stages of revision. I find it somewhat difficult to understand their relations to Langland. Did he, the moneyless vagabond who lived in a cot with Kitte and Kalote and eked out a meager subsistence by writing legal documents and singing for the souls of such as had helped him or were willing to give him an occasional meal—did he hire these careless professional scribes? Or were the scribes paid by other men, who had read or heard of the poem and wished copies for themselves? If the latter be assumed, what becomes of the mystery in which the author enveloped his identity and the fear which caused him to omit from the C text the famous line supposed to contain his real name (p. 9, n. 4)? In any event, would he—himself a professional scribe, who says (C, XIV, 117ff.) the "gome" who copies carelessly is a "goky"—allow his own poems to be copied carelessly, whether the scribes were paid by himself or by his admirers? And if they were not professionals but amateurs who wished the copies for themselves—for I wish to give Mr. Jusserand's hypothesis every opportunity for justification—would not their admiration and interest have led them to ask the author

where these loose slips and fly-leaves belonged? Must we then suppose that the author himself knew nothing of the making of these copies, that Kitte and Kalote took advantage of his occasional absences in the Malvern Hills and elsewhere to issue editions of the poems in the stage of revision they happened to have reached at the time?

But it is time to examine the instances in which Mr. Jusserand thinks the author's additions and insertions were mistreated by careless scribes. Carelessness on the part of scribes we shall undoubtedly find, as was long ago pointed out by Professor Skeat, but very little evidence that the author's text was not in the first instance correctly copied. Mr. Jusserand (p. 4, n. 3) cites two¹ MSS of the A text (Univ. Coll. Oxf. and Rawl. Poet. 137) and one of the C (Cotton. Vesp. B XVI). The first two have "the same jumble of incoherent facts." Each is "regular down to *passus* ii, 25,"² which is immediately followed (on the same page) by *passus* vii, 71-213, and then returns to l. 182 of *passus* i, some twenty lines of *passus* ii occurring twice over. It then goes down to *passus* vii, 70, when the passage which had already occurred is omitted" (Skeat quoted by Jusserand). But obviously what we have here is two MSS copied, as Professor Skeat says two lines above the passage quoted by Mr. Jusserand, "from an older and imperfect one, or still more probably from *two* [*italics by Skeat*] others, some of the leaves of which were out of place." The confusion was not in the author's MS, but in a later copy. That Professor Skeat is right is so immediately evident that no confirmation is needed, though it may be found abundantly in the fact that these MSS belong to a sub-group, derived from a MS which is itself derived from another which is derived from still another; and as this confusion is found only in this sub-group, it is clear that it occurred merely in the parent MS of this group and not in the author's original. The same remarks apply with slight modification to the confusion in Cotton. Vesp. B. XVI. That MS is a copy of a copy of a copy . . . of the earliest MS which can be reconstructed by the usual methods of genealogical text-criti-

¹ The MS at Trinity College, Dublin, has the same confusion.

² This is not quite accurate, but the inaccuracy does not affect the argument.

cism (which is not necessarily the author's original), and the confusion in question does not occur in any other of the extant MSS derived from these successive copies.

"Tentative additions written by the author on the margin or scraps," says Mr. Jusserand " . . . were inserted haphazard anywhere by some copyists and left alone by others [pp. 4 f.]. Of this sort are, to all appearances, the additional lines in MS Harl. 875 of A, not to be found elsewhere," etc. This MS does contain lines found in no other MS and a different version of some lines of the usual text, but it is clear that neither additions nor variants come from the author but are later modifications by some unskilful hand. I give a list of them marking those found in other MSS but in different form with the letter "d;" naturally I have not included scribal errors or minute variants in this list: I, 1 l. after 161, 176-77; II, 1 after 8, 1 after 9, 12 as 2 ll., 31, 34, 48, 93 d, 96, 118, 136-39, 141-43, 182, 201-2 (as 3 ll.) d; III, 19-20, 66, 91-94, 98, 180 d, 233 d, 234, 265-69 (as 3) d; IV, 154 d; V, 182, 257 d; VI, 1-2, 5, 45 d; VII, 5 d, 26, 226 d, 280 d; VIII, 46, 101, 125-26. Even Professor Skeat, who admits many of these lines into his text, says that some of them may be spurious.¹ The only one, in fact, for the genuineness of which serious contention could be made is VIII, 46 and, in my opinion, it is spurious, like the rest. The Ilchester MS also is cited by Mr. Jusserand as containing two versions of C, X, 75-281, one of them being, "it seems, a first cast of the other" (p. 5, n. 1). This MS is mainly a somewhat imperfect copy of the ordinary version of the C text, but at the beginning the scribe obviously had before him fragments of two texts. First we have the A text, Prol. 1-60, then the C text, X, 75-254, then A Prol. 55-76, and 80-83, then C, X, 255-81, then A Prol. 84-95, C, I, 91-152 and A Prol. 96-109; after which the usual version of C begins and runs on, with some gaps and misplacements, to the end. The two passages from C, X inserted in the A Prologue differ considerably from the usual version of these lines, which is found also in this MS at the proper place. Professor Skeat and Mr.

¹Cf. the statements of Chambers and Grattan in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 376 ff., where these and others of Mr. Jusserand's remarks concerning the A MSS are examined. Unfortunately I did not see this valuable article until my own remarks were in type.

Jusserand believe that they are a first cast of the usual version. I see no reason to believe this; they may quite as well be a later modification of C's text by some other writer—certainly the lines corresponding to C, I, 107-23, probably derived from the same source, are a variation, not a first cast. But no matter what they are, the condition of this text at the beginning shows that the scribe merely had before him an imperfect copy of the A Prologue and some odd leaves of a C text, viz., one leaf of 59 lines from C, I and four leaves from C, X.

There is no reason to believe that any of the confusions, additions or variations thus far dealt with go back to the author's copy. All the displacements of text are due to accidental displacements of the leaves of later MSS and to careless copying by later scribes. Numerous other instances occur in other MSS of these poems, and are very common in MSS of all languages and times. The only example of misplacement cited by Mr. Jusserand that really goes back to the original MS from which the others are derived, is that pointed out by me (A, VII, 71-75, B, VI, 80-84, C, IX, 80-86), where the names of the wife and children are inserted at the wrong point (but on the page to which they belong)—an error corrected by neither B nor C, although C inserted two lines (84, 85). It will be remembered that this failure of both B and C to restore these lines to their proper place was one of the reasons adduced by me for supposing that A, B, and C were not one and the same person. This bit of my ammunition does not fit Mr. Jusserand's gun and I cannot allow him to use it, even though he has been unable, as we have just seen, to procure any more. Besides, to drop the trope, it is not permissible to break the force of my original argument by separating this instance of the failure of both B and C to recognize and correct an error that had crept into the A text from the precisely similar though more striking instance in the case of the lost leaf. The two go together and are of mutual benefit and support, as will be shown below.

Before leaving this question of additions and variations in the MSS, it may be interesting to note that, even excluding the Ilchester MS (dealt with above), Rawl. Poet. 38 (supposed to

contain a revised version of the B text), and the three MSS which contain part or all of A, XII, nineteen of the remaining forty MSS contain additions or variations either peculiar to a single MS or found only in a small sub-group. It is of course impossible to present this mass of details here, but they are duly given in the Introductions and footnotes of Professor Skeat's EETS edition, and Professor Skeat himself, despite his unwillingness to part with any decent line, rightly recognizes that the additions as well as the variations are almost all spurious—he would save a few if he could. This is not only of interest in connection with the phase of Mr. Jusserand's argument which we have just discussed, but of even greater importance, as we shall see, for the general question of the possibility of larger additions and revisions by others than the original authors.

Mr. Jusserand next (p. 5) tries to support his contention that Langland allowed his MS to be copied in all stages of incompleteness by the fact that certain MSS contain less or more of the text than others. But the facts are capable of a very different interpretation. MS Harl. 875 and the Lincoln's Inn MS undoubtedly do not go beyond *passus* viii. I once thought that this fact might support my contention that the first author's work ceased with the vision of Piers the Plowman proper; but I fear it will serve neither my turn nor Mr. Jusserand's. Harl. 875 is shown, by the possession of certain errors in common with the Vernon MS, to belong to the same group as that MS and, like it, to be derived from a MS at least one remove from the source of all extant MSS of the A text. It is true that the Vernon MS might conceivably have obtained its continuation from another source, but this would be a gratuitous assumption. The Lincoln's Inn MS, at any rate, is too corrupt to be regarded as representing the author's original in any respect. Besides, to conclude from the cessation of a MS at a particular point that the author had written no more when the transcript was made is to conclude too hastily.¹ MS D, 4. 12 of Trin. Coll. Dublin (A text) stops with VII, 45. Are we to conclude that a transcript was made when the author had reached this point? But among the additions in this MS

¹See Chambers and Grattan, *u. s.*, p. 377.

which extend the Prologue from 109 to 124 lines, says Professor Skeat (EETS ed., ii, pp. vi f., n.), there are two extra lines after l. 54 agreeing with Rawl. Poet. 137, two after l. 83 resembling B, 112, 113, and ten after l. 95 answering to B, Prol. 92-99, but in some places bearing a closer resemblance to the C text. In other words, we have here a striking instance of contamination of texts.¹ Again, Digby 171 (C text) ends with XVI, 65, and Professor Skeat remarks (Vol. III, p. xlv), "no more was ever written, as the next page was left blank." But the whole B text was then in existence. Are we, then, to suppose that Langland said to the scribe, "I have finished my revision of the B text only up to this point; you had better stop here?" But he might at least have let him go on with the following line of Latin and l. 66 of the text, which were left unchanged. Surely it would be rash in any of these cases to assume that the present ending of any MS represents a definite stage in composition or revision.

The MSS containing parts of *passus* xii I will discuss below in connection with John But. I must, however, here take exception to Mr. Jusserand's statement (p. 6) that we hear of Dobet and Dobest only in the B and C texts and to his further statement (p. 7) that the heading in A MSS "Incipit hic Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest," makes it clear that the author already had in mind the expansion accomplished in the B text. Although the dreamer professes to be in search only of Dowel, the discussions and definitions almost invariably include Dobet and Dobest also,² and fully justify the heading quoted.

As for the "Explicit *passus* secundus de dobest et incipit *passus* tercius" of MS Laud 656 (C text), whether it be a mistake, as Professor Skeat thinks, or an indication, as Mr. Jusserand thinks, that the scribe expected and had reason to expect another *passus*, it has, in any event, no bearing upon the question of single or multiple authorship, as consideration of the possibilities will quickly convince anyone.

"That these three versions of the *Piers Plowman* poem exist is certain," says Mr. Jusserand (p. 7); "that they were written by

¹ See Chambers and Grattan, *u. s.*, p. 376.

² Cf. A, IX, 69 ff., 117 ff., X, 14, 85 ff., 211 ff., XI, 86 ff., 144, 177 ff., 217 ff.

someone cannot be considered a rash surmise. Of that *one* [italics mine] we know little; but that little is considered better than nothing; better than" the situation in those cases in mediaeval literature in which "we are reduced to mere surmises." The proposition that the poems were written by someone is, rightly understood, not a rash surmise. But what of the logical process by which we pass to the assumption that someone is some *one*? And after all, is it better to hold as knowledge what is only questionable hypothesis than to recognize that we are in regard to some questions reduced to mere surmises?

But, says Mr. Jusserand, for the unity of authorship of these poems and for the name of the author we have abundant evidence. In the first place, "without exception, all those titles, colophons, marginal notes, and testimonies agree in pointing to the succession of visions, forming at first 8 or 12 and lastly 23 *passus*, as being one work, having for its general title *Piers Plowman*, and written by one author" (p. 8). He quotes some headings to prove that scribes regarded the *Dowel*, *Dobet*, and *Dobest* poem as a part of the *Piers Plowman*. There was justification for these headings in the B and C texts, for *Piers Plowman* appears in these versions of *Dowel*, etc.; and there has never been any doubt that the authors of B and C treated the poems as in a certain sense forming a consecutive poem, but here, as often, Mr. Jusserand insists upon arguing concerning B and C, when the question at issue concerns the A text. The old habit of regarding A, B, and C as inseparable even for purposes of study is too strong. As a matter of fact there is no known MS of the unmixed A text which has any such indication.¹ Professor Skeat (EETS ed., Vol. I, pp. xxv f.) gives the titles of the *Dowel* poem in the A MSS, and remarks, "Hence it appears that there is here no thought of reckoning in the *passus* of *Dowel* as being any part of *Piers Plowman*, as was afterward done in MSS of the later types," and

¹ MS Harl. 3854, which has at the end of *passus* xi the colophon: "Explicit tractus [read tractatus] de perys plowman," quoted by Mr. Jusserand, is a mixture of the A and B texts, and, says Professor Skeat (EETS ed., Vol. I, p. xxiii), "I do not consider it of much value, and believe it to be frequently corrupted. . . . These [the concluding] lines are a sad jumble, and the 'praying for pers the plowmans soule' is particularly out of place, as *Piers* not the *author* of the poem but the *subject* of it."

he calls particular attention (p. xxv) to MS Douce 323, which has as the heading for *passus* x, "Primus passus in secundo libro."

"In the same fashion," says Mr. Jusserand, "all the notes found on their leaves, the allusions in the work and tradition attribute the work to a single author. Some of the notes vary as to the name or the form of the name or surname; not one implies more than one author for the whole." But does not this uncertainty as to the name suggest some doubt as to the authority with which these informants are vested? That during the fifteenth century tradition associated the name Langland (or Longlond) with the poems cannot be doubted, and is not incapable of reconciliation with the name Willelmi W. recorded in four¹ MSS (which since they belong to the same sub-group [see Skeat, III, p. xxxvii] are only a single testimony). I see no reason to repeat here what I said about the name in *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* II, 34, 35, but I will comment on a few new points made by Mr. Jusserand. And first, as to the underlining of real names in red in MS B. M. Add. 35287. This is obviously peculiar to the scribe of this MS, and, unless my memory fails me (for I have misplaced my note on this point) does not occur in the earlier part of this MS.² That the scribe should have regarded the name "long Will" as a real name is easily intelligible, but has no more significance than the well-known remark in a late hand beside the same line, B, XV, 148 in MS Laud 581: "Nota, the name of thauctour." Any reader would easily take the statement of the text at its face value and rubricate, or annotate, or (as I have previously suggested) derive from the line supposed information as to the name of the author.

But we are not done with this famous line. "If we discarded the punning intention," says Mr. Jusserand (p. 9), the line would have little enough meaning: to 'live in land' does not convey any very clear idea." Without the context it certainly does not,

¹ Mr. Jusserand says "three;" but he overlooked MS B. M. Add. 35157, which, according to the catalogue, was unknown to Professor Skeat when he wrote.

² I have since found my note. There is no underlining in red in the first five *passus*, and no distinction as to capitalization is made between real persons and personifications. In *passus* xv *cristes*, 15, 16, *ysodorus*, 37, are neither underlined nor written in large letters; *Anima*, 23, *Animus*, 24, *memoria*, 26, *Racio*, 28, *Sensus*, 29, *Amor*, 34, are underlined in red, and *Mens*, 25, is written in large letters.

and we all owe thanks to Mr. Jusserand for calling attention to the fact that all of us have been reading the passage very carelessly—in fact, have been reading l. 148 alone. Let us remedy this at once by a careful consideration of the whole passage. Anima, in discussion with the dreamer, mentions Charity.

"What is Charite?" quod I tho. "A childissh thinge," he seide;
 "Nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabis in regnum celorum;
 Withouten fauntelte or foly a fre, liberal wille."
 "Where shulde men fynde suche a frende with so fre an herte?
 I have lyved in londe," quod I. "my name is Longe Wille,
 And fonde I nevere ful Charite bifore ne bihynde."

—B, XV, 145-49.

What then is the relation of l. 148 to the rest of the passage? How does the mention of the author's real name emphasize the declaration that he has never found charity? Surely in no possible manner. "I have lived in land" is clear enough; it means "I have lived in this world," I have had experience." But the name? its significance? Surely we have here not a real name but a popular locution implying *long* experience and observation. We have here only the equivalent of B, XIV, 97, 98:

"Where woneth Charite?" quod Haukyn. "I wiste nevere in my lyve
 Man that with hym spake; *as wyde as I have passed*."

In America, even in the refined society of the capital, Mr. Jusserand must have learned that, when an American replies to some statement difficult to believe by saying, "I'm from Missouri, you'll have to show me," it is not safe to infer that the speaker has ever even set foot in Missouri. For the benefit of others, it may be necessary to explain that this very common locution merely indicates that the speaker is not of a credulous nature and thinks that the matter in point requires proof; the origin of the phrase need not concern us. I know no other instance of Long Will with the meaning here suggested, but when in Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs* Pt. I. chap. xi, ll. 151, 152, the hard-hearted uncle replies to a petition on behalf of his penniless nephew:

¹For "in londe," cf. the quotations given in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, s. v. "Land," I. 3. ¶d, especially: "Welawo, to longe y lyue in londe," Sir Ferumbras, 2793.

But for my rewarde let him be no longer tarier,
I will send it him by John Longe the carier,¹

no one can suppose that the hapless young man will see the reward soon. In form the proverb is somewhat similar to, "My name is Twyford; I know nothing of the matter," Bohn's *Hand Book*, p. 62.

Mr. Jusserand cites the testimony of John Bale and calls him a man whose testimony is "of real weight." I will not insist upon the fact that Bale gives the author's name as Robert, because I think it highly probable that Bale's testimony is merely derived from the entry in MS Laud 581. "At the end of the MS," says Professor Skeat, "are the names of former owners: 'Raffe Coppynges. *Mem.* that I have lent to Nicholas Brigham the pers ploughman which I borrowed of M. Le of Addyngton.' At the top of the first page is loosely scribbled Robart Langelond borne by malverne hilles." That Bale derived much of his information from Brigham is well known to all students of Bale's *Index*; the notes just given establish a channel between Bale and MS Laud 581, in which the information may, indeed, have taken either direction. But this is by the way; the point that concerns us is that, for matters and men before his own day, Bale, though often useful, is far from trustworthy, as may be seen most easily from the absurdities in his accounts of Chaucer and Wiclif.²

II

In Section II (p. 12) Mr. Jusserand offers to relieve me of the burden of carrying John But as one of the authors of the poems. But I neither need nor desire this relief; in fact, I find John But rather a help than a hindrance to the discussion. That he is not so important as A, A2, B, or C, I readily admit; that he was a silly scribbler, a fool, if you will, I am not prepared to deny, although I ought to point out that Mr. Jusserand (p. 12, n. 2)

¹ Cf. also Heywood, *The Fifth Hundred of Epigrammes*, No. 66, and Bohn's *Hand Book of Proverbs*, p. 169.

² In the *Summarium* he says (198^{ro}): "Galfridus Chaucer . . . Boetium de consolatione philosophiae transtulit ad filium suum Ludovicum Chaucerum." He mentions among the works of Chaucer, *Trophaeum Lombardicum*, *De principum ruina*, *Emblemata moralia*, *De curia Veneris*, *Chrysidæ testamentum*, and *Chrysidæ quaerimoniam*, and adds, "Ad annum humane redemptionis 1450 vixisse perhibetur sub Henrico sexto."

agrees with me that Professor Skeat was unable to distinguish John But's work from that of the continuator of A (A 2, as I call him), and that, low as one may rate the quality of But's lines, they are not properly comparable to the "lines added by scribes to make known their thirst and their joy at having finished copying *Piers Plowman*" (p. 12). John But's continuation, slight as it is, is of importance because it shows that men did not hesitate to continue or modify a text that came into their hands. And this conclusion is abundantly supported by the 19 MSS (cited above, p. 11) which contain variations and additions. In view of this evidence, it is obviously rash to assume that even important modifications like those in Ilchester and Rawl. Poet. 38 necessarily proceed from the author of B, though those in Ilchester and Rawl. Poet. 38 might be ascribed to B, without in the least obliging us to conclude that A, A 2, B, and C were one and the same person. John But, it will be remembered, wrote his conclusion of A, after the date of B, for he wrote in the reign of King Richard. That his work is signed, and the other additions anonymous, offers no difficulty. He signed out of vanity (cf. his claim that he is a poet: "for he medleth of makyng" XII, 105), and he carefully disclaims responsibility for anything but the conclusion.

But if there were three authors largely concerned in continuing these poems—John But was not *largely* concerned—"it is singular that they all chose to manifest it [their spirit] by anonymous additions to the work of someone else" (p. 13). Surely not. The reasons which induced the original author to remain anonymous, those which, according to Mr. Jusserand, induced C to cancel the too precise revelation of B, XV, 148, would induce continuators to remain anonymous. Besides we may well believe that these sincere men were interested primarily in the influence of their satire and, finding themselves in hearty sympathy, despite minor differences, with the poem as it reached them—as was the case also with multitudes who wrote not even a single line—they were glad to avail themselves of the great popularity of preceding versions for the spread of their own ideas. Such things have happened, if I mistake not, very often in the history of satire. A

very popular satire, if anonymous, is frequently, one might almost say usually, followed by a host of others professing to be by the same writer or making some use of any popular personality that may have been created by the original satirist. I need not cite modern instances; does not the author of *Mum, Sothsegger* (*Richard the Redeless*) identify himself with the author of *Piers Plowman*? Does not *Peres the Ploughmans Crede* make use of the same great name? Does not the *Ploughman's Tale* definitely claim to be by the author of the *Crede*?

"If the shadowy character of one author unseen, unmet by any contemporary, is strange, the same happening for four people concerned with the same problems would be a wonder" (p. 13). But surely not so great. They would be more elusive. They could not be recognized by any of the striking characteristics of the dreamer, since he is fictitious, whereas, as I have already said, if we have to do with a single author who describes himself, his family, and gives his name and dwelling-place, he could hardly have escaped discovery. But Mr. Jusserand thinks also that, if there were four principal authors, the intrusion of each successive one must have been resented and protested against by one or more of his predecessors; in the absence of protests, my theory requires, he thinks, that "each of these authors must have written and breathed his last with absolute punctuality, as moths lay their eggs, gasp, and die." But what right would the continuator of A have to protest against B, or B to protest against C, or C against the author of *Mum, Sothsegger*? And we hear of no protest against John But for "medling with makynge" and killing the author with undue haste, or against the persistent carelessness of the scribes, which, if Mr. Jusserand's theory be correct, must have sorely irritated the professional soul of William Langland. If death must be prayed in aid, we surely need sacrifice only one man, A, the author of the first two visions; and the high mortality of the plague in 1362, 1369, 1375-76, increases the ordinary probabilities of death for a man already of mature age in 1362, as A seems to have been. Mr. Bradley's explanation of the Robert the Robber passage seems to me, indeed, to involve the death of A before he had time to read and revise the

MS prepared from his loose sheets by the copyist; and I believe Mr. Bradley is entirely ready to admit this explanation of A's failure to correct the confusion. As will be seen later, I still regard my explanation of the confusion as more probable than his, but, like him, I do not regard the supposition of A's early death as a serious objection to his view. At any rate, there is no need to kill A 2 and B and C; and parsimony is one of the prime maxims of scientific hypothesis.

Mr. Jusserand's theory, on the other hand, seems to me to require, if I may use his figure, that the moth die or at least enter into a profound state of coma at each period of ovation and then revive to meditate another egg to be produced under the same circumstances. How else, unless we adopt the Kitte and Kalote theory suggested above, p. 8, are we to account for the fact that repeated experience of the carelessness of scribes never sufficed to induce Langland to give them oversight or aid in setting straight blunders that must have been observed by him in his continuous occupation with his poem?

III

This section and the next are devoted to the discussion of the passage concerning Robert the Robber and some details subsidiary to it.

Before proceeding to the main question, Mr. Jusserand attempts to show that in A the *passus* devoted to the sermon of Conscience and its effects upon the multitude is so uneven in execution as to suggest that parts of it are mere "memoranda to be developed later and put there simply for the name to appear in the list." This is intended to prepare the way for the later suppositions that there was not even a memorandum made to note the place of Wrath among the Seven Sins and that the Robber passage was an insertion on a loose leaf that had the misfortune to be misplaced by the scribe and unnoticed by the author, or at least uncorrected by him, for some thirty-six years, despite the fact that, according to Mr. Jusserand, the author had at least five opportunities in the meantime to put it in its right place (see below, p. 22). Before discussing the criticisms of

this *passus*, I wish to point out that even if they held good, even if we had to conclude that this *passus* as it stands in A is sketchy and unfinished, this conclusion would leave the failure of B to notice and correct the confusion concerning Robert the Robber as much in need of explanation as before. The question is not, how did the confusion occur, but, why did not B notice and correct it? Bearing this definitely and firmly in mind, we may pause a moment to consider, in a sort of parenthesis, as it were, the criticisms of the *passus*.

They concern principally "Lechour" and "Sloth," though Pride is dealt with quite as briefly. One may undoubtedly feel regret that we have no such portraits of the representatives of these sins or of Wrath (omitted entirely) as we have of Envy, Coveitise, and Glotoun; but, before criticizing the poet for their absence, we ought to inquire whether he had not an artistic purpose in this difference of treatment. Such a purpose is, I think, not difficult to discover for Pride and Lechour. To put it briefly, the author wished to communicate to us a sense of the *immediate* and powerful effects of the preaching of Conscience. That we do receive such an impression is undeniable, and observation of our emotions as we read will show, it seems to me, that the brevity of the statements in regard to Wille, Pernel, and Lechour, is no small element in the production of this impression. Having secured this effect, the poet is at liberty to develop Envy and the rest with greater breadth and fulness. As for Sloth, if my theory of the "lost leaf" is correct, it is possible that this loss has deprived us of a few lines of his confession, as, in my opinion, it clearly has of the conclusion of Envy.

"There is [in the case of Lechour] no confession at all," and "the privation he mentions . . . leaves him a margin for many sins, especially his favorite one" (p. 15). But no confession, in the technical sense, was intended. In the case of Pride and Lechour, we have only sudden outcries of guilty souls pleading for mercy and promising amendment. The temperance of Lechour and the hair shirt of Pernel (p. 30) are not at all in the nature of penance, they are remedies against the besetting sins. The hair shirt is a well-known remedy against pride, a reducer to humility

of the rebellious flesh; and in the *Parson's Tale* we read (§82): "Another remedie agayns Lecherie is specially to withdrawn swiche thinges as yeve occasion to thilke vileinye: as ese, etinge and drinkinge; for certes, whan the pot boyleth strongly, the best remedie is to withdrawe the fyr." The only other remedies mentioned in the *Parson's Tale* are continence itself and eschewing the company of the tempter. Our poet, putting into the mouth of Lechour a brief outcry of guilt and repentance, allows him that remedy which, according to mediaeval theory, was the best "whan the pot boyleth strongly."

This brings us to Mr. Jusserand's discussion of the Robert the Robber passage. The situation is briefly this: all are agreed that A, V, 236-59 are a source of confusion as they stand, and that an error of some sort has occurred. I observed that another error occurred in the same *passus* in the omission of Wrath from the Seven Sins, and finding that a single supposition, that of the loss of the next to the innermost pair of leaves of a quire, would completely account for both errors, I proposed this as the simplest explanation. Mr. Bradley, reviewing my theory, agreed with me in regard to the existence of the two errors, but thought it more probable that the faults occurred before the poem was put into regular form, and suggested that the copyist to whom the author's loose papers were handed for transcription lost those containing the confession of Wrath and misplaced that containing the Robert the Robber passage. Mr. Jusserand holds that the author forgot to write a confession of Wrath and that the Robert the Robber passage was a later addition written on a loose slip which the copyist inserted at the wrong place. His theory no less than Mr. Bradley's or mine requires him to account for the singular failure of B to remedy the confusion caused by the Robert the Robber passage. This, it will be remembered, is the crucial point in this argument. And I think I may also fairly insist that the notable failure of both B and C to notice the confusion caused by the misplacement of the name passage¹ (A, VII, 71-75; B, VI, 80-84;

¹ It has been generally assumed that these four or five lines (for it is difficult to say whether the passage includes only 71-74 or 71-75), since they appear in all MSS, are the work of A. That they were written in the margin of the ancestor of all extant MSS is certain, but they do not sound to me like A's work and I do not feel sure that they were not written in

C, IX, 80-86), which Mr. Jusserand disposes of lightly in a footnote on p. 5, must also be dealt with seriously as tending, like these other instances, to show that B and C were not the same man as A.

Before we proceed, however, to examine Mr. Jusserand's attempt to explain B's failure to place the Robert the Robber passage where it belonged, let us note a curious feature in his theory as to how it came to be misplaced. "It has all the appearance of an afterthought," written on a loose slip, "which Adam Scrivener of sleepy pen would copy anywhere" (p. 18). Was Adam then, so sleepy that he could not see that lines 236-41 could not possibly be attached to Sloth and yet so wide awake that he rewrote the first line, as being unsuitable to the connection—if Mr. Jusserand (p. 22, n. 2) is right—changing "He highte zyvan zeld azeyn" to "And 3it I-chulle zelden azeyn"?

The misplacement having occurred, Mr. Jusserand continues: "For what concerns the author himself, maybe, while making so many changes in so many places he never paid any attention to this passage (in which as a matter of fact he introduced no change at all); maybe also he thought of transferring it to its proper place and neglected to mark it accordingly or to see that the removal was made" (p. 18). A general supposition of carelessness or neglect is perhaps always plausible, but the special circumstances of this case render both of the suppositions just quoted highly improbable. Let us see.

In the first place, this is a book to the composition and revision of which, according to hypothesis, the author devoted his life. Copies of his work were made from time to time; at least five copies, if Mr. Jusserand is right, before the author corrected this glaring error. Five I say, and I emphasize it. After the original MS containing only the first eight *passus* of A (p. 5), (then the version represented by the Lincoln's Inn MS with its peculiar readings?), then that represented by Harl. 875 with its added lines (p. 5, n. 1), then an eleven *passus* version (p. 5), then a version with a part of a twelfth *passus* (p. 6), then the B text,

the MS by some one else after it left the hands of A. The authorship of the lines of course, has no bearing upon the question of the identity of A, A 2, B, and C.

then the revision of B represented by Rawl. Poet. 38 (p. 5, n. 2). Whatever may be thought of the importance of the variations in some of these MSS, each new copy, if derived, as Mr. Jusserand supposes, from the author's copy, at least offered an opportunity for correcting the error. But, says Mr. Jusserand, the author made no changes in this passage, the two lines omitted by B were omitted by a mere scribal oversight. The oversight must, then, have occurred in a copy made for B's personal use, for it appears in all the copies or versions derived from B—in the ordinary version of B, in the revised text of Rawl. Poet. 38, in the preliminary C text of the Ilchester MS, and in the ordinary C text. And either the author or the scribe made other changes in the passage in the B text; thus in A, 241 we read:

I schal seche seynt Treuthe¹ er I seo Rome,
and in B, 468:

I shal seke treuthe arst¹ ar I se Rome;

in A, 243, all the MSS have "wher-with," in B, 470, all have "wher-of;" in A, 250, all the MSS have "red," in B, 475, all have "reddere;"¹ in A, 252, all have "knowe," in B, 476, all except the revised R have "owe." These are minutiae, to be sure, but nothing justifies us in assuming that the changes were made by the scribe. And certainly the scribe did not insert the 32 lines which immediately follow this passage in B (ll. 485-516), and which clearly show that B had been revising in this portion of the work.

That a man may read over his own work more than once without noticing errors and inconsistencies is, alas! too true, as all of us can testify, but Mr. Jusserand's parallels to this case seem hardly in point. Mr. Roosevelt, it seems, read three proofs and published several editions of his *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* before he discovered that on a single page he had given in two varying forms the information that "bobcats are very fond of prairie dogs, and haunt the dog towns as soon as spring comes." Such an oversight is easily intelligible; the sen-

¹ Mr. Knott informs me that three of the MSS which were not collated by Skeat have *reddere*, by contamination of their source with B. I have neglected to inquire about the other passages cited here, as the existence of contaminated readings would not affect the argument.

tences are varied in expression, and neither contains anything incongruous with the general situation. But the cases are different. In the first place, if Mr. Jusserand is right, Langland was a man of very different temperament from Mr. Roosevelt. In the second place, great as may have been the care Mr. Roosevelt took with this book, it can hardly be maintained that he devoted his life to it or regarded it as his life-work. Thirdly, I venture to suggest that, if the carelessness of copyist or printer had allowed a gnu or a rhinoceros to stroll into the village of the prairie dogs, Mr. Roosevelt would have recognized and ejected the intruder in a moment. And this would be a parallel case, for the Robert the Robber passage is as much out of place in connection with Sloth. The author could not fail to recognize, as soon as he read it or any part of it, that it did not belong here.

The citation of the misplaced leaf in *Don Quixote* I do not understand, though a reviewer in the *London Times* also suggested that a consideration of it and especially of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelley's remarks upon it would be beneficial to me. The fact is that Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelley is confident that Cervantes did not write the passage about the stealing of Dapple or put it in the place it occupies. He says, "We are forced, by the logic of facts and evidence, to the conclusion that the additions were made by Robles or by Cuesta" (Introduction to his ed. of Ormsby's translation, Glasgow, 1901, p. xvi). Mr. Ormsby was of the same opinion; in his note on the passage (Vol. I, p. 168) he says, "But Cervantes, there can be very little doubt, had nothing whatever to do with this passage." The argument is too long to be resumed here, but the reasons for refusing to credit Cervantes with the blunder are singularly like those for disconnecting the original author with the failure to perceive and remove the blunders in *Piers Plowman*.

Another example Mr. Jusserand thinks he can give from the C text. The ten lines added by C after the names of Piers's wife and children are, he thinks (p. 20), out of place; they really are addressed by Piers to the Knight and belong just before C, IX, 53. "What 'dere sone' is he now [in l. 91] addressing?" says Mr. Jusserand; and his reply is, "the Knight." But without

emphasizing the unlikelihood that the peasant Piers would assume this tone with the Knight and call him "dere sone," it is clear that C intended the passage to stand precisely where it now stands in the C text, and the "dere sone" of l. 91 is the "sone" whose name begins in l. 82. Let us look at the passage:

- Hus sone hihte Suffre thy sovereynes have here wil
 Deme hem nouht for yf thou do thou shalt dere abigge
 Consaile nat the comune the Kyng to displese
 85 Ne hem that han lawes to loke lacke hem nat ich hote
 Let god worthe withal as holy writ techeth
 Maistres as the meyres ben and grete men senatours
 What thei comaunde as by the kyng contrepleide hit nevere
 Al that thei hoten ich hote heyliche thou suffre hem
 90 By here warnyng and [wordyng] worch thou ther-after
 Ac after here doynge do thou nat my dere sone, quath Piers.

I have left this unpunctuated because any punctuation must involve an editorial interpretation, and I wish the passage to be its own interpreter. Is not this from beginning to end inseparably connected with l. 82? Is this not merely one of the many examples of the carelessness and thoughtlessness with which expansions were made in the revisions? The advice is appropriate enough for the son, it is highly unsuited for the Knight. There can be no doubt, I think, that awkward as the passage is, impossible as it is to tell where name ends and advice begins, it is in the place C intended it to have. It is a slight confirmation of this that l. 86, which C incorporates in the passage Mr. Jusserand wishes to transfer, follows C 83 immediately in both the A and B texts.

But after all, Mr. Jusserand thinks that B did notice that Robert the Robber was in the wrong place, and that he prepared to transfer it to the proper place but neglected to mark it for removal (p. 18). Evidence of intention he finds in the passages on restitution which B inserted in Coveitise. Quoting B, V, 232ff., he remarks: "The restitution here alluded to is precisely that which a penitent thief should make, the question being of stolen goods." True, and it would be making too fine a point, perhaps, to hint that this insertion, good as it is, is not in harmony with

A's account of Coveitise, since A represents him as dishonest and full of cheating tricks but not as a robber or a thief; though we all know that in some ages of the world merchants accustomed to cheat systematically and daily would be aghast at the thought of formal theft or robbery. What really is of significance is: (1) that B does not make these insertions in such form or at such places as to aid in attaching the Robber passage to Coveitise; (2) that they are as fully accounted for without the transfer of the Robber passage as with it; (3) that, if B intended to transfer the passage, he made no preparations for the transfer in the passage itself, he neither restored to the MS the line:

Then was ther a Walishman' was wonderliche sory,

which Mr. Jusserand thinks belonged to the original text but was torn off or otherwise lost from the loose leaf the scribe of A had (p. 22, n. 2), nor restored to its original form the line:

And ȝit I-chulle ȝelden aȝeyn' ȝif I so much have

which the scribe of A had thoughtfully substituted for:

He highte 'ȝyvan ȝeld-aȝeyn,' etc.

Furthermore, if Mr. Jusserand accepts Professor Skeat's view that MS Laud 581 was corrected by the author himself, or perhaps indeed his own autograph, it is worth observing that neither the large nor the small crosses noted by Professor Skeat as indicating places where corrections were to be made (Vol. II, pp. lxix) stand beside this passage.

The crowning proof that Langland wrote the Robert the Robber passage and knew where it belonged, although he neglected repeated opportunities to put it in its proper place or even to restore it to its original form, is, according to Mr. Jusserand, the fact that thirty-six years after it was misplaced, C assigned it to Coveitise, where it belonged all the time; moreover, he restored to it a missing line so marvelously adapted to its purpose as to mark him as beyond a doubt the original author (p. 22). Some objections to the view, held by Mr. Bradley and Mr. Jusserand, that this passage was originally attached to Coveitise may be found below (p. 60). These are confirmed by the fact, just mentioned,

that through all the years of his occupation with the poem B gave no sign that he knew that the first line of this passage was missing and that the second had been rewritten by a misinformed scribe. Moreover, the joining of this passage to Coveitise by C is not the simple and satisfactory thing it may seem to those who have not examined it carefully. In the first place, the so-called restoration of reading in the second line has changed a perfectly simple and grammatical sentence into a *monstrum informe, cui lumen ademptum*, neither the flesh of a name nor the fish of a promise, a ghastly amphibian whose existence cannot be justified by any of the passages quoted by Mr. Jusserand (p. 23, n. 3). Again, it is well to remember that there are sometimes two ends to a passage, and to look at the other end of this. It will then appear at once that C is not replacing the passage in the position it ought to have occupied all the time in the A and B texts, but transferring to this place a passage that belonged elsewhere and patching up a connection at the joints by using some of the old material of B for the newcomer. Thus C, VII, 334-37 is a reworking of B, V, 290, 291, applied now to Robert the Robber instead of to Syr Hervy Coveitise. See, moreover, how the whole insertion, C, VII, 309-39, breaks into and destroys B's fine conception of the despair of Coveitise (B, V, 286-92). Finally, observe that C's placing of the passage in question under Coveitise does not stand alone and unexampled. As Professor Skeat long ago pointed out, it is only a part of a general process by which C transfers to the Seven Sins passages of similar content from various parts of the B text. Thus, after B, V, 48 (the sermon), C inserts B, X, 292-329; after B, V, 71 (Pride), he inserts B, XIII, 278-84, 292-313, preceded by a few lines of his own; B, VII, 72-75 (Lechery) he transfers to a somewhat later position and adds B, XIII, 344-52, with some lines of his own; of B's account of Envy he omits a part, but after B, V, 119 inserts B, XIII, 325-42; B's Wrath he leaves with little change; but Coveitise he changes much, inserting after B, V, 267 the following bits: B, XIII, 362-68, 371-75, 384-89, 392-99, and after B, V, 289 the Robert the Robber passage; B's Glutton is left practically unchanged, but at the end of Sloth (B, V, 462) he inserts B, XIII, 410-57. Are all these passages from B, X and B,

XIII passages which careless scribes had misplaced and which it required the hand of the author to restore to their original places? No one will maintain such a thesis. And it seems clear that C had no better reason for his transfer of the Robber passage than for his transfer of the others.

The much lauded Welshman *zyvan zeld-azeyn* does not, I admit, impress me greatly. He doesn't seem to me genuine, and I fancy I can see C concocting him out of the hint afforded by the alliteration of "*zelden azeyn*." And he seems, after all, to have been a gentle thief; indeed, from his name one might easily infer that thieving was altogether contrary to his nature. If C names his people on the same principles as A, we ought to infer that his residence in the West Countrie, far from giving him an unfavorable opinion of the Welsh, had impressed him with their fundamental honesty. Chaucer, indeed, always speaks respectfully of the Welsh (perhaps in remembrance of Kyng Arthour and the Bret Glascurion, whom Mr. Jusserand has overlooked), but we have the immemorial jingle to assure us that

Taffy was a Welshman,
Taffy was a thief.

Finally, we may be pretty sure that Dr. Furnivall was right in demanding for the antecedent of *Reddite* not a person named with an English equivalent of this word, but an exhortation to restitution containing, probably, some Latin quotation in which this word *Reddite* was prominent, or perhaps, as Mr. Knott reminds me, a character definitely named in Latin, like "*Vigilate the veil*."

IV

Continuing the discussion of the Robert the Robber passage, Mr. Jusserand (pp. 25, 28, 29) attacks my statement that B made insertions in Sloth intended to justify the lines on restitution. He finds in these insertions "no intimation that any of his misdeeds was committed with the intention of *winning* money; it was with him mere negligence" (p. 28). That negligence is the principal element in Sloth is true, but in the following lines inserted by B I think I find another element, in preparation, as I have said, for the restitution passage:

ȝif I bigge and borwe it, · but-ȝif it be ytailled, 429
 I forȝete it as ȝerne; · and ȝif men me it axe
 Sixe sithes or sevene, · I forsake it with othes,
 And thus tene I trewe men · ten hundreth tymes.

That the forgetfulness is not altogether involuntary is suggested by "ȝerne" and certainly a man who has to be asked six times or seven for a just debt and constantly denies it, is guilty of more than negligence. But even if one insists upon finding in these lines and in l. 435, which tells how Sloth treats his servants when they demand the wages that are overdue, only culpable negligence and not dishonest intent, the mere fact that money has been improperly withheld from its rightful claimants is sufficient reason for restitution on the part of a repentant sinner. Mr. Jusserand maintains that if B had introduced any lines in order to lead up to and justify the restitution passage, he would have changed the word *wan* in A, V, 237:

Al that I wikkedly wan · sith I witte hadde.

But surely this is demanding of B an attention to details and a care for systematic revision justified no better by Mr. Jusserand's conception of him than by mine. Finally it is difficult to discover why B introduced such additions as I have pointed out if they were not intended to prepare the way for the restitution passage. Injury to one's own estate is regularly recognized as one of the results of sloth, the increase of it is not.

Mr. Jusserand next argues that neither A, B, nor C can make a correct list of the Seven Sins on the first trial, and that this proves that they are one and the same person. Four attempts at lists occur in the poems, in A, II and V, and B, XIII and XIV (= C, XVII), and only one of them is correct, says he. But let us not take the facts without inquiring into their meaning. The third list is complete. Moreover, B had apparently no difficulty in discovering that the first and second (in A) were incomplete, and he would therefore probably in his examination of the text, while it was passing through the four stages represented by B, Rawl. Poet. 38, Ilchester, and C, have observed and remedied the omission of Envy in the fourth list (B, XIV = C, XVII), unless there were some particular reason for not doing so.

That reason is, perhaps, not hard to discover. B begins to expound the dangers threatening the wealthy, but before he has finished with the first Sin, Pride, he has mentioned the poor, and having touched this, his favorite theme, his exposition, forgetting its original purpose, becomes immediately, that is, with the discussion of Pride, the first Sin, a praise of the immunity which poverty enjoys from every sin:

If Wratthe wrastel with the pore, · he hath the worse ende (l. 224)
 And if Glotonie greve poverte, · he gadereth the lasse (l. 229)
 And if Coveitise wolde cacche the pore· thei may nouȝt come
 togideres (l. 238)
 Lecherye loveth hym nouȝt· for he ȝeveth but lytel sylver (l. 249)
 And though Sleuthe suwe poverte · and serve nouȝt god to paye,
 Mischief is his maister · and maketh hym to thynke
 That god is his grettest helpe.¹ (ll. 253-55)

With this changed intention, it is not hard to see why Envy is omitted.² Envy can hardly be called a sin against which poverty is an effective remedy. The same reason that caused B to omit Envy would prevent C from adding it.

The situation, then, is this: We have two lists from which, for some reason yet to be determined, the sin of Wrath is omitted; of the two remaining lists, one is complete and the incompleteness of the other is clearly due to a cause which cannot be invoked for the first two. Is it not too bold to assert, on the basis of such evidence, that we have to do with an author incapable of making a complete and correct list? Whatever may be the cause of the incompleteness of the first two lists, permanent inability to make

¹ After a simile, follows a discussion of what poverty is.

² In all the MSS of B except R, the last two lines of Wrath and all of Glotonie are omitted, but R several times has passages necessary to the context that can only have been omitted from the other MSS by mistake.

CXVII, although tabulated as a fifth version, is rightly said in the text to be only a slight variant of B, XIV. The variation is, indeed, of even less importance than one might suppose. B does not, as a matter of fact, spoil this list by discussing or listing Sloth twice. Sloth is formally discussed in ll. 233 ff., and the word "sloth" is used in connection with "gluttony" in l. 234, but this casual use of a word can surely not be counted as another treatment of Sloth, in view of the fact that all the sins are treated definitely and formally. There are equally good, if not better, grounds for saying that B regarded Coveitise and Avarice as different sins and tried to make up the count of seven in that way, for ll. 238-43 are formally devoted to Coveitise and ll. 244-48, with equal formality, to Avarice. Sloth, we may safely maintain, is not listed twice; and C's correction in l. 77 is not a correction of the list as a list, but a mere variant, of no more significance than other variant readings in the same passage, such as C, XVII, 64, 68, 70, 71, 76, 79, etc.

a complete list can hardly be spoken of as "the author's mark, his seal and signature." And since it is incredible that a mediaeval author who could count as high as seven should have been unable to make a complete list of the Seven Sins when he deliberately set himself to do so, as is certainly the case in both A, II and A, V, we seem irresistibly led to the conclusion that the absence of Wrath in both instances is due to accidents that occurred after the original had left the author's hands.

Concerning the confession of Wrath added by B, Mr. Jusserand maintains that I am wrong in regarding it as so unlike the work of A as to suggest that A and B are not the same person, and his argument is twofold: "(1) An author is not bound, under pain of being cleft in twain, always to show the same merits, in every respect, on every occasion, at all times; (2) the confessions in it are not so good and the additions in B are not so bad as Mr. Manly makes them out." To the first proposition, as a general proposition, I readily and heartily assent, but it remains none the less true that such differences may exist between two pieces of writing as strongly to suggest difference of authorship. Such differences I presumed to point out in this instance and I regarded them as important in connection with the numerous other reasons we have for suspecting that A and B were not the same. As to the second proposition, it does not touch the point at issue. I have never, at any time or in any place, denied the ability of B to write lines as good as any written by A; on the contrary, B has some passages which—as I think and have always thought—are entirely out of the range of A's ability. But the excellences of A and B are different and their defects are also different. Mr. Jusserand attempts here and elsewhere to meet this point, partly by emphasizing certain fine qualities of B's work, which I recognize as heartily as he, and partly by trying to show that A is guilty of the same sort of confusion of thought shown by B. Thus, here he tries to answer my charge that the confession of Wrath in B gives us really a picture of Envy rather than of Wrath, by saying, (1) that some of A's portraits are inappropriate to the Sins to which they are assigned and (2) that Envy and Wrath are so much alike that B

cannot justly be criticized for giving us a portrait of Envy and labeling it Wrath.

The example of inappropriate traits in portraiture by A alleged by Mr. Jusserand is furnished by Pride, and two lines are specified in support of the allegation. In both instances I disagree with him as to the interpretation of the lines. In order that there may be no mistake I will quote the whole passage:

Pernel Proud-herte' platte hire to grounde, (45)
 And lay long ar heo lokede' and to ur Ladi criede,
 And beohizte to him' that us alle maade,
 Heo wolde unsouwen hire smok' and setten ther an here
 Forte fayten hire flesch' that frele was to synne: (49)
 "Schal never high herte me hente' bote holde me lowe,
 And suffre to beo misseid' — and so dude I nevere.
 And now I con wel meke me' and merci beseche
 Of al that ichave ihad' envye in myn herte." (53)

The lines quoted as inappropriate to Pride are ll. 49 and 53. Mr. Jusserand thinks that l. 49 implies that Pernel had been guilty of lechery, and cites a similar phrase from the account of Mede.¹ But Pride is one of the sins of the flesh, disciplined, as I have shown above (p. 20), by the wearing of a "hair;" and "frail to sin" would not necessarily imply the particular kind of sin which Mr. Jusserand has in mind; and, finally, "frele" is apparently the reading of MS V only, "fers" or "fresch" being probably the original reading in A as well as in B.² In l. 53 Mr. Jusserand finds Pernel confessing the sin of Envy (in the modern sense), but there is no other hint of this attitude on the part of Pernel, and the word "envy" may mean only "hatred" or "ill-will," as may be seen from the quotations given in the *N. E. D.*, s. v. 1. We have no right to impose upon words meanings unsuited to the context when there are others that suit the

¹ In A, III, 117, one group of MSS (V and H) have:

Heo is frele of hire flesch' fikel of hire tonge;

the other group (T, U, D) have "feith" instead of "flesch;" that "feith" is the original reading is perhaps indicated by the fact that H of the other group has "feith" instead of "tonge."

² Professor Skeat gives the readings thus "frele] fers T; fresch H U." H, which belongs to the same group as V, has therefore not the reading of V; "fresch" is, as the genealogy indicates, the right reading; "fers" is simply a variant spelling of "fresch."

context perfectly. The supposed fault in the confession of Lechour I have already dealt with (p. 20).

Mr. Jusserand's second contention, that Envy and Wrath are so much alike or so closely connected that B cannot be criticized for confusing them, may now be examined. At the top of p. 31, he quotes two lines from the A text about the sowing of strife by Envy, and says this is "one of the classical attributes of Wrath." That Wrath may be the motive for such action is true, but so may Envy, and in the line preceding those quoted by Mr. Jusserand Envy explains his motive thus:

His grace and his good hap · greveth me ful sore.

—A, V, 79.

Continuing, Mr. Jusserand calls attention to the fact that Chaucer's chapter on Wrath in the *Parson's Tale* begins: "After Envye wol I discryven the sinne of Ire. For soothly whoso hath Envye upon his neighebor, anon he wole comunly finde him a matere of wrathe, in word or in dede, agayne him to whom he hath envye." This is, indeed, the beginning, but it does not justify the substitution of Envy for Wrath. Chaucer's next sentence is: "And as well comth Ire of Pryde as of Envye; for soothly he that is proud or envious is lightly wrooth." Finally, Mr. Jusserand points out in Chaucer's chapter on Wrath many particulars which show "how vague were the limits then assigned to each sin." But in the Middle Ages the Seven Sins were treated as tempers or tendencies out of which particular misdeeds grow. And, naturally, the same deed, the same sin, may originate in any one of several different tempers or tendencies. The Sins are ruling passions which may lead to very various manifestations. The point in our present discussion is this: In A the Sins are personifications of the ruling passions or tendencies—Pernel is Pride, Lechour is the lecherous man, Envy is the envious man, Coveitise is the avaricious man, Glutton is the drunkard, Sloth is the slothful man (and I think I have met successfully the effort to show confusion in the characterization), whereas B's Wrath is in no sense the wrathful man, but only a meddlesome busy body, who, animated sometimes apparently by Envy and sometimes by a general love of slander, does things which cause jangling and strife, but is himself, so far

as appears, not at all subject to the sin of Wrath. C felt this, apparently, for he rewrote the beginning to remedy the defect; cf. C, VII, 105-14.

Mr. Jusserand's playful suggestion that the style of the *Parson's Tale* could be used as an argument that it is not by Chaucer, is by no means so absurd as it may seem. It is, indeed, perfectly clear that the style of this tale is determined by another personality than that of Chaucer. It exhibits none of his characteristic qualities, precisely because it is, in its determinative elements, not his work, because he is not the creator of the thought and style but a mere translator, whose personal qualities have left scarcely a trace, if any, upon the translation. In other words, we have in the *Parson's Tale* in reality not the style of Chaucer but that of other men of entirely different gifts.

V

In Part V Mr. Jusserand deals with some instances in which I asserted that B or C had misunderstood his predecessor or spoiled a passage written by him. He suggests that the examples I gave were "doubtless the best available ones." They were, indeed, merely specimens, and the number might easily have been increased; they suited my purpose especially, partly because they could be very briefly phrased—and I was throughout the article obliged to study brevity as much as possible—and partly because they seemed to me, as Mr. Jusserand says they seem to him, "very telling ones if they held good." That they do hold good, in spite of the attack upon them, I hope to be able to show.

1. I said: "In II, 21 ff., Lewte is introduced as the leman of the lady Holy Church and spoken of as feminine." Mr. Jusserand's reply is threefold: (a) "There cannot be any question here of B having misunderstood A, as the passage is quite different in both texts and there is no mention at all of Lewte in A;" (b) "Lemman does not necessarily mean a man;" (c) "Very possibly there may be nothing more in the passage than a scribe's error, 'hire' being put for 'him.'" I should reply: (a) Surely making the leman of lady Holy Church feminine involves a spoiling of the conception of A, and a misunderstanding or for-

getfulness of it—for misunderstanding may accompany the addition of lines and characters; (b) I was aware that “leman” may mean a woman as well as a man, and I have nowhere suggested that it could not, my point being that here the “leman” of a lady is spoken of as feminine; (c) there is nothing in the text to indicate that “hire” is a scribe’s error for “hym;” and when we have so many evidences of B’s tampering with the conceptions of A, we have no right to relieve him in this case by a purely gratuitous assumption. But, says Mr. Jusserand, C corrected it to “hym.” So he did; C more than once corrects B’s errors, as I originally pointed out. But if it was a scribe’s error, it is notable that it appears in all the texts of B and was therefore apparently in the original of B (which, according to Mr. Jusserand, was the author’s own copy, which he kept by him and allowed to be copied from time to time); it is not marked for correction in MS Laud 581, which Professor Skeat regards as the author’s autograph, containing indications of errors that must be corrected; Rawl. Poet. 38, which, according to Skeat and Jusserand, is a revised version of B, is not available for this line. The evidence is therefore pretty strong that the error was B’s, and it cannot be disposed of by the convenient but unsupported supposition of a scribe’s error. To say, as Mr. Jusserand does, “Of B having failed to understand or of having committed any error, there is *no trace*,” seems to me unwarranted by the facts.

2. I said: “In II, 25, False instead of Wrong is father of Meed, but is made to marry¹ her later.” Mr. Jusserand’s reply is here more elaborate but not more successful, I think. He maintains that Wrong was very badly chosen as a father for Meed, that B recognized this and improved the situation by making Favel the father, though, unfortunately, the scribe again misrepresented B’s intention and put “False” instead of “Favel.” This scribe is surely a most troublesome person, though this was not discovered until after my theory was propounded, Professor Skeat, indeed, going so far as to comment upon the remarkable

¹ Of course I was wrong in saying, and Mr. Jusserand in repeating (p. 33), that False marries Meed; they are ready to marry but the wedding is prevented.

purity of the B text, and to maintain that in one copy of it we have the author's autograph. "Wrong was very badly chosen [by A] as a father for Meed, and was given, besides, nothing to do," says Mr. Jusserand. "The marriage was not arranged by him; the marriage portion was not supplied by him; in the journey to Westminster he was forgotten; his part was limited to signing, first among many others, the 'feoffment' charter supplied by other people." Whether Wrong was appropriately chosen as a father for Meed, is, I take it, a question of opinion and taste; I myself feel that Favel (= Flattery) is hardly as appropriate as Wrong for the father, or main cause, of Meed. And I do not understand Mr. Jusserand to argue that A's failure to assign Wrong as prominent a part in the preparations for the marriage as Mr. Jusserand thinks he ought to play is reason for believing that A really intended another character as the father but, like B, was baffled of his purpose by a careless or meddling scribe. The truth seems to be that Meed herself was, according to A's conception, a very desirable bride, so much so that her father needed to do nothing to secure a husband for her; False desired her, and Favel, Guile, and Liar (II, 23-25) were the principal agents in making the match. The "feoffment" was not a settlement made by the bride's father—none such was necessary—but a settlement made by the other party, False, Favel, etc., "in consideration of Meed's consent to matrimony"—a common form of settlement, fully discussed in the law-books. Others besides Mr. Jusserand (p. 34) have perhaps been troubled by the fact that in l. 58 the feoffment is represented as made by False (Falseness) and in l. 61 by Favel.¹ But distress on this point might have been relieved by calling to mind that in ll. 37-39 both False and Favel are represented as principals in the matter:

Sir Simonye is of-sent to asseale the chartres,
 That Fals othur Fauvel by eny fyn heolden,
 And feffe Meede therwith in marriage for evere.

To say, as Mr. Jusserand does (p. 34), that Favel had already been playing the part of father to Meed seems to involve a misconception of A's whole intention; Favel is the friend and helper

¹ The source of the feoffment is even more complicated in B than in A, cf. B, II, 69, 72, 78.

of False. The father, Wrong, has no occasion to do anything except affix his signature to the feoffment as first and principal witness.

That B intended to make Favel the father and was prevented from doing so only by a scribe's error¹ is, however, according to Mr. Jusserand, "not a mere surmise, . . . it is a demonstrable fact. The same confusion between these two names, the same use of the one instead of the other, do not occur only in text B, but also in text C, and also in text A itself. . . . In version A, the feoffment is said, in II, 58, to be made by False, and three lines farther on by Favel; False is a mistake for Favel." I have just explained this passage and need say no more. "In version C, we are told," says Mr. Jusserand, "in III, 25, that 'Favel was hure fader,' and on l. 121, that 'Fals were hure fader.'" These statements concerning the C text are accurate as far as they go, but they require a little supplementary examination. The first of the passages, C, II, 25, is taken over from B with no change except the substitution of "Favel" in C for "False" in B. The second passage, C, II, 121, is, on the other hand, an entirely new line, added by C; it runs as follows:

Thouh Fals were hure fader and Fykel-tonge hure syre,
Amendes was hure moder.

Mr. Jusserand requires us to believe either that, after changing "False" to "Favel" in l. 25, C wrote a new line, 121, repeating the error introduced into B, II, 25 (= C, III, 25), not by B, but by a scribe, or that, by some strange fatality, a scribe committed the same error of substitution in C, III, 121 that another scribe had committed twenty-three years earlier in B, II, 25. The attempts to meet my arguments in this and the preceding instance seem to me to involve too many coincidences and to overwork the theory of scribal error. The true explanation of the present instance is, I presume, that in B, II, 25, B carelessly substituted "False" for "Wrong" as the father of Meed, forgetting for the moment that False was the proposed husband; then C, in rewriting B, at first accepted B's conception and

¹ No correction of this supposed scribal error was indicated in Laud 581. Rawl. Poet. 38 does not contain the line.

added C, 121, on this basis, but later, observing the inappropriateness of making False both father and husband of Meed, he (or someone else) substituted "Favel" for "False" in l. 25 but forgot to do the same in l. 121.

But, continues Mr. Jusserand, "the same intention to give Meed a different parentage, better justifying Theology's otherwise ludicrous remarks is also shown by Langland adding in B a mention that Meed had Amendes for her mother, a virtuous character." This has, of course, no real bearing upon the argument we have just completed, and might, if it were true, be admitted without in the least affecting the conclusion we have reached. But it is not so certain that this is an addition by B. Let us see. Professor Skeat's text A, II, 87 reads:

For Meede is a Iuweler · a mayden of goode;

but "Iuweler" is, as Dr. Bradley has pointed out, a misreading of the Vernon MS, instead of some form of "mulier" (i. e., a legitimate child), the same as the "moylere" of text B (of the MSS of the A text T reads *molere*, U *muliere*, D *mulyer*, H *medeler*, H₂ *medlere*); in the second half-line only MSS V and H have the reading of Skeat's text, which is obviously due to the writer of the lost MS from which these two MSS are derived, the other MSS of the A text, i. e., T U H₂ D, read "of frendis engendrit." Now, it will be remembered that the corresponding line in B (l. 118) reads:

For Mede is moylere · of Amendes engendred.

Is it not clear that this was also the original reading of A, distorted in the MS from which all extant MSS of A are derived, and preserved in this distorted form by MSS T H₂ U D but emended for the sake of alliteration (and perhaps, also, of sense) by the immediate source of V and H? Some one may object that I am praying in aid the same sort of scribal interference that I have just refused to recognize when proposed by Mr. Jusserand. I do not think this is the case. I have, of course, never maintained that scribal errors may not disguise the author's intent, but only that Mr. Jusserand's suppositions of scribal error are unsupported by the evidence and involve too many strange coincidences. In

the present case, on the other hand, four of the six MSS quoted by Skeat at this point give a reading which is obviously related in some way to the reading of the B text; so far as I can see, either the reading of the B text was also the reading of the A text and was derived from it, or four MSS of the A text have at this point a reading due to contamination from B. The former supposition seems to be supported by the whole of A's conception of the twofold character of Meed, which was taken over, of course, by B and C. We may, then, safely conclude that "Amendes," the mother, was not added by B, but stood originally in A.¹

3. I asserted that, "in II, 74 ff., B does not understand that the feoffment covers precisely the provinces of the Seven Deadly Sins, and by elaborating the passage spoils the unity of intention." Mr. Jusserand replies that B, not only noted the omission of one of the Sins, but supplied supplementary details without impairing the unity of intention. For my view as to the omitted Sin I must refer to p. 61, below, where it was necessary, for other reasons, to discuss the matter. That the unity of A's intention to cover *precisely* the provinces of the Seven Sins was impaired by B is shown by the fact that B's elaborations are so many and of such a nature as to obscure the fact that precisely seven provinces are in question and not an unsystematic general collection of all the sins the author could think of. I will quote only B's elaborations of the province of Pride (ll. 79-82):

To be prynces in pryde · and povertē to dispise,
To bakbite, and to bosten · and bere fals witnesse,
To scorne and to scolde, · and sclandre to make,
Unboxome and bolde · to breke the ten hestes.

Is not the unity of intention somewhat impaired by these elaborations? Indeed, I will go farther and ask whether any student of *Piers Plowman* ever clearly recognized that this feoffment is intended to cover "*precisely* the provinces of the Seven Deadly Sins" before acquaintance with the simpler form of the A text enabled him to perceive the plan overlaid by the elaborations of B and C.

¹ This paragraph was written on the basis of the readings given by Skeat, as I had not access to Mr. Knott's collations, and had not seen the excellent discussion of this point by Chambers and Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 368, who on the basis of all the MSS reach the same conclusion as I do.

4. I said: "In II, 176, B has forgotten that the bishops are to accompany Meed to Westminster and represents them as borne 'abrode in visytynge.'" Mr. Jusserand replies: "(1) B had no chance to *forget* [*italics his*] any such thing, as he was, without any doubt, working with a text of A at his elbow." But we have just seen that, even with a text of A at his elbow, B could forget that the leman of Holy Church must not be feminine and that False must not be made the father of the woman he was trying to marry. Continuing his reply he says: "(2) Contrary to what Professor Manly suggests, there is here no incoherency chargeable to B. In A, exactly as in B, Langland indulges in an incidental fling at bishops; no more in one case than in the other were they to go to Westminster at all. In A

For thei schullen beren bisshops · and bringen hem to reste

. . . . may mean anything one pleases, except the implying of a tumultuous journey to Westminster or anywhere else." But I do not understand that the journey to Westminster was to be tumultuous. False was set "on a sysoures backe that softly trotted" (l. 135), "Favel on a fayre speche fetisly atyred" (l. 140), provisors were to be appareled "on palfreis wyse" (l. 148)—these do not sound to me like preparations for a tumultuous journey. "Of Westminster not a word," says Mr. Jusserand. But why should Westminster be mentioned in connection with each member of the party? It had already been distinctly stated as the destination of them all. As well object that Westminster is not mentioned in the lines already cited (ll. 135, 140, 148) or in ll. 146, 147, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157. "Bringen hem to reste" may not state definitely the destination, but it at least is not contradictory of the general plan of a journey to Westminster, as are B, 176:

To bere bischopes aboute · abroad in visytynge,

and C, III, 177, 178:

And shope that a shereyve · sholde bere Mede
Softliche in saumbury · fram syse to syse.

In these the journey to Westminster is clearly and unmistakably forgotten for the moment or displaced by another satirical intention.

5. My arguments from the Robert the Robber passage and the Name passage, Mr. Jusserand says he has already answered. And I have replied to his answer (see above, pp. 21 ff.).

VI

His sixth section Mr. Jusserand devotes to some of my stylistic arguments. He says, rightly enough, that most of these I have only mentioned and not developed, and he naturally neglects, as requiring too much space (I suppose), my attempt to indicate the large differences between A and B which occupies pp. 4-17 and 22-28 of my chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. He does not think very highly of my general exposition of the differences in style, aim, method, interests, and mental peculiarities between A and B as a basis for declaring them to be different men, thinking that I have greatly exaggerated these differences and that, even if taken at my own estimation, they do not justify my conclusion. To reargue this question would be practically to repeat my exposition of the style, aims, method, interests, and mental qualities of each; and I am content to leave the decision to the future, believing, as I confidently do, that it is only necessary that students of *Piers Plowman* shall consider carefully all the manifold differences between the parts of this poem or group of poems to arrive ultimately at the conclusions to which the lucky chance of reading them in the right order has conducted me.

The differences in sentence structure and in versification I must again decline to discuss in detail, partly for lack of space and partly because I have not yet found a method for presenting some of my results that satisfies me. I could without great difficulty give a tabular presentation of statistics that would show striking differences in both of these features. But I am inclined to believe that tabular statements of statistics convince few readers, unless they carry with them some conception capable of more or less definite visualization. I will, therefore, at present only suggest that any reader can convince himself of the differences in sentence structure between A and B by comparing any hundred sentences in B's continuation of the poem (*passus xi-xx*) with any hundred

in A (Prol. and *passus* i-viii) and noting particularly such matters as absolute length, number of co-ordinate clauses, number of subordinate clauses, number of clauses in the second degree of subordination, etc.

As to versification the most striking difference between A and B is that B has a larger number of principal stresses in the half-line than A, and consequently also a larger number of unstressed syllables. An easy mode of presenting the extent of these differences is to represent each half-line by two numbers, that in the unit's place giving the number of stresses and that in the ten's place the number of syllables. First half-lines should of course be kept separate from second half-lines. The average for each half of the line in each text may then easily be obtained.

My statement concerning dialectical differences is so brief that it is perhaps not strange that Mr. Jusserand has misunderstood it. Had I foreseen as even a remote possibility that anyone should suppose that I was thinking of mere scribal variations, I would either have omitted the suggestion altogether or made it clearer. The point I had in mind was that it is possible to determine by well-known philological processes the forms of certain words in the original copies of the several versions. If we find, for example, that no instance of "are" occurs in A1 and that instances occur in A2, which, because they are essential to the alliteration, clearly proceed from the author and not from a scribe, we are justified in concluding, even if the texts of A2 contain also instances of "ben," that, in all probability, A2 used "are" and A1 did not. If we find that in B "she" is, according to the evidence of all extant MSS, the form of this pronoun in the source from which they are all derived, and that in A "heo" is, according to the evidence of all extant MSS, the corresponding form, we are justified in concluding that, in all probability the authors of the two versions differed as to the form of this pronoun. There still remains, of course, a possibility that the common source of the extant MSS of each version was not the author's original and differed from it in dialect. But if we can show further that the B text contains readings (of "he" for "she") based upon "heo" in the earlier text, we have confirmation of the evidence which points to "heo" as the

form used in the earlier text. Such instances occur. In A, III, 30, e. g., all the MSS have:

Hendeliche thenne heo · behihte hem the same,
and B has the same form "heo," in spite of the fact that "she" is the regular form in B for the feminine pronoun. Three MSS, indeed, C O B, have "she," but they form a small subgroup and "she" is clearly due to a correction in their immediate source. "We find as great differences between the various copies of the same version" as between the different versions, says Mr. Jusserand. Of course. Two scribes may differ as much as two authors; and the same differences which in the one case oblige us to conclude that the scribes are different men oblige us in the other to conclude that the authors are different men. Naturally it is not always easy to discover what forms were actually used by an author, but when these can be discovered, the conclusions are not hard to draw. In the case of *Piers Plowman* many dialectical questions must remain unsettled until we have a complete record of all readings, even those heretofore regarded as insignificant.¹

With Mr. Jusserand's general attitude toward metrical questions, as expressed on p. 38, I find myself unable to agree. It is true that there are differences in versification between *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* and between *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Tempest*, but the verse of both the former is characteristically Miltonic and that of the latter two characteristically Shakspearean. Mr. Jusserand would certainly admit that pieces of verse might be submitted for his judgment, which, on the evidence of versification alone, he could without hesitation pronounce to be not the work of either Milton or Shakspeare. And even if the differences between A and B be not so great as in this supposed case, they are at least worth noting as a part of the general argument concerning these two versions. The force of a large

¹ That the readings of other MSS than V of the A text must be taken into consideration in determining any point of A's style or language seems too obvious to require special statement, but Messrs. Chambers and Grattan, *loc. cit.*, p. 358, have strangely inferred that I regard the Vernon MS as the A text. That I have never entertained such an idea, if it does not appear from what I myself have written, as I think it does, is indicated by the fact, known to Dr. Furnivall and others, that Mr. T. A. Knott has, at my suggestion, been working for the past two years upon a critical text of the A version, the materials for which he collected in England and Ireland in the summer of 1907. As for myself, I have always tried to take into consideration the readings and relations of all the accessible MSS, and I venture to hope that no important statement made by me will be nullified by the critical text, when it appears.

number of important differences between two works cannot be broken by showing that each difference has been found in works undoubtedly by one author.

My praise of A and my emphasis of his possession of certain qualities lacking in the work of B seem to have misled Mr. Jusserand. I have nowhere declared "the first part of A the best in the whole work;" I have nowhere put it "so far above the rest as to imply a difference of authorship." I have re-echoed and quoted with the heartiest approval Mr. Jusserand's just and fine words about the merits of B, and I quoted several of the very finest specimens of B's powers (see *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, II, 28, 29), among them one so fine that Mr. Jusserand quotes it against me (p. 46) as if it upset my whole case. My argument is not at all concerned with the superiority of one version over another, but with the differences between them, differences which seem to me not superficial and shifting, but dependent upon innate and fairly permanent mental qualities and endowments.

In reply to my indications of differences in methods and interests between A and his continuators Mr. Jusserand exclaims, "Why not?" and "Again, why not?" I freely admit that no man is obliged to follow the same method of allegory all his life, but if we find such obvious attempts at the method of A as we do find at the beginning of A2 and of B's continuation (*passus xi*) we are justified in believing that A2 and B tried to use A's allegorical method and could not. But A2 and B both exhibit an interest in predestination and are thereby brought "near" to one another, says Mr. Jusserand. If an interest in predestination were excessively rare, this might indeed be of some importance, but I have already pointed out, I think, that in consequence of Bradwardine's *De Causa Dei* predestination was one of the chief topics of interest to serious-minded men in the fourteenth century (*Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, II, 18). It is of more consequence that C seems to believe in astrology (C, XV, 30), whereas A2 and B apparently reject this and similar sciences (see A, XI, 152 ff.; B, X, 209 ff., and note that C omits the passage).

In order to show that A is as incoherent as B, Mr. Jusserand gives an outline of A, *passus i*, and the outline is certainly inco-

herent to the last degree. But any man's work will appear incoherent in an outline that omits the links of his thought. "The Lady answers, in substance: The tower on this toft is the place of abode of Truth, or God the father; but do not get drunk," runs the outline. Shall we supply the missing links? Instead of making a new outline *ad hoc*, I will quote from the one I gave in the *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* (II, 6): "The tower, she explains, is the dwelling of Truth, the Father of our faith, who formed us all and commanded the earth to serve mankind with all things needful. He has given food and drink and clothing to suffice for all, but to be used with moderation, for excess is sinful and dangerous to the soul." Is this incoherent? Does it not furnish a sufficient reply—if one is unwilling to consult the original—to the questions which Mr. Jusserand asks, upon the heels of the sentence just quoted from him: "Why drunk, and why all those details about drunkenness that caused Lot's sins . . . ?" The dreamer's question about money and Holy Church's reply Mr. Jusserand calls "equally unexpected and irrelevant." Surely it is not difficult to see why the dreamer, having learned that God's gifts to his human creatures are food, drink, and clothing, should inquire about money. The question was not irrelevant, nor, to one familiar with mediaeval discussion, ought it to be unexpected.¹

The rest of the outline is of the same character. There is no incoherency or confusion in the author's thought. I invite the reader to compare the outline given by Mr. Jusserand and that given by me in the *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* (II, 7) with the original and decide for himself whether the strictures are justified. Mr. Jusserand may have missed the connection by accepting the reading of the Vernon MS in A, I, 92:

Kynges and knihtes · sholde kepen *hem* bi reson.

But all the other MSS (H, T, H2, U, D) read "it" for "hem," and the antecedent of "it" is "truth." If this connection is once lost, the text seems indeed hopelessly incoherent. As MS H belongs to the same group as MS V, it is clear that "hem" is an unauthorized variant, like many in this MS.

¹ Mr. Jusserand thinks that the vision of the field full of folk was "nothing else than . . . the world as represented in a mystery play, just as we may see it pictured in the MS of the Valenciennes Passion." Where in *England* could the author have seen such a stage?

At the end of my discussion of the first vision, that is, at the end of *passus* iv, I remarked: "Only once or twice does the author interrupt his narrative to express his own views or feelings." This, says Mr. Jusserand, is "remarkably exaggerated," and he triumphantly cites III, 55, III, 84, VII, 306, VIII, 62, and VIII, 168, saying: "Here are, in any case, five examples instead of 'one or two.'" I submit that, in the vision to which my statement applied, there are only two. And I further submit—though I have just shown that my statement was not "remarkably exaggerated"—that neither VIII, 168 ff., which comes among the reflections and admonitions *after* the awaking on Malvern Hills, nor VII, 306 ff., which comes at a distinct pause in the action, marked by a formal division of the poem, nor VIII, 62, 63, a brief exclamatory demand for confirmation of an assertion, interrupts the narrative; and, finally, that none of these is at all comparable to the constant interruptions and excursions of B.

Mr. Jusserand quotes me as saying "that there is nowhere in A 'even the least hint of any personal animosity against any class of men as a class;'" and replies that in this he sees no great differences between any of the Visions, and that, as a matter of fact, the friars, like the lawyers, are condemned wholesale. It seems to me that Mr. Jusserand has not quite understood me. In the first place, I did not assert or even suggest that there was any difference between the authors (or Visions) in this respect. In the second place, the paragraph from which the quoted words are taken (*Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, II, 11) implied a distinction between satire touching whole classes or groups of men and personal animosity against a class as a class. I thought this distinction was clearly implied, but perhaps it was not. I shall be obliged to the reader if he will refer to the paragraph and read the whole of it; here I will quote only two sentences: "The satire proper begins with *passus* ii, and, from there to the end of this vision [i. e., to the end of *passus* iv], is devoted to a single subject—Meed and the confusion and distress which, because of her, afflict the world. Friars, merchants, the clergy, justices, lawyers, all classes of men, indeed, are shown to be corrupted by love of Meed; but, contrary to current opinion, there is nowhere even the least

hint of any personal animosity against any class of men as a class, or against any of the established institutions of church or state."

In two paragraphs on p. 44 Mr. Jusserand strives to establish identity of authorship by various incidental remarks. He thinks that, in making additions to A 1, B writes like A 1, and in expanding A 2, writes like A 2. But I do not admit either proposition. The additions to A 1 are more like A 1 than are those to A 2, as would inevitably occur with any writer capable of being influenced by the nature of the work which he was expanding or elaborating, but this, I think, is as far as Mr. Jusserand's claim can be admitted. B makes picturesque additions to A 1, but, with perhaps a single exception, they bear little resemblance to the work of A 1; and he is discursive in his development of the theme of A 2, but lacks the dry pedantry of that writer, and possesses a command of picturesqueness and passion of which A 2 is incapable.

"One may be permitted," says Mr. Jusserand, "to ask what is the crowd which B ought to have described, and which he failed to visualize?" Surely the reply is not far to seek. Either the champions of Antichrist in *passus* xx or the forgotten host assembled by Pride in *passus* xix.

Aside from some matters to which I have already replied, the rest of Section VI is occupied with attempts to show that A 2 and B are capable of occasional passages of beauty or power. I have never questioned this. Here I will only call attention to the curious fact that the specific passages cited by Mr. Jusserand, fine as they are, were apparently not appreciated by C. For example,

Percen with a *pater noster* · the paleis of hevene (A, XI, 362)

though only a translation of *Brevis oratio penetrat coelum*, is happily phrased and worthy of admiration and preservation. What does C do with it? He rewrites it thus:

Persen with a *pater noster* · paradys other hevene,—

which somehow lacks quality, distinction. Again, the fine poetic cry cited by me in illustration of B's power of vivid expression, and repeated by Mr. Jusserand, can indeed hardly be cited too often or praised too highly:

Ac pore peple, thi prisoneres, · Lorde, in the put of myschief,
 Conforte tho creatures · that moche care suffren
 Thorw derth, thorw drouth · alle her dayes here,
 Wo in wynter tymes · for wanting of clothes,
 And in somer tyme selde · soupem to the fulle;
 Comforte thi careful, · Cryst, in thi ryche!—B, XIV, 174 ff.

Would you not expect the man who had written those lines to preserve them—improved, of course, if they can be improved—in any revision or any number of revisions that he might make of his poem? Would you not really? But what does C do? He replaces them by some lines beginning with

Ac for the beste, as ich hope · aren somme poure and some riche
 (C, XVII, 21 ff.)

and continuing with a prayer that God amend us all and make us meek and send us *cordis contritio, oris confessio*, and *operis satisfactio*. The whole passage from l. 20 to l. 37 is entirely out of harmony with the corresponding passage in B, and significant of the different attitudes of the two writers toward the poor. And this is only one of many similar instances.

Mr. Jusserand thinks that C greatly improved the episode of the pardon by suppressing "the lines telling, in previous versions, how Piers tore up his bull of pardon out of spite and simply because contradiction had irritated him." If this were, indeed, the motive of Piers's action, the suppression of it would doubtless be an improvement. But I do not so interpret the passage; "for puire teone" does not here mean "for spite and because contradiction had irritated him," but "out of grief and disappointment." He had what he supposed to be a pardon, but the priest who offered to construe it and explain it in English, read it and declared it to be no pardon at all. What more natural than that, in the first impulse of distress and disappointment, he should tear the supposedly lying document? It is only later ("siththe," l. 101) that he recovers and comforts himself with, *Si ambulavero in medio umbre mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es*.

But even if the suppression had to be made, what shall we think of a writer who suppresses the whole discussion between Piers and the priest and continues with the line,

The preest *thus* and Perkin · of the pardon jangled,
 which is nonsense after the suppression of the jangling?

I should also like to know the meaning of B, VII, 168 (C, X, 318),

And how the prest preved · no pardon to Dowel.

The priest certainly had not proved or asserted that no pardon was equal to Dowel. The line looks very much as if it were due to a mistake as to the meaning of A, VIII, 156. Ll. 155, 156 read:

And hou the preost impugned hit · al by pure resoun,
And divinede that Dowel · indulgence passed.

B and C apparently thought "preost" was the subject of "divinede," whereas the subject is, of course, "I," implied in "me" of l. 152.

VII

Section VII, briefer than the others, is devoted to an attack upon some of my evidence that C is a different person from B. Mr. Jusserand is not much impressed by my arguments. He is not certain that C spoiled the picture of the field full of folk (Prol. 11-16) and regards the broadening of the spectacle by the line,

Al the welthe of this worlde · and the woo bothe,

as something we could hardly afford to lose. My own feeling is that this line does not add one whit to the sweep of the poet's vision and that the writer who regarded it as necessary or even desirable to add such a line was fundamentally not a poet but a topographer.

Again—to my great surprise, I confess—Mr. Jusserand contends that C did not misunderstand the passage in the Rat Parliament about the creatures that wear collars about their necks and "run in warren and in waste." These were not, in the surface meaning, dogs, he asserts, but men, knights and squires. That in the ultimate intention they were men is no doubt true, just as the rats and mice were men and the cat and kitten a king and a prince. But this is a beast fable. What have men to do in it, among the rats and mice and cat and kitten? And, above all, why the warren and the waste? Do men run uncoupled in rabbit warrens and waste fields? No: in the allegory of B these were

dogs, and it needed the prosaic, literal spirit of C to turn them into "great sires, both knights and squires." I may remark parenthetically that I have found no other version of the fable which throws any light upon the question by mentioning these creatures, but the text of the B version is unmistakable.

If the differences of C from his predecessors could be accounted for by the supposition of advancing age, I should never have felt it necessary to suggest that he and B were not the same person. I have not striven to see how much the authorship of these poems could be divided. On the contrary, it would have been much simpler and easier if B and C could have been admitted to be one and the same person, and it was long before I was willing to divide the work of the A text and ascribe it to different authors. Mr. Jusserand seems to argue that, because C has some qualities sometimes possessed by old men (but also often by young men), he must be old, and that there are no differences between him and B that cannot be explained by this supposition. Where he gets his notion that A seems younger than B, I do not know.

"At times," I remarked, "one is tempted to think that passages were rewritten for the mere sake of rewriting." "Just so," replies Mr. Jusserand, "and who, except the author himself, would take so much trouble?" Is it to the author, then, that we owe the variants of the Lincoln's Inn MS of A, or MSS Camb. Univ. Ff. 5, 35 and Harl. 2376 of C? Or why should the author be more ready than another to make alterations which are not improvements but mere futile variations? Of the parallel supposed to be afforded by Ronsard I can say nothing, for I have not examined the revisions he made in his text, but I shall discuss below some of Mr. Jusserand's other parallels. It will be remembered, of course, that I based no argument as to difference of authorship upon the general character of the textual changes made by C.

Mr. Jusserand's explanation of the error of A 2 in regard to *non mecaberis* and *tabescebam* is ingenious, but hardly convincing. That A 2 should think of *mactabis* and *tacebam* when he had to translate the other words hardly relieves him of the

charge of inaccurate scholarship. What is the usual cause of mistranslation but this? As to B, he did not "notice one of these *misprints* [*italics* Mr. Jusserand's] and forget the other," as Mr. Jusserand thinks: he simply omitted the whole passage containing *tabescebam*. "If one of the versions had shown minute accuracy throughout, that would have told, in a way, for the theory of multiple authorship," says Mr. Jusserand. This I think we find in A 1.

VIII

The whole of the eighth section is devoted to a plea that even if "the differences between the three versions" be taken at my own estimate, they can prove nothing, for similar differences exist between works known to be by the same author. Chaucer's tales of the Clerk, the Miller, and the Parson are cited. But surely Mr. Jusserand does not contend that such difficulties exist in supposing that the tales of the Clerk and the Miller are by the same writer as I have shown to exist in the case of *Piers Plowman*. As for the *Parson's Tale*, the thought, the composition, the style, is, as I have said, not Chaucer's; other men wrote it, he merely turned it into English, without giving it any of his individuality. *Hamlet*, again, presents no such similarities as are suggested; "fat and asthmatic" is hardly a fair rendering of "fat and scant of breath" when applied to a fencer, and, at the very time when these words were uttered, the fair Ophelia, if she had been alive, would doubtless still have thought Hamlet "slim and elegant," if we may use Mr. Jusserand's terms. The supposed contradictions in *Hamlet* are all of the same nature as Shakspeare's treatment of time-indications, a matter of momentary impression for dramatic purposes, as I have explained in my introduction to *Macbeth*. There are troublesome features in *Hamlet*, perhaps traces of an earlier hand, but nothing to indicate that the play should be divided as Mr. Jusserand suggests.

The cases of Montaigne, Cervantes, and Milton are, in my opinion, not at all parallel to ours. Milton and certain aspects of the Cervantes and Montaigne arguments I have already discussed. As for the rest, it may safely be asserted that if the

1588 edition of the *Essais* or the second part of *Don Quixote* had appeared anonymously, the style would in each case have led us to ascribe them to their true authors. The changes in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Conquistata* I have examined with some care. I find, somewhat to my surprise, that, although by no means so interesting as the *Liberata*, because of the exclusion of many episodes and the systematic assimilation of the heroes to antique models, the revision is not "the work obviously of a feeblor hand," but, on the contrary, usually richer and more powerful in style, more concise and more packed with meaning. The current opinion I believe to be due solely to the disappointment critics have felt at the loss of the episodes which Tasso rejected as out of harmony with his new purpose and to their disapproval of his classicizing tendency.

Robinson Crusoe I have not read since about 1891, I think, but my recollection is that the superior interest of the first part is due, not to the style, but to the unique and moving situation which forms the subject of the book. It, like the later parts, is full of moralizations and religious reflections. The later parts fail to hold the reader mainly because their theme fails to grip either the reader or the author himself.

Mr. Jusserand warns us that if my methods are adopted, the whole history of literature will have to be rewritten. This warning is not unfamiliar; we have heard its like from the housetops on almost every occasion when a new truth in literary history, in science, or in social, political, or economic science, has been announced. And it has almost always had a measure of truth in it. Not all things, but some, have often had to be re-examined and re-explained or restated. But, even though I recognize all this and find comfort in it, I might still be alarmed at the wide possibilities suggested by Mr. Jusserand if I were indeed the first to thrust out my tiny boat upon this "South Sea of discovery." But as I understand the matter, I occupy no such position of danger and honor. I am merely a humble follower in paths of science long known and well charted. The history of literature has been rewritten very largely, and rewritten to no small degree by precisely the same methods that I have employed. And

unless human energy flags and men become content to accept the records of the past at their face value and in their superficial meaning, many another ancient error will take its place in the long list of those which could not bear the light of historical and critical research.

Shall I make a list of the achievements of my predecessors? It is not necessary. *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?* Every reader can make for himself a list that will abundantly support my courage. And, curiously enough, more than one list will contain, among the names of those to whom such achievements are due, the name of Mr. Jusserand himself.

IX

To the arguments for unity of authorship recalled at the beginning of Section IX I have already replied, and shown them to be unsound. The new "connecting link" is also too weak to sustain even its own weight.

The versions are bound together, Mr. Jusserand asserts, by hints about the author, his thoughts, and his manner of life. That the figure of the dreamer, once conceived, should be continued along essentially the same lines by anyone sufficiently in sympathy to wish to add to the poem, need occasion no surprise, even if the early figure were more definite and the continuations more consistent than they are. As for the localities, upon which so much stress is laid, the Malvern Hills are, no doubt, a locality with which A 1 had special associations of some sort, but they have apparently no special significance for the other writers. Moreover, definiteness of localization, not unknown in other satirical poems, is not so marked a feature of all these visions as Mr. Jusserand implies. A's visions occur on Malvern Hills, A2's beside some unnamed wood. In C, VI, 1, the dreamer who had gone to sleep on the Malvern Hills apparently awakes in Cornhill, though it is of course possible to contend that this line is not a note of place but of time. B (and C) falls asleep while already asleep, B, XI, 1; awakes at some indefinite place, XI, 396, but meets and talks with Ymaginatyf, XI, 400—XII, 293; awakes again (in an unnamed place), XIII, 1; sleeps again, XIII, 21, and wakes, XIV,

332; is rocked to sleep by Resoun, XV, 11, and, while talking with Anima, swoons and lies in a long dream, XVI, 19—an absurdity omitted by C; awakes, *ibid.*, 167—not in C—and on Midlent Sunday meets Abraham or Faith, XVI, 172 ff., Spes, XVII, 1, and the Samaritan, or Christ, *ibid.*, 48 (cf. 107); awakes again, *ibid.*, 350; leans to a “lenten” and sleeps, XVIII, 5, and awakes, apparently in his cot in Cornhill, on Easter morning, *ibid.*, 424; in spite of the interest of the day, he falls asleep during Mass, XIX, 4; awakes and writes what he has dreamed, *ibid.*, 478; meets Need and converses with him, XX, 1; falls asleep, *ibid.*, 50; and, finally, awakes again, *ibid.*, 384. I have given in this *résumé* all the definite localizations of the dreams both as to time and as to place. If definiteness is the characteristic of A’s work, it clearly is not of B’s. C alters the framework so little that no conclusion can be drawn. The dozen or so places and things in and about London that are mentioned indicate, of course, some familiarity with London, but considering the importance of London and the number of its inhabitants, do not oblige us to assume unity of authorship, if there is any evidence against it.

The personal notes common to all the visions upon which Mr. Jusserand insists are in reality singularly few.

On the question of the increasing age of the successive authors (or the single author), which Mr. Jusserand again raises, I have already spoken. There is nothing to indicate that A 1 or A 2 is younger than B, or that B is younger than C. He cites the well-known passage, B, XII, 3 ff., to prove that the poet “has reached middle age, though not yet old age.” In B, XX, 182 ff., however, we learn that B has been overrun by old age (Eld) and has lost hair, teeth, hearing, and vigor, and that, because of age, Death draws near him. Of course it is easy to contend that many years elapsed between the composition of B, XII, and B, XX; but the truth probably is that we cannot construct the chronology of any of these poets from the hints given in the poems. “The minute care” as to chronology which Mr. Jusserand finds so extraordinary in these poems does not exist in reality. Professor Jack showed long ago how vaguely numbers are used (*Journ. Germ. Phil.*, III, 393–403). A good example is that cited by Mr. Jusserand as an

instance of minute care. C changes the "fyve and fourty wyntre" of B, XII, 3, to "more than fourty wyntre." If approximate accuracy were desired, would not "fyve and syxty wyntre" have been better?

Turning from these insignificant details, we find that Mr. Jusserand objects to my view that Kitte and Kalote are not to be taken literally as the names of the author's wife and daughter. He says that Kitte was not always a name of unpleasant import—which is perfectly true, of course—and he declares that the opprobrious meaning attributed to the names at that date is a mere assumption for which no proof is adduced. Now, my point is that *both* names have unpleasant suggestions. Had Kitte been used alone, I should have thought nothing of its import, but Kitte and Kalote together here are as unmistakable as Kyt calot in John Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs* (I, xi, 181).¹ Mr. Jusserand asks me to note that "the oldest example quoted in Murray's *Dictionary* of 'callet' being used to designate a 'lewd woman, trull, strumpet, drab,' is of about 1500." It is more important to note that this is the earliest meaning; and that the milder meaning is more easily derived from this than this from that. The Heywood and More passages will relieve us of the need of arguing the question whether "Kalote" and "callet" are the same word. So far as the opprobrious meaning of Kitte in the fourteenth century is concerned, I did not think it necessary to produce the evidence formally; in *Piers Plowman*, C, VIII, 300 ff., Actif says:

Ich have ywedded a wyf · wel wantowen of maners;
Were ich sevenyght fro hure syghte · synnen hue wolde;

· · · · ·
Ich may nat come for a Kytte, · so hue cleueth on me.

I do not feel at all bound to explain why these names were chosen or why they were used in the passage where the dreamer (the author, Mr. Jusserand calls him) is awakened by the bells on Easter morn. It may be that he used the names loosely (= those poor dirty sinful creatures) for the sake of securing the sort of contrast of which he seems so fond and which he developed so

¹Cf. also, "Frere Luther and Cate calate his nunne lye luskynge together in lechery," More, *Confut. Tindale*, Wks. 423/2, in *Oxf. Dict. s. v.* "callet."

remarkably in the figure of the dreamer, as Mr. Jusserand showed long ago in his brilliant and charming book on these poems. But there are many vagaries of B and C that I cannot explain. Even in connection with this Resurrection morn there is another that puzzles me. Why should the dreamer who has awakened so impressively at the sound of the Easter bells and bidden Kitte and Kalote creep to the cross—why should he, when he has dight him dearly and gone to church to hear the mass and be houseled after, fall asleep at the offertory, as he does in B, XIX, 5? “The answere of this,” in the words of Chaucer, “I lete to dyvynes.”

I referred to Professor Jack's article (cited above) as having proved conclusively that the supposed autobiographical details, given mainly by B and C, are mere parts of the fiction. Upon the basis of this Mr. Jusserand wishes to hold me responsible for every phrase of Professor Jack's article—some of which seem to me a little less definite than the admirable argument justifies—and also to make the curious inference that, because Professor Jack and I think that the dreamer and his career are a part of the fiction, and cannot be safely used to reconstruct the author's life, we are therefore committed to the position that the creators of this dreamer carefully excluded from their work every item of personal experience. Surely we are not so committed. Most fictions are in some way—not always ascertainable—based upon the writer's experience and observation. But even if one were told, in the case of a given fiction that 25 per cent. of it was true, it would be difficult, in the absence of other evidence, to separate the truth from the fiction; and in the present instance we have no means of determining what events are given literally, what are the results of observation and hearsay, and what are experience transformed beyond recognition. That Rabelais knew some of the places of which he wrote and among which he made his characters move is true enough, but does Mr. Jusserand maintain that every place Rabelais mentioned belonged to his own experience and that his biography could be written by transcribing the movements of Pantagruel or Gargantua or Panurge?

Mr. Jusserand is mistaken, I think, in believing that Professor Jack himself felt any misgivings in regard to his results.

What Mr. Jusserand takes as such are to be interpreted in the sense of the paragraph which precedes this. Professor Jack's expressions are too definite and explicit to admit of any doubt on this point when read in their entirety.

We do indeed know many of the hopes and fears, the interests and the ideals of the authors of these poems. This is not their biography, but it is far more important. The significance and importance of the poems lies not in the question whether the name William Langland can be definitely associated with them or not, nor in the question whether one or more of the authors was born or educated among the Malvern Hills and lived in Cornhill in later years, but in the fact that these hopes and ideals were cherished in the fourteenth century by men who gave them such expression as commanded the attention of many men of that time and still has power to kindle our imaginations and stir our hearts after the lapse of five centuries. For my own part, I find it especially significant, as I have before said, that more than one man was moved by these ideals and wrought upon these powerful poems.

X

This were a wikked way but who-so hadde a gyde,
was the cry of the bewildered pilgrims, as they set out to seek Truth. Many readers of this discussion may feel that the way is even "wikkeder" with two guides, like Mr. Jusserand and myself, each pulling them in different directions and confidently recommending his route, not only as safer and better but as the only one that leads to the shining Tower. I can only hope that all who have followed me are not only content at the end of the long and tedious journey, but recognize that upon Mr. Jusserand's way many of the bridges which are fairest in outward seeming are really unsafe structures with a crumbling keystone, that pitfalls lie concealed beneath some of the most attractive stretches of his road, and, finally, that it leads them into a "no-thoroughfare" from which the confiding traveler must turn back and seek painfully the plain highway which he abandoned, under the influence of Mr. Jusserand's eloquence, for the soft but dangerous by-paths.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

A TERMINAL NOTE ON THE LOST LEAF

I had hoped to be able to keep the discussion of authorship—the fundamental question—from being complicated by the entirely subordinate question as to whether Mr. Bradley or I (or, I may add, Mr. Jusserand) had offered the most probable explanation of the way in which the confusion (and loss) occurred. And because it is in reality a matter which does not affect the fundamental question, I have never replied to Mr. Bradley's letter in the *Athenaeum*. As, however, Mr. Jusserand dismisses my view with a word and finds some support for his own in one feature of Mr. Bradley's, I will present here briefly my reasons for still preferring my view to Mr. Bradley's.

And first, I will state the objections against my view as I understand them. Mr. Bradley, in his letter said only that "it leaves us still under the necessity of supposing that, after relating in succession the confessions of the seven sins, he [the poet] introduced at the end a new penitent, whose offenses, according to mediaeval classification, belong to one of the branches of Covetousness;" but he would doubtless assent to the view held by Mr. Jusserand and by him credited also to Mr. Bradley (it is, indeed, implicit in Mr. Bradley's objection) that "no conceivable lost passage with lines making a transition from Sloth to Robert the Robber could be at all satisfactory." Dr. Furnivall has, in our talks on the subject, given as a reason for preferring Mr. Bradley's view to mine, that the loss of an inner double leaf, as supposed by me, could hardly occur.

To the second and first objections I would reply that I think we could safely trust the original author to write in sixty-two lines (the number missing according to my hypothesis) a thoroughly satisfactory transition from the personifications of the Sins to Robert the Robber and the "thousent of men" that "throngen togedere," weeping and wailing and crying upward to Christ, with which the *passus* ends; and one might expect him to introduce at the close of this scene concrete single figures before returning to the crowd, just as at the beginning of the scene, he had introduced between the mention of the "field ful of folk" and the Sins such figures as Thomas (l. 28), Felice (29), Watte and his wife (30), merchants (32),

priests and prelates (34), monks and friars (37) Wille, or William, as two MSS have it,¹ (44) and Pernel Proudheart (45), who from being purely concrete in l. 26 has become half abstract and transitional. Mr. Jusserand says rightly in another place (p. 21) that "the six lines [preceding the name of Robert the Robber] cannot be properly attached, such as they are, to any part of the poem, neither where they stand in A and B nor where the confession of Coveitise ends," which he and Mr. Bradley think is their real place. And he thinks that no one but the author could "imagine what single [additional] verse can make sense of that nonsense." I do not agree with him that C succeeded in doing this, but after finding, as he thinks he has found, that an author can make in a single line a connection inconceivable by anyone but himself, how can he maintain that with sixty-two lines in which to accomplish his task, an author of genius could not make a transition the precise nature of which we cannot now conceive? Sixty-two lines is much. Give a writer like A sixty-two lines and you make him a king of infinite space: the wide vision of the Prologue is accomplished in less than twice this amount. With regard to Dr. Furnivall's objection I will say that, although it is perhaps not very easy for a sewn MS to lose any of its inner leaves, yet such losses do occur, and not infrequently. I will cite only three instances. MS Dd.3.13 of the Camb. Univ. Lib. besides lacking some leaves at the beginning and the end has two gaps, says Professor Skeat (Vol. III, p. xliii), viz., XIV, 227—XV, 40 and XVI, 288—XVII, 41. I calculated that these gaps were caused by a single loss, that of the outside pair of a quire of eight. In reply to my inquiry upon this point, Dr. Jenkinson writes: "The two leaves missing are, as you surmise, the outside pair of a quire of eight; viz., h1 and h8." But this may not be accepted as a good parallel, as the leaves are an outer pair, although the quire is an inner quire and as such would be well protected under ordi-

¹ But for the later developments of the A2, B, and C texts, no one, probably, would take this "Wille" or that in A, VIII, 43 for the author. These are no doubt the basis for the later developments, but I would point out: (1) that the author does not elsewhere in A speak of himself in the third person; (2) that, although Will copies the pardon in A, VIII, 43, 44, the author peeps over the shoulders of Piers and the priest fifty lines further on (l. 98) in order to see what it contains; (3) that in V, 44 Will apparently belongs to the same category of definitely named but otherwise unknown figures as Thomas and Felice and Watte.

nary circumstances. In the *Castle of Perseverance* the loss of the next to the outside pair of leaves of the second quire (i. e., B₂) has caused two gaps, pointed out and discussed by Mr. Pollard (*The Macro Plays*, pp. xxxi f.). This is an inner pair of leaves and their loss would have been no more difficult if they had stood next to the innermost instead of next to the outermost pair.

Furthermore, as Mr. Knott points out to me, the immediate source of three *Piers Plowman* MSS (Rawl. Poet. 137, Univ. Coll. Oxf., and Trin. Coll. Dubl.) was a MS in which A, VII, 71-216 (less four lines) was misplaced. These 142 lines obviously occupied a single sheet, that is, either the two pages of a single leaf or the four pages of a double leaf which was the innermost of a quire. The latter seems the more likely, not only because MSS of about 36 lines to the page are commoner than those of 71, but also because, if the MS from which R U T₂ are derived be conceived as having about 36 lines to a page, the transferred passage will actually occupy the innermost double leaf of the third quire, supposing the quires to be made up of 4 double leaves or 16 pages. Apparently, therefore, the innermost leaf of a *Piers Plowman* MS was, in this instance, lost from its place.

The objections to my view seem, therefore, not serious. I prefer it to Mr. Bradley's, because, in the first place, it is simpler to account for both gaps, as I have done, by a single loss than to suppose, as Mr. Bradley does, that some loose sheets containing Wrath (and the end of Envy) were lost and the one containing Robert the Robber misplaced. Mr. Bradley's view makes it necessary to suppose that the author was prevented by some cause (perhaps death before the completion of the MS) from revising the copy made by the scribe. A scribe putting an author's work into book form from loose sheets would be more likely to be on his guard against getting a sheet in the wrong place than one who was copying a supposedly well-arranged book would be against a possible gap in his original; and no scribe thus on his guard would ever have thought of joining this Robert the Robber passage to Sloth. If he did not know where it belonged, he would probably put it under Coveitise, as C and Mr. Bradley and Mr. Jusserand

have done, in spite of the fact that, as it stands, it cannot be joined to Coveitise, and that no other Sin has two representatives. The very fact that the first impulse of every one is to refer this passage to Coveitise, combined with the facts that it was not put there by the scribe and cannot in its present form be put there by anyone, should teach us that this first impulse is wrong and that our theory must account not only for the existence of the passage but also for its present place in the MS.

Having explained, and I hope justified, my unwillingness to assent to Mr. Jusserand's assumption that Mr. Bradley has shown my theory of the manner in which the two faults in A, V occurred to be untenable, I wish to repeat that this is merely an incidental question, not fundamental to this discussion. Professor C. F. Brown in a letter to the *New York Nation* (Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 298 f.; March 25, 1909) repeats independently a suggestion made by Mr. T. D. Hall in the *Modern Language Review* (Vol. IV, p. 1, Oct., 1908) that the whole difficulty in the Robert the Robber passage can be remedied by placing ll. 236-41 between l. 253 and l. 254. I do not see how it is possible for 236, 237 to follow 237, 238.¹ If Robert had not "wher-with," of what avail would be his conditional promise of restitution? In regard to the absence of Wrath from the territories of the Charter, II, 60-74, I may note that the MS from which all extant texts of A are derived already contained some errors. Like Professor Brown, I was at first disturbed by the recognition that the accidental absence of Wrath here and in *passus v* would be a curious coincidence, but I reflected that it would be very difficult to suggest a reason why the author should wish to omit Wrath; to be sure New Guise proclaims in *Mankind*, 699, the joyful news, "There arn but sex dedly synnys" (cf. also *Bannatyne MS*, p. 483), but he made a different omission, and we can guess his reasons. And if the author had no reason, but made the omissions accidentally, we still have the coincidence. But as Mr. Bradley says, it is incredible that a serious writer in the Middle Ages should omit any of the sins by forgetfulness.

May I here correct a misapprehension into which Professor Brown and some others have fallen, viz., that it was the theory of

¹ I see that Mr. Bradley has already made this point in his letter to the *Nation*, April 29, discussing Professor Brown's theory.

the "lost leaf" that led me "to re-examine the relation of the revised texts to the original form of the poem." On the contrary, as I stated in the first paragraph of my paper on the "Lost Leaf," it was in the summer of 1904 that I began to re-examine the relations of the texts and to feel that the stylistic differences were such as to make it hard to believe that they were the work of one man. In 1905 I undertook to study the relations of the texts with a class of graduate students and in the course of that study the theory of the "lost leaf" suggested itself as the most probable explanation of the confusion at A, V, 235, 236. My first thought was that a leaf had been skipped in copying at this point. Then I remembered the omission of Wrath from the Confessions, which, accompanied as it was by the similar omission of it from the Charter, had puzzled us sorely. The possibility of a single loss of a pair of leaves suggested itself as accounting for the two large faults; I made some calculations to see if the missing leaves would be parts of the same leaf, and found that they might. Several explanations of the difficulties had previously been canvassed both privately and in the classroom. I make this explanation not because I regard it as important that the actual order of my mental processes should be known, but because it seems to me that the striking character of the argument in regard to the "lost leaf" and other failures of B and C to understand their predecessors has fixed our attention too much on these external matters and too little on the very important questions of style, sentence structure, versification, visualization, use of imagery, interests, social and theological views, etc. I am perhaps as much to blame for this as anyone else, for I have merely indicated the nature of these differences without giving evidence. I may say in partial exculpation, that my pupils and I have made many studies and collected much material on most of these points, and hope some day to publish our results.

Had I seen Mr. Knott's excellent defense of my view in the *Nation*, May 13, 1909, before writing this paper, I would not have written this terminal note. But as it contains a few points not presented by him, I will let it stand as written, with the addition of the three sentences noted above as coming from him.

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THE FOUNTAIN DEFENDED

II

Por la costume maintenir
De vostre fontaine deffandre.—*Yvain*, vss. 1848 ff.

In discussing the sources of the *Yvain*¹ the testimony of the text is of prime importance. This seems obvious. Yet glancing through the rather heated discussion of Crestien's poem one realizes that the principle is not always followed. Theoretically the commentators may be agreed that the fountain episode "constitutes² the distinctive element of the romance," but we know that in practice the fairy-mistress (Laudine is a water-nymph, argues Brown,³ "simply because she happens to be a fée") and the *wetterwendisches weib* ("Laudine ist keine Fee," Foerster, 3d ed., 1906, p. xlvii) have in turn been holding the boards. Crestien's material is one thing, and his thought or interpretation, like any poet's, is another. The commentator, while keeping both points of view in mind, must distinguish between them. For Crestien's material, if it had a coherent form, and that seems possible, had a meaning of its own.

It is possible, as Foerster has pointed out, that Crestien's intent in writing the *Yvain* was to hold up to scorn the disdainful lady of his day, the very person whom in the *Lancelot* he was probably

¹ Cf. Foerster, 3d ed., p. v, n. 2: "*deutsch also Iwain*."

² See *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 331 ff.

³ *Iwain, a Study*, p. 22.

compelled to exalt. We may say Crestien applies to French court life the dialectics of the schoolmen: they expound the dogma of religion, he expounds the dogma of social conduct—a different subject but the same method. *Cligés*, the romance of Crestien's which we know best, is an attempt to make a romantic love conform to a social standard of correct behavior.¹ Crestien is mediaeval to the core; to this fact his other works bear testimony, and his treatment is singularly literal. He may be inventive, to a certain degree, yet he is certainly not imaginative. But this is not, as I have indicated, the problem that concerns us. We are attempting to discover—from his text—the character of the material he employed. Did his material have a coherent form before it came into his hands? If so, what was its theme? For on the latter question much more depends than on matters of detail, such, for example, whether the fountain of the *Yvain* has descriptive traits which class it with other Celtic fountains;² for Celtic the *Yvain* fountain is perforce, inasmuch as it is the fountain of Bérenton and that lies in Celtic territory.

In 1905,³ I ventured to identify the theme of the *conte* which has here been spun into a romance with that of the Arician Diana myth. I need not retrace my steps here except to repeat the words⁴ in which I summed up my theory. I said: "It is clear that the *conte* on which Crestien drew represented a version of the Italic Diana myth. And should this inference prove too far-sweeping, it is at least probable that the source itself was a fusion of this theme with one of Celtic origin." And, in referring to the details of the fountain episode (not the mere description of the fountain): these "details probably point to an undercurrent of folk-tale, of the kind embodied in the Diana myth."⁵ The weak point in my argument doubtless was the emphasis laid on the parallelism of the names, since it was evident to me then,⁶ as it is now, that there

¹ Cf. Van Hamel, *Romania*, XXXIV (1904), p. 472 and *passim*; also my first article, *Modern Philology*, III, p. 287. But I do not wish to imply that Crestien had a deeply moral purpose: his ideas were those of the circles he frequented.

² Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 332 ff.

³ My previous article in *Modern Philology*, III, pp. 289-80.

⁴ For misquotations see below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁶ "Should not Laudine be a perverted form of *La diane*," *op. cit.*, p. 277.

are phonetic reasons against deriving Laudine < La Diane. At the time, however, what I wished to prove was that the romance is fundamentally a fountain-myth, originating in a fountain-cult, and that its connection with the fairy-mistress theme of the *Serglige-Conculaind* type is secondary, perhaps, indeed, carried over from the source of one of Crestien's other stories. In this respect my opinion is unchanged, and the material I shall now adduce is in support of this view. But I never affirmed, as has recently been said,¹ that the fountain-episode is "a direct survival of the Arician myth of Diana," nor did I harbor the thought that "Crestien took his material from this myth."

At the outset the question arises whether Laudine is originally a water-goddess, as Baist affirms, *eine Wasserfrau*.² If she is, then there is an inherent probability that the *Yvain* is a development of a fountain-deity cult. This, we remember, was the point of departure of Ahlström, who thought that the fountain and the lady are inseparable, and that Laudine belongs to the swan-maiden type.³ The view is stoutly opposed by Brown⁴ and by Foerster, by the former with the fairy-mistress hypothesis, and by the latter in the following words:⁵

Gerade die Tatsache, dass nach der erreichten Verbindung der beiden [Laudine and Yvain] von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist, dass Laudine, die den Yvain nur geheirathet hat, um einen Beschützer zu finden, ihn sofort ziehen lässt und, an die wiederum mindestens auf ein Jahr ungeschirmte Quelle gar nicht mehr denkt, zeigt, dass die Quelle ein ganz fremdes Einschiebsel ist, und dass zwischen ihr und Laudine kein wie immer beschaffener Zusammenhang besteht.

The weakness of Brown's argument *on this particular point* I have tried to show elsewhere,⁶ and I need not repeat here. As regards Foerster's statement, the words *von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist* are not to be taken too literally, for in vss. 6595 ff. we read:

Qu'an aus n'ai je nule atandue,
Que ja par aus soit deffandue
La fontainne ne li perrons.

¹ *Modern Philology*, VI, p. 331.

² *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, XXI, pp. 402-5.

³ *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, pp. 294-303.

⁴ *Iwain*, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ Third ed., p. xxiv, n. 1.

⁶ *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, pp. 80-85; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 269.

Furthermore, Laudine had previously shown ample concern about the defense of her fountain:

Qu'ele estoit an grant cusangon
De sa fontainne garantir.—Vss. 1736 ff.
Et oseriiez vos anprandre
Por moi ma fontainne a deffandre?—Vss. 2034 ff.

And Lunete especially cautions her mistress:

Por la costume maintenir
De vostre fontainne deffandre,
Vos covandroit buen consoil prandre.—Vss. 1848 ff.

On the basis of these passages I previously remarked:¹ "This function, the *defense* of the Fountain, is the essential point in the whole tale." I also called attention to the fact that Crestien differentiates the visits of Calogrenant and Arthur² from that of Yvain by dwelling on the date and hour of their arrival, and by having Arthur go from Carduel direct, through the summons of the Dameisele Sauvage, instead of visiting the Hospitable Host and the Giant Herdsman on the way. In addition to the general situation (manner of defense, succession of defenders, etc.), various details led me to suppose that the defense was concerned ultimately with the protection of the tree-spirit, a fire- and rain-making divinity, such as Frazer had shown the Arician goddess to be. But leaving aside the last consideration for the present, the testimony of the text alone would show that Laudine requires Yvain primarily as a protector of her fountain, with which her welfare is thus somehow connected. For this reason I believe that Baist is right in assuming that Laudine represents a water-goddess—if not in name, then at least in function.

Now the striking thing about the parallels to Crestien's fountain which have been adduced from Celtic sources is that however like it they be in certain details, only one of them, the Irish *Gilla Decair*,³ involves the defense of the fountain by a living being. To this particular parallel I shall return below.⁴ The other mediaeval

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

² On the occasion of Arthur's visit the text again brings out the feature of the defense, in vss. 2220 ff.

³ *Ivain*, p. 104.

⁴ This tale is again summarized by Miss Morgan but without any reference to Mr. Brown's previous summary. Other references, as Brown states, had been made by Macbain, *Celtic*

parallels either lack the *perron* which plays so important a part in the *Yvain* or they can readily be explained—one only has to consult Foerster (3d ed., pp. xxv–xxxi)—as varying accounts of the self-same fountain to which our romance refers. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, XCI), Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls series, V, p. 89) refer to Brittany by name; Guillaume le Breton (*Philippis*, VI, 445) speaks of *Brecliacensis*, which from the context is almost surely Broceliande, and Thomas Cantapranus is not, as Miss Morgan fancies, referring to Great Britain but to Brittany: Thomas calls England *Anglia* and the *illis in partibus* where history tells us Richard waged war is *Brittania* or *Armorica*. Alexander Neckam,² who describes the fountain on hearsay, does not localize it.

There is, however, a neglected parallel to the characteristic trait of the Armorican fountain which brings the sudden-storm into connection with a nature divinity. Before mentioning it, it may be well to restate the traits of our fountain which have seemed to scholars to be essential:

a) The fountain has next to it a *perron* or a slab of stone:³

Li perrons est d' une esmeraude,
 Perciez aussi come une boz,
 S'i ot quatre rubiz desoz
 Plus flanboianz et plus vermauz,
 Que n'est au matin li solauz
 Quant il apert en oriant.⁴—Vss. 424 ff.

Magazine, IX, p. 278; Alfred Nutt, *ibid.*, XII, p. 355; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 187 ff., and F. Lot, *Romania*, XXI, pp. 67 ff. Brown also gives the Giraldus Cambrensis reference, *Topogr. Hiberniae*, disc. ii, chap. 7, to the fountain in Munster; and Lady Guest in the *Mabinogion*, I, p. 228, mentions the Snowdon tale in Wales where the *perron* is called the "red altar." But, in addition to Miss Morgan's references, Brown refers to J. M. MacKinlay, *Folklore of the Scottish Lochs*, p. 222, for an account of a blue stone (the *perron*) near Skye on which water was poured to procure rain; cf. note, below, on the "rain-stone."

¹ Cf. Foerster, *loc. cit.*

² *De naturis rerum*, II, chap. vii.

³ In Thomas a kind of dolmen; cf. Foerster¹, p. xxix.

⁴ Of course the *perron* is the well known "rain-stone," cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*¹, I, p. 109 (the University of California library does not yet possess the third edition of Frazer). This is merely one of many ways resorted to by sympathetic magic in order to bring on rainfall. There is not room here to review the question adequately; see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, § 263, "Steinfetische;" Le P. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1903, chap. v, § 4: "les pierres sacrées (bétyles);" Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 45, 46 (a reference I owe to Dr. G. L. Hamilton). With the growth of demonology arose the idea that the stone was inhabited by a demon, whose acts might be unfriendly to man; cf. Gruppe, p. 775. Hence the "injurious storm" as in the *Yvain*, a similar one being found in

In Crestien the fountain is shaded by a tree:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,
Que ce estoit li plus biaux pins
Qui onques sor terre creüst.—Vss. 413 ff.

This tree is *not* found in the other accounts, whence Kölbing¹ argued that it is an addition derived from the Brendan legend.

b) Water from the fountain is poured on this *perron*, by means of a cup² hanging from the tree.

c) A sudden, violent storm thereupon takes place.³

Thus it is clear that what really produces the storm is not a disturbance of the fountain, but water being poured upon the stone slab by its side (from a cup which had been hanging on the tree nearby). Under the heading of Juppiter Elicius, commonly

Perlesvaus (Potvin, I, p. 90) after Gawain's failure at the Grail Castle. Mr. Hamilton calls my attention to the fact that among the Mongols the magic stone was thus used to the detriment of one's enemies; in somewhat like manner, the heliotrope (cf. Crestien's *esmeralde*) in the mediaeval lapidaries; see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), p. 68:

Oez l'assens del Yotrophie
Ke tute gent ne sevent mie.
D' *esmeralde* après la colur,
N'a pas meismes la valur;
Estancelée est de gutes vermailles.
Ore escutez ci granz merveilles:
Ky cele pere en eawe met,
En un bon vessel bel e net,
E tut si en rai du solail,
Il devandra trestut vermail;
Tut ert coluré come sanc,
Ja tant n'ert beals ne cler no blanc,
Si ke tuz ceus le verunt
A eclypse le jurerunt;
E l' eawe en vaissel on gerra,
Sachez ke tot boillir fera,
E f(e)ra par l' eir *tenebror*
E tantost plotetir par entor.
Ki la porte pot deviner
Plusurs choses, si l' ad mester.
Mut fet home de bone fame
E viouge en maint reame. (The italics are mine.)

For an account of how the eastern islanders make rain by means of a stone image, called *doiom*, which can be employed magically against enemies see *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1906, VI, pp. 194, 234.

But distinct from the rain-stone, at least originally, are the numerous Celtic "inundation" stories cited by Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, in which an irate deity is also concerned.

Professor Hugo Schilling has called to my notice that Hartmann v. Aue reads:

Und ob dem brunne stêt ein
harte zierlicher stein (vss. 581-82);

whereas Crestien has:

Lez la fontainne troveras
Un perron tel, con tu verras.
—vss. 390, 391.

¹ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, XI, pp. 442-48. Cf. below. I now think the tree is part of the theme.

² Vs. 438.

³ The "boiling" of the fountain, vs. 380, I have previously mentioned; cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 274.

associated by the poets with Juppiter Fulgator, Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon*¹ mentions the following:

Es bestand nun zu Rom, wo in folge langanhaltender Dürre (Nissen, *Italische Landeskulte*, I, s. 375, 379) nicht selten Wassermangel herrschte, ein eigenartiger Brauch, um den ersehnten Regen dem Himmel zu entlocken. *Paul*, s. 128. *manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam quae est extra portem Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in urbem pertraherent insequebatur pluvia statim eumque quod aquas manarent, manalem lapidem dixerunt.* Der echt römische Ritus der Prozession spricht für ihr hohes Alter. Die Pontifices besorgen die Opferhandlungen (Varro b. *Non.*, s. 547) und ziehen selber den Stein (Serv. *ad Aen.*, 3, 175), es folgen ihnen barfüssig mit aufgelöstem Haar die Matronen (Petron. 44) und die Magistrate ohne die Abzeichen ihres Amtes (Tertull. *de ieiun.* 16). Der Stein sei, schliesst Gilbert, *Gesch. u. Top. Roms*, 2. s. 154 a. 1 aus Nonius und Paulus a. a. O., in Form eines *urceolus*, eines Kruges, ausgehöhlt gewesen und aus dieser Höhlung sei Wasser vergossen worden, "offenbar zu dem Zwecke, um durch diese dramatische Wiedergabe des Regens diesen selbst in natura gleichsam aus dem Himmel d. i. Juppiter herauszulocken." . . . Das Aquaelicism [bildet] den ganzen Inhalt des Dienstes.²

It is to be noted also that in *Juppiter* as in *Diana*, the basic root is Indo-Ger. *di- div-*, "glänzen" or "leuchten," and that the god incarnates the creative power in nature: "Auf die Fruchtbarkeit von Menschen u. Tieren, auf das Gedeihen der Saaten und Felder erstreckt sich sein Wirken." Thus we have another link³ in the chain of probability that the *Yvain* embodies a nature cult.

In Gaul the cult of a river- or fountain-deity was probably once general. The frequent occurrence of river names in *div-* is striking: *La Dive*, *La Duis*, *La Dianna*, *La Devona*, *L'Andiole*, etc.⁴ The fountain of Bordeaux, celebrated by Ausonius under the name of "*Divonā*," was said by him to signify *Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis*, and he himself invokes it as *sacer, alme, perennis, urbis genius*,⁵ etc. Lake Andéol, at the foot of Mt. Helanus in

¹ II, 657.

² Cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, n. 2, 1524, and the references cited above.

³ For others see *Modern Philology*, III, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See below. Cf. also a few river-names in Great Britain: the Dee, etc.; see Bhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, p. 442.

⁵ *Ord. urb. nob.*, 157-62. Cf. G. D. Hadzsits, "Aphrodite and the Dione Myth," *Amer Jour. Phil.*, XXX, pp. 38-53.

the Cévennes, according to Gregory of Tours,¹ was the object of a cult of considerable magnitude, which lasted several days; on the fourth day, he says, there arose "tempestas cum tonitruo et coruscatione valida; et in tantum imber ingens cum lapidum violentia descendebat ut vix se quisquam eorum (of the people) putaret evadere." The Dea (S)Dirona, found on the cippus at Sainte-Fontaine in 1751,² and frequently mentioned by the side of Apollo,³ is presumably a similar personage.

If now we turn to Holder,⁴ we find the goddess *Dēvōna* associated prominently with three fountains in Gaul: (1) Cahors, where the name was given the Fontaine des Chartreux; (2) Bordeaux, where it is latinized to *Divōna*,⁵ and (3) Divonne in the *dép. Ain, arrond. Gex*. According to Holder, *Dianna* = *Divonne-Fontaine, dép. Yonne(?)*, and *Diona*, from which *La Vione* developed, are presumably the same name.

In the form *Dibona* it occurs in the highly interesting inscription published by Jullian in the *Revue celtique* (1898) and recently again by Mr. Nicholson.⁶ The inscription, which is Pictavian, "is engraved on two sides of a leaden tablet . . . found in 1887 in a well at Rom, about thirty-eight kilometers southwest of Poitiers. In the same well were fifteen similar tablets, but uninscribed. M. Jullian says: 'C'était l'usage, dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine, de confier non seulement à des tombes, mais à la mer, aux fleuves et même aux sources des puits les tablettes adressées aux divinités infernales et sur lesquelles les dévots avaient tracé leurs souhaits ou leurs exécutions'." The translation, according to Mr. Nicholson, runs:

1

For thought's love, ever-continuing Caticatona, to-servants [of thine] be flow-strong; since servants [-of-thine] are-going-round.

¹ *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. ii.

² Bertrand, *Relig. des Gaulois*, fig. 34.

³ Cf. also *Revue celtique*, IV, p. 6, and Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, s. v. *Dēvōna*: "abgeleitet von *deivōs* gott. 'die göttliche, glänzende.'" See Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 1002: "Diana ist ursprünglich zwar nicht Mondgöttin, aber Lichtgöttin gewesen und als solche weiter Schützerin u. Patronin der Fruchtbarkeit im Pflanzenreich, Tierreich und unter den Menschen."

⁵ "An lat. *divos* angelehnte Form."

⁶ *Celtic Researches*, London, 1904, pp. 131 ff.

⁷ This view is upheld by Bertrand who says (*op. cit.*, p. 195): "Ces divinités sont gallo-romaines, assimilées ou assimilables aux divinités du panthéon grec et latin."

Be gracious, Dibona. With-this, goddess kind! With-this, pure one! with-this, joyous-one! Sueio is going-round: with-this, maiden continual! his servant Ponti-dunna [daughter-] of-Vouso(s).

2

Swell! we pray: today forthstretch thee, today forthstretch thee, to this beloved tribute!

We-two drink at this thy-own well: thee have-we-loved—forthstretch! Going-round daily at mid-day, "Swell!" we pray:

For this tribute, Imona, to-[thy-] servants be outreachi[ng] qu[ic]k.

Thus we have (1) an invocation by an unknown man and his female servant to a well-goddess, who is called (2) Caticatona, Dibona, or Imona, for (3) an increase of water, accompanied by (4) their daily procession around the well at noon. With the *Yvain* in mind—cf. especially, previous article, p. 273—we seem to be on familiar ground. The inscription is dated about the third century A. D. (not earlier than 293); that is, in Roman not Celtic¹ times, though it may, of course, represent a Celtic survival. Caticatōnā, apparently meaning "very white," is equally applicable, says Mr. Nicholson, to a village or a fountain goddess; Dibonā is Ausonius' fountain-deity Divona, corresponding to Dēvona; and Imōnā (cf. Lat. *imus*, "deep-dwelling") is another name of the same divinity.

The last name, I believe, gives us an important clue. Unless I am quite mistaken it is preserved in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Imāne von der Beāfontāne*. Martin² says "*Imāne* ist wohl eine der *Pucelles as puits*." Her French name would be *Imaine* (cf. *fontāne*=*fontaine*). The passage where she is mentioned is found at the beginning of Bk. III:³

"zwēne ritter unde ein magt
dā riten hiute morgen.
diu frouwe fuor mit sorgen:
mit sporn si vaste ruorten,
die die juncfrouwen fuorten."
ez was Meljahkanz
den ergāhte Karnahkarnanz

¹ The fact that the inscription is in Pictavian does not, however, prove that it refers to a Celtic custom. Cf. Jullian's remark.

² *Parsival*, II, p. 127.

³ 125, 15.

mit strîte er im die frouwen nam:
 diu was dâ vor an freuden lam.
 sie hiez Imâne
 von der Beâfontâne.

In other words, two knights, one of whom is familiar to us as Meleaganz (cf. *Charrete*, *passim*; *Yvain*, vs. 4742) are contending over this lady of the fountain, Imâne or originally Imona.

All of this was unknown to me in 1905. But at that time I did suggest tentatively that there might be a connection between Laudine de Landuc and Ydain de Landuc of the sparrow-hawk adventure in *Durmart li Gallois*,¹ which showed where the juncture of the fairy-mistress and the fountain themes lay. In *Erec* the sparrow-hawk incident takes place at Lalut,² not unlike Landuc. In *Yvain* the Castle of Ill Adventure in a way repeats the *Joie de la Cour* episode of the *Erec*. And Laudunet, the father of Laudine,³ who hails from Landuc, is king of a red city—a Celtic otherworld abode. My point was that Laudine, by being the object of a combat, thus became assimilated to the fairy-mistress theme. The fact that we possess an independent fountain-combat, in which Imâne bears witness to its primitive character, is an argument in favor of my former hypothesis.

To return now to our Gallo-Roman fountain of Imona or Dibona—what light, if any, does it throw on the *Yvain*? It lacks the storm, and the goddess does not appear to be in need of defense since no combat is even suggested. On the other hand, it is possible that Crestien's haughty patroness put some story about Dibona or one of her congeners into the poet's hands, especially if it could be shown that she was versed in the folklore of her mother's—Eleanor's—home; for Poitou was a region where Celtic and Roman customs may have long survived.⁴ But we are not compelled to assume—in order to understand the nature of Crestien's source—that he made use of this particular fountain-tradition, any more than we need to produce a specifically Gallic Dibona myth to see that our romance and the Italic story have very striking elements in common. The mere existence of the Dibona cult, the frequent occurrence of such names as Divonne, etc., the

¹ Ed. Stengel, vss. 2005 ff.

² Vss. 393 ff. and 6240 ff.

³ *Yvain*, vss. 2151-53.

⁴ Cf. *Grande encyclopédie*, s. v. "Poitiers."

fact that the inhabitants of Gaul worshiped Diana,¹ the precise references to her worship at Evreux in 1080, and earlier at Trèves,² the inscriptions bearing her name and its phonetic similarity to Dibona, besides the resemblance of cult—this, it seems to me, is ample testimony to estimate the approximate basis of Crestien's fountain-tale. It sprang from a nature-cult of the kind celebrated on the Rom tablet or of that elaborated in the Diana myth.³ So much our evidence seems to me to prove, and I do not see how circumstantial evidence, and our evidence on the *Yvain* has never been other than circumstantial, can prove more.

Furthermore, at present it is best to assume that our romance incorporates a Gallo-Roman—and not an insular Celtic—cult. The only insular Celtic parallel we have is the elaborate story of the *Gilla Decair*,⁴ which to our knowledge exists in no MS previous to

¹ Cf. my previous article, and references below.

² Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Eccles. Francorum*, VIII, 15: "Deinde territorium Trevericarum urbis expetii, et in quo nunc estis monte, habitaculum quod cernitis proprio labore construxi. Reperi tamen hic Dianae simulacrum, quod populus hic incredulus quasi deum adorabat," etc. Trèves here is plainly the modern Trier. There is, however, a Trèves in Anjou between Saumur and Angers, the *Trebes* near which was the *lac de Diane* of the *Merlin*; cf. first article, p. 275; also Brugger, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXIII (1908), pp. 172, 181. Evreux is just south of Rouen, and Amiens, the diocese of St. Eloi (cf. below), is north of Paris. As for the fountain-cult, we have Rom near Poitiers, Bordeaux and Cahors to the east-southeast of Bordeaux. North-northeast of Cahors is Tulle where the Lunade (cf. below) was celebrated.

³ For the distribution of oriental (Roman) cults in Gaul, see especially: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments de Mithra*, I, pp. 340-89, and C. H. Moore, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXXVIII (1907), p. 140.

Professor F. M. Warren calls my attention to Vacandard's "L'Idolâtrie en Gaule au VI^e et au VII^e siècle," *Rev. des quec. hist.*, LXV, pp. 424-55. I reproduce from it the following citations taken from the *Vita Eligii*, lib. II, chap. xv, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXVII, col. 528, 529: "Qu'aucun chrétien n'observe quel jour il sort de chez lui, ni quel jour il y entre, car Dieu a fait tous les jours . . . que nul ne croie aux devineresses et ne s'assoie pour écouter leurs chants, car ce sont des œuvres diaboliques; que nul, à la Saint-Jean, ou aux autres fêtes de saints, aux solstices, ne pratique les danses, les sauteriers, etc.: que nul n'invoque aut Neplunum, aut Orcum, aut Dianam, aut Minervam, aut Geniscum, aut caetera, hujusmodi ineptia credere. . . . Que nul n'allume des flambeaux ni ne fasse des vœux au pied des temples, fana, auprès des pierres, des fontaines, des arbres, des enclos, ou dans les carrefours. . . . Que nul n'invoque le soleil et la lune comme des dieux et ne jure par eux, car ce sont des créatures de Dieu. . . . Laissez là les fontaines et coupez les arbres qu'on appelle sacrés; défendez de faire ces images de pieds que l'on place aux embranchements des routes, et partout où vous en trouverez, jetez-les au feu. Quelle tristesse de voir que, si ces arbres, près desquels de malheureuses gens font des vœux, viennent à tomber, on n'ose les rapporter à la maison pour en faire du feu. Et combien grande est la folie des hommes qui rendent un culte à un arbre insensible et mort, et qui méprisent les commandements de Dieu!"

Nothing could show more clearly to what extent the cult of the fountain, tree, and moon-goddess was still alive in the north of Gaul (diocese of Amiens) at the beginning of the seventh century of our era. On Diana, see especially pp. 450-53. On Janus, her compeer according to Frazer (see below), consult p. 447.

⁴ *Iucain*, p. 104, and above.

the eighteenth century, though the version may be as early as 1630. But the *Gilla Decair* has such remarkable agreements with the completed *Yvain* that to deny the influence of a version of the latter upon it requires an effort of the imagination, especially as there is an eighteenth-century Irish *Yvain*, the *Echtra Ridire na Leoman* in Trinity College, Dublin.¹ And granting that to be a matter of opinion, incapable of proof in one direction or the other, surely no one will deny that it is impossible to take an eighteenth-century MS as our sole testimony of what may have occurred before or during the twelfth century. Yet we should be doing precisely this, if we accepted the *Gilla Decair* as proof of the insular Celtic origin of our fountain-tale. On the other hand, we have the Imona-cult persisting in *Parzival* and an identification of Diana with the Lady of the Lake in the *Prose Lancelot*, which, together with the relationship of Lunete and Niniane in the *Livre d'Artus* and of Diana and Niniane in the *Merlin*, shows that even as late as the thirteenth century it was possible in France to identify a fountain-story with the Diana theme.²

The cult of Dibona (Imona) as found near Poitiers in the third or fourth century plainly belonged to the kind of cult which Frazer considers in his *Golden Bough*. The Röm tablet appeals to the goddess to send forth her waters. Thus Dibona is a water goddess, but like Diana and Juppiter she probably is a fire-deity, too. In early rites the two functions are commonly united; moreover, how else explain the line:

"Going round daily at mid-day,"

unless we take it to refer to her capacity as the mid-day demon.³ We find it again in *Yvain*, vss. 410-12:

Espoir si fu tierce passee
Et pot estre pres de midi
Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. geleh. Anzeige*, 1890, p. 150.

² See my article in *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275; also the *Prose Lancelot*, 1520 ed., fol. 2d, and Gaston Paris and Ulrich, *Merlin*, I, p. lxviii; II, p. 145; as well as Sommer, *Merlin*, p. 222; Löseth, *Tristan en prose*, p. 374.

³ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*², III, p. 315; Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- u. Feldkulte*², Berlin, 1904, I, chap. iii: "Die Baumseele als Vegetationsdemon," and Gruppe, *op. cit.*, § 264, "Baumfetische."

More recently Frazer remarks: "The difference between these deities was of old merely superficial, going little deeper than the names, and leaving practically unaffected the essential functions of the god." These were concerned with the dependence of vegetation upon heat and moisture, sunshine and rain. The tree-spirit, Diana Nemorensis or Juppiter Arborator, embodied the two properties upon which vegetable, and indirectly human, life depended. And their creative act was symbolized in the mating of Juppiter with Juno, Diana with Dianus (or Janus).¹ The priest of Nemi represents no other than this consort, the *rex nemorensis*, and he is slain in the bloom of youth and succeeded by the slayer in order that Nature may not suffer. Herein lay the deeper meaning of the defense of Diana's lake and grove.²

It is surprising, as I pointed out in 1905, to what a large extent this situation is reproduced in Crestien's romance.

1. The rain-making device; cf. also the fire-demon traits.
2. The union of goddess and defender.
3. The defense of spring and tree.
4. The death of the first defender.
5. The rapid selection of his assailant as the next defender.³

The present material bears out this interpretation; in the Dibona cult and in the *perron*-incident associated with the Roman Juppiter. In the mediaeval form the latter feature seems to be characteristic of Broceliande.⁴ Scholarly opinion has been somewhat divided as to Crestien's relationship to the Armorican fountain.⁵ A verbal correspondence to Wace's *Roman de Rou* (vss. 6418 ff.) made it appear for a moment that Crestien had merely developed a hint from his contemporary. Even in that event we may assume that the *perron*-incident is an Armorican tradition, for the many references to Broceliande speak in favor of a folk-tradition independent of literary transmission.⁶ So that

¹ Cf. the *Dionas* in the *Merlin*; E. Brugger, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 174.

² Frazer's works, *The Golden Bough*³, *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, and *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, treat the question fully; cf. indices.

³ *Modern Philology*, III, 274, 275. ⁴ Bérenton in Brittany. ⁵ Cf. *Iwain*, chap. vii.

⁶ Foerster³, p. xxxi, says: "Was nun unsere Sturmquelle betrifft, so ist aus der wörtlichen Entsprechung zwischen Wace und dem späteren Iwain mit Sicherheit zu schliessen, dass Kristian sich dieselbe aus Wace geholt hat." See, however, Brown, *Iwain*, p. 23. Obviously Crestien may have known Wace and the Bérenton tradition as well. Moreover, Foerster

whether Crestien was here influenced by Wace or not, the Armorican "perron-storm-story" apparently existed in a separate popular form. Thus it is probable that Crestien (or a predecessor) identified a developed fountain-myth with the Armorican fountain, whose curious property was widely known in his day. The medium of identification may have been the storm, this would agree with the fountain-lady's primitive function as a vegetation deity and also include the idea of protection against intruders; but its sudden violent character must be mainly due to the magic *perron*¹ itself, and in the folk-tradition of Bérenton I find no mention of Crestien's tree, though the well-known passage in Maury's *Histoire* states that "la terre et les biens étans en ycelle en sont arousez et moult leur proufite."² As I have previously said the *märchenhafte Gestalt*³ of the Giant Herdsman represents a *motif* originally distinct from the fountain theme,⁴ as its absence from Arthur's fountain visit shows. The Giant Herdsman, in my opinion—and I am here following Brown—belongs to the Celtic Fairy Mistress tale, which by Crestien (or possibly his predecessor) was interwoven with the fountain myth.

On the contrary, the "wonderful tree" (vss. 412, 460, 807) has its roots in the original theme.⁵ In fact, the tree logically antedates the fountain, for strictly speaking it is the *raison d'être* of the situation in which the story began.⁶ But unquestionably it may have been adorned with traits borrowed from the Brendan legend, for that is in line with story-development. In the "type," however, the defender incorporated for the time being the tree-spirit; he played the part of the tree-god. "We conclude,"⁷ says

is not justified in claiming that Crestien is responsible for the storm simply because Wace and the passage in Maury's *Histoire* "blos Regen kennen," since that is a mere detail which may be due to attenuation of the storm and, as Baist, *loc. cit.*, has shown, Crestien could not have evolved the whole first part of his romance out of Wace's description. Nevertheless Wace may have furnished a hint; cf. previous study, p. 289; he mentions the *perron*.

¹ Cf. above.

² Quoted from Foerster³, p. xxvi; the chevalier Pontus who "fit ses armes" at Bellenton is a classical figure. See also P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, II, p. 172.

³ Cf. Baist, *op. cit.*

⁴ It can, however, also be brought into connection with the tree-cult. This is done by Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 117, where he refers directly to the Giant Herdsman.

⁵ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*; Mannhardt, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Vs. 413: Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

⁷ *Kingship*, pp. 283 ff.

Frazer, "that at Nemi the King of the Wood personated the oak-god Juppiter and mated with the oak-goddess Diana in the sacred grove." Now the tree in *Yvain* is not an oak but a pine. Yet that might be a local characteristic in no way affecting its nature as a sacred tree. In the parallel Egyptian cult the pine is the incorporation of Osiris:

A pine-tree having been cut down, the center was hollowed out, and with the wood thus excavated an image of Osiris was made, which was then buried like a corpse in the hollow of the tree. It is hard to imagine how the conception of a tree tenanted by a personal being could be more plainly expressed.¹

Likewise in Rome at the great spring festival of Cybele and Attis a pine (sacred to Attis) "was cut in the woods and brought into the sanctuary of Cybele, where it was treated as a great divinity."² It may seem a far cry from the Phrygian Attis and the Egyptian Osiris to the mediaeval French *Yvain*, yet it is known that the worship of the Magna Mater,³ the Asiatic goddess of fertility, was carried by Roman civilization not only into Gaul but into Celtic Britain. Her male counterpart and associate was Attis. Gregory of Tours refers to her in the *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. lxxvii: the people of Autun used to carry her about in a cart for the good of the fields and the vineyards.⁴

The tamarisk and the sycamore (cf. this tree in Old French), however, are also sacred to Osiris, and it is worth recording, as throwing light on the evolution of the tree-incident in *Yvain*, that in a sepulcher at How (Diapolis Parva) a tamarisk is depicted as overshadowing the tomb of Osiris, while a bird is perched among the branches with the significant legend "the soul of Osiris," "showing that the spirit of the dead god was believed to haunt

¹ Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 276; Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen, 1903); Plumptre, *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in France* (London, 1810), III, 187 (cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 157, 158) mentions a Breton tale in which Merlin's mistress incloses him in a tree; some surmise that it is on a little island called Sein. Cf. the fig-tree of Fécamp with the blood of Christ in it.

² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³ Adopted by the Romans in 204 B. C. According to Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 131, the taurobolium was introduced into Gaul at Lugdunum (Lyons) in 160 A. D.; see *ibid.*, p. 137, for places where Dendrophori are attested.

⁴ Cf. Frazer, *Adonis*, p. 176; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vss. 1463, 1468.

his sacred tree."¹ I mention this fact for what it seems to me to be worth here; namely, as indicating the pertinence of the tree-incident, including the "singing-birds," to our fountain-tale. In addition, the threatened burning of Lunete at the stake (cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275, for my argument) is, when we admit that Lunete symbolizes the tree-spirit, appropriate to the same category of primitive custom.² It was an almost universal custom to burn the tree-spirit in effigy, a practice which survives in the bonfires of St. John's Eve, the date of Arthur's visit to Laudine, and the time when Merlin sought out his love Niniane by the fountain in the beautiful orchard.³

Thus the evolution of the *Yvain* presents itself to us somewhat as follows:⁴ (a) A Gallic fountain-cult, probably associated with a sacred tree or grove. Cf. Renel, *Religions de la Gaule*, pp. 153 ff., and especially Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, *passim*. (b) An etiological myth based on this cult, probably under the influence of a Roman myth in a form similar to the Diana tale. If not under its direct influence, then at least early assimilated to it. (c) The combination, or perhaps confusion through the incident of the combat in behalf of the lady, of this theme with the Celtic fairy-mistress *motif*⁵—presumably by the twelfth-century roman-

¹ On the sacred-tree worship in Gaul, see above, note.

² See O. Gruppe, *Handbuch der griech. Mythologie*, p. 1530; Frazer, *Golden Bough*², III, p. 266.

³ *Modern Philology*, III, p. 276.

⁴ I expect to treat the *Yvain* again in an extended study I am now making on the Grail.

⁵ See the very interesting treatment of Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Since Foerster², p. xxxvi, has recently conceded a point by taking the Iblis episode of the *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1845) as a point of departure, it is necessary to refer to it here, especially since Golther has expressed (*Zeit. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXVII, Part II, p. 36) a preference for this view over that of Brown. The Iblis episode belongs to the general category, which Brown investigates, of the fairy-mistress tale, but with the emphasis on the "liberation" motive (cf. Ehrismann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXX, pp. 14 ff.). This motive is found in *Yvain* but in the episode of the "Pesme Aventure" (v.s. 5107-5811). In *Erec* Crestien uses both it and the "invitation" motive—in the "Joie de la Cour." Now, in my opinion, the Laudine episode, which constitutes the kernel of the romance, is not in itself a fairy-mistress story at all. For these reasons: (a) Neither the "liberation" nor the "invitation" motive are found in it. *Yvain* goes to the fountain to avenge his cousin ("J'irai vostre honte vangier," vs. 589); Laudine does not need to be liberated. Moreover, not having summoned him, Laudine is not in love with *Yvain*. In fact, all the advances are made by *Yvain* and Lunete, and it is not until the latter persuades her that her fountain needs a defender ("Mes me dites, si ne vos griet, Vostre terre qui deffandra," vs. 1614, 1615) and that *Yvain* is a better defender than her dead lord ("meillor, se vos le volez prandre," vs. 1610) that Laudine finally considers him. (b) The "gong" which announces the fairy-mistress combat does not serve this purpose in *Yvain* (vs. 217), and is wholly extraneous to

cers themselves, of whom Crestien was one. (d) Crestien's interpretation of this material in terms of his day: a schoolman's attempt to psychologize on conduct.¹

In the light of the preceding material my former suggestion that Lunete and Laudine equate (la) Diana, and that the Dameisele Sauvage equates Silvanus or Silvana, seems to me to hold as a general proposition. But I should no longer claim that Laudine is actually a *form* of Ladiane, whether celticized or not. It would be easier, indeed, to discern an altered La Dīvōnā (from which we have also la Diiona) in Laudine; but even that is merely a guess, hence of no particular value. But as regards Lunete,² it seems to me the very form of the name is suggestive, for if we follow the bent of our theory we think at once of Diana as the luminary of the night in whose keeping the invisible-making ring is singularly well placed.³ As regards the Dameisele Sauvage, she is clearly

the main story, evidently being brought in when the fountain-tale and fairy-mistress episodes were combined, as I believe, by Crestien himself.

As for the parallel which Foerster, p. xli, adduces from the *Huon de Bordeaux*, that is clearly an imitation (reminiscence) of our romance. See Voretzsch, *Epische Stüdien*, I, p. 138, "So erweist sich dies abenteuer in sehr wesentlichen stücken als eine reminiscenz an Ivains erlebnisse im schloss bei der wunderquelle, daneben hat vermutlich der *Guiglois* noch mit-gewirkt." Lunete's part is taken by Sebille; see below, p. 163, n. 1.

But I wish to point out that Esclados, as the Red Knight, has a parallel in the knight of the Noireespine of Türlin's *Crône* (vss. 3356-4285). This is also the main incident of the *Lai de l'Épine* (ed. by R. Zenker, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, pp. 240 ff.); here the combat, like Arthur's visit in *Yvain*, occurs on St. John's eve.

Cele dist: Au gué de l'espine
À la nuit de la Saint-Johan
En avient plus que en tot l' an.—Vss. 188-90.

The *Yvain* itself, vs. 4705, has an episode about the daughters of the *Sire de la Noire Espine*.

¹ To this stage belong the neo-classic traces in the romance. For an account of them see *Kritischer Jahresbericht d. rom. Phil.*, VIII, Heft 2, p. 313. Most interesting is the parallel to the *Roman de Thèbes*, vss. 447-49; cf. Van Hamel, *Rom. Forschungen*, XXIII, pp. 911-18. It seems plausible that this contributed to induce Crestien to develop the dramatic situation in Laudine's forced acceptance of the new defender of the fountain. That, however, is another way of saying that the fountain-episode contained the theme which Crestien had the genius to find in it and to develop.

² Unfortunately I have not at hand the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, XXXII (1891), 2d part. Professor Warren kindly informs me that the publication contains an article by Deloche on the *Procession dite de la Lunade et les feux de la St. Jean à Tulle* (Corrèze). Apparently the procession takes place after sun-down on St. John's Eve, and the people carry a dressed-up statue of St. John from the cathedral through the town into the fields, "in the midst of bonfires." The author connects the ceremony with the Gallo-Roman worship of the moon. Cf. the sermon of St. Éloi mentioned above.

³ Cf. the damsel from whom Peredur in the *Mabinogion* receives the invisible-making stone. Also Crestien's *Charrete*, vs. 2348; *Merlin* (ed. Paris and Ulrich), II, p. 57, and P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, III, p. 128; IV, p. 80. Further, Gaidoz, *Études de myth. gauloise*, pp. 8, 19. Wilmotte, *L'Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1160*, p. 24, thinks the ring was taken from the *Roman de Troie* (vss. 1676 ff.)

a woodland creature.¹ But why not then one of the *Silvana* with which the Gallic woods were peopled (cf. the inscriptions)? She plays a curious rôle in Crestien (vs. 1618). Except for Arthur's visit she might have been omitted. Yet Arthur does not meet the Hospitable Host or the Giant Herdsman and so she heralds his coming. Have we not here a memory of the time when the two other rugged figures still inhabited Celtic lands and she held a broader sway? And does she not linger in our tale more or less in spite of the literal-minded Crestien?

For the above reasons it has seemed to me possible to trace the Lady of the Fountain back to small beginnings—in a widespread nature-worship of primitive man. The *Yvain* centers about a fountain, from the necessity of whose preservation the story sprang. The most notable and most widely known fountain-deity we have is the Arician Diana. With her myth the *Yvain* has more points in common than with any similar story now extant. Whether it had an early association with it is impossible to tell. It appears more likely that the *Yvain* arose in connection with some Gallic fountain² and was then developed according to a situation similar to the Italic type. If there was any immediate borrowing, that may have occurred at a comparatively late date—for we know a Diana cult³ was current in Gaul. But on that very account it

¹See especially Mannhardt², *op. cit.*, p. 112, §10, *Wild-Leute: Bilmon, Salvadegh, Salvanel in Wälsch-Tirol*: "Die entsprechende weibliche Form lässt sich bereits im 10. Jahrhundert aus Burchard von Worms Decretensammlung, p. 198d (*Myth.*¹, XXXVIII) erweisen: Credidisti quod quidam credere solent, quod sint agrestes feminae, quas silvaticas vocant, quas dicunt esse corporeas et quando voluerint ostendant se suis amatoribus et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse et item quando voluerint abscondant se et evanescent." Cf. Diana and Faunus in the *Huth Merlin*, below.

²I want to call attention here to the suggestion of Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 63, that the name *Yvain* (*Iwein*) can be derived from *Eugenius* (see also Zimmer, *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 527); and the further connection he sees between the latter form and the "Gaulish" proper name *Esugenus*—the offspring of *Esus*. For *Esus*, whom the Gauls identified with the Roman *Silvanus* (cf. Mowat, *Bull. épigraph.*, I, pp. 62-68)—this opinion seems to have prevailed, see Renel, *op. cit.*, p. 321—is depicted on certain bas-reliefs as a wood-cutter chopping down an oak. According to Solomon Reinach, *Rev. celtique*, 1897, pp. 137 f., *Esus*, like the *Taranis* mentioned by Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 444, in connection with Diana: "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrendae feris altaribus *Esus* et *Taranis* Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae," is not a pan-Celtic divinity but peculiar to the peoples living between the Seine and the Loire. I observe, moreover, that M. Renel states with respect to the tree-cutting: "Ce mythe n'a pas encore reçu d'explication satisfaisante." Since a dog is at times found associated with him, as with *Silvanus*, Rhys' hypothesis seems not improbable; though I am incapable of judging the question without further study.

³Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903), pp. 276 ff.

may be inherent in the story. All I have sought to establish, however, is that the kernel of the *Yvain* consists in the Defense of the Lady of the Fountain,¹ the theme of the Arician Diana-myth. Despite the lapse of time, and the successive alterations

¹The fusion of Celtic and Roman material, of course, gains further support from the episode of "the lion." Mr. O. M. Johnston, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXI, 157-66, makes out a clear case for assuming that the oriental tale of the *Grateful Animals* and the legend of Androcles influenced the story as Crestien relates it. Cf. Cumont, *Monuments*, II, p. 434, for an altar at Trèves possibly dedicated to Hecate, on which a lion, a serpent (?), and trees figure, besides busts of Sol and Luna.

Various scholars have also hinted that the German *Wolfdietrich* contains a parallel to our romance. The character of the Raube Else at once suggests the exacting fairy-mistress. I enumerate the main features of the Else episode from Holzmänn's edition (Heidelberg, 1865), stanzas 494 ff. (1) While *Wolfdietrich* is resting near a fire in the woods (2) a hairy-creature, *die ruhe Else*, approaches him and proffers her love. She had been seeking him *völlenglichen sibem jar*. (3) He rejects her, whereupon she enchants him so that he runs twelve miles through the woods until he meets her again *under einem boume*. (4) Here she repeats her offer, and, as he refuses again, renders him insane so that he wanders about for half a year taking his *spise von der erden* (see *Yvain's* madness). (5) Finally, since God threatens to destroy her in three days by his thunder (*donre*)—cf. *Yvain*, vss. 3565 ff.—she removes the enchantment. Having accepted baptism, she bathes in a fountain whence she returns *die schönste über alle lant*. Then the hero weds her.

In the next episode, dealing with *Wolfdietrich's* contest with Ortnaid, a linden-tree is described beneath which no one may linger without being attacked (stanza 573). On the tree birds are singing:

Ein jeglicher vogel sang sin wise gen des meien blut.

Later on (stanza 1090) *Wolfdietrich* comes to a fine castle on every pinnacle except one of which there was a head. There he has to win the love of the beautiful Marpoli or die; five hun lrad had thus lost their lives. The adventure begins with a repast under a metal linden-tree with birds on it; these are made to sing by means of a bellows. On this incident, see K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, pp. 337-69. And on the tree-spirit element, see Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff.

In connection with our study it should be noted further that the *Huth Merlin* (i. e., the so-called *Suite-Merlin*), II, p. 145, tells an interesting tale of Diana and Faunus, a propos of the *Lac de Diane* (near Trèves, see Brugger, *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXXIII, p. 177): (1) Faunus, the son of a king, loves Diana because of her beauty and her skill as a huntress. (2) She constructs a *manoir* by the side of the lake for him. (3) Thus things continue for two years until she falls in love with Felix, another hunter but of poor lineage, a *chevalier par sa prouesse* (p. 148). (4) Near the lake is a tomb filled with healing water; thither Faunus, wounded by a wild animal (cf. Acteon, Adonis, etc.), comes to be cured. (5) Diana, in the meantime, has filled the tomb with molten lead, whereby Faunus perishes. (6) Felix, learning of this act of treachery, seizes her *par les tresches et li caupa le chief*. The story is a good illustration of the persistence of the idea of Diana's successive lovers.

Finally, inasmuch as the *Vulgate Merlin* (see Sommer ed., pp. 220, 221) speaks of Diana as *la seraine de Cecille*, which according to Brugger was corrupted into *la reine de Sezile* (*loc. cit.*), I subjoin an outline of the presumably late *Eledus et Serene*, described by Suchier in *Zeitsch. rom. Phil.*, XXI, pp. 112 ff. (1) Serene, though promised to Maugrier, is loved by Eledus, who gradually wins her affection by deeds of great prowess. (2) She has a hand-maiden called Sebille, who is versed in the science of love (p. 119). (3) Eledus undertakes an adventure against Cuizelot on an island; for this adventure Serene gives him a ring set with a sapphire. Led by a stag, Eledus first kills a lion with a golden crown, and then conquers his adversary. (4) He returns to court and crowns the king with the lion's crown on St. John's Day. (5) Now Serene invents the rumor of Maugrier's infidelity and thus brings about her own marriage with Eledus. (6) One day while hunting, Eledus sees a beautiful lady in a meadow who asks him whether he has ever seen a more beautiful one than herself. He affirms he knows one a hundred times more beautiful. Nevertheless, she asks him to

the story may have suffered, this theme is still clearly discernible in Crestien's poem, pre-eminently in the conception of Laudine as the antithesis of herself, as

Cele qui prist
Celui qui son seignor ocist.

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enjoy her love. (7) As he refuses, she threatens that in *xv jours* he will lose her whom he adores. (8) Then follows a long combat with Maugrier in the midst of which the text suddenly breaks off.

The situation is doubtless the Fairy Mistress theme, though this fact has not to my knowledge been mentioned. But Serene and Sebile are presumably not Celtic but Roman. Suchier refers us to the *Saga* of Clarus and Serena and to Straparola, IV, 3. Serene and Sebile, I take it, like Laudine and Lunete, are merely doublets. Sebile is the heroine of a similar contest-story in the *Livre d'Artus* (Freymond, pp. 112 ff.), where Sagremor and Baruc are the principals. She also occurs in *Huon de Bordeaux* (see Voretzsch, *op. cit.*), where she is the hero's cousin. She is presumably the *sibylla*, but could she not also be an echo of the goddess Cybele (whose cult existed in Gaul, see above)? Thus a parallel to Diana who is called *la seraine*? Unfortunately I have not at hand Settegast, *Antike Quellen im altfranz. Merowingerzyklus* (Leipzig, 1907), where the oriental Cybele-story is proposed as a source of the *Yvain*; cf. *Zeitschrift rom. Phil.* XXXII (1908), p. 416. Sebile (the *sibylla*) occurs in the *chanson de geste Mainet*; cf. *Romania*, IV, pp. 305-37.

"I SING OF A MAIDEN THAT IS MAKELESS"

In his interesting volume on the *Popular Ballad*, Professor Gummere writes (p. 116) that the "ballads of lyric tendency have repetition, but not of the incremental and dramatic kind," adding, "It occurs, however, as if 'dancing for joy,' in the pretty fifteenth-century carol of *Christ and His Mother*," that is, the well-known song beginning "I sing of a maiden," from MS Sloane 2593. This song consists of two stanzas (or, if written in long lines, couplets) of the usual carol type, separated by three others containing the incremental repetition, the whole forming one of the most perfect poems in the language.

Now, it has, I believe, never before been noticed that the thirteenth-century MS, B. 14. 39, at Trinity College, Cambridge, preserves a poem in which the whole of the non-repetitional setting of the fifteenth-century carol appears in substantially the same form but combined with quite different material. For convenience of comparison I print the two poems below, exactly as they stand in the originals, in spite of the bad spelling of the Trinity MS.

Three different views might conceivably be held as to the relation of these two poems. First, it might be denied that there is any direct connection at all, the lines found in both being regarded as no more than traditional thoughts and phrases of religious composition, of which each poem has made use in its own manner. The coincidences are, however, I think, too striking to render this at all likely. Secondly, there is, of course, the possibility that the fifteenth-century poem may really be an old traditional song portions of which were utilized by the more sophisticated thirteenth-century writer. In the absence, however, of all evidence we are clearly not justified in assuming that this was the case. We are, therefore, driven to hold the last view, namely, that two rather striking couplets of the not very remarkable thirteenth-century poem were at a later date deliberately

combined with three other couplets, equally striking but of an altogether different type, to form what is as it stands in the fifteenth-century manuscript a supremely artistic whole.

The introduction of incremental repetition into late ballads of the epic type is a process which Professor Gummere, of course, recognizes; but is it not rather unexpected to find it operative in the lyric as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century?

FROM B.M. MS SLOANE, 2593, FOL. 10^b

I syng a [*sic*] of a maydē · p^t is makeles
kyng of alle kynges · to her' sone che ches

he cā also styлле · p' his mod' was
as dew in aprylle · p^t fallyt on p^e gras

he cam also styлле · to his moderes bowr 5
as dew in aprille · p^t fallyt on p^e flo'

he cam also styлле · p' his mod' lay
as dew in aprille · p^t fallyt on p^e spray

mod' & maydyn · was neu' nō but che 10
wel may swych a lady · godes mod' be

FROM T.C.C. MS B. 14. 39, FOL. 81^b

Nu pis fules singet · hand maket hure blis:
and pat gres up bringet and leued þe ris:
of on ic wille singen pat is makeles
þe kind of halle kinges to moder he hire ches

heo his wit uten sunne and wit uten hore 5

I cumen of kinges cunne of gesses more
þe louerd of monkinne of hire was yboren
to bringen us hut of Sunne · elles wue weren for lore

Gab'el hire grette and saide hire aue
Marie ful of grace · vre lou' be mt þe 10
þe frut of pire wombe · ibleset mot id be
þu sal go wit chide for sout ic sieget þe

and þare gretinke pat angle hauede ibroun
he gon to bi penchen and meinde hire pout
he saide to þen angle þu may tiden þis 15
of monnes y mone not y nout iuis

Mayden heo was md childe ·7· Maiden her biforen·
 7· maiden ar sotþent hire chid was iboren
 Maiden and moder nas neu' non wimon bote he'
 wel micle pe berigge of godes sune be'

20

I blessed beo þat suete chid 7 pe moder ec'
 7 pe Suete broste þat hire sone sec'
 I hered ibe pe time þat such chid uas iboren·
 þat lesed al of pine þat arre was for lore'

I append a few tentative notes:

2. *leued*, presumably for *leuet* or *leueþ*, formed from sb. *leuc*, leaf; *ris*, twig. 4. *kind*,
 7 for *king*. 5. *hore*, dirt. 6. *more*, root. 10. *lou'*, i. e., *louerd*, lord, cf. 7. 14. *meinde*,
 announced. 15. *tiden*, 7 *tihiten*, think, believe? 16. *y mone*, i. e. *þemene*, company. *not*, for
ne wot. 18. *ar*, 7 for *ac* or *eac*, also. *sotþent*, 7 for *sotþenc*, i. e. *scþþenes*, since. 20. *berigge*,
 presumably bearer, but the form is not recorded.

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THEODULUS: A MEDIAEVAL TEXTBOOK

H. Willert in his note on the *Hous of Fame*, 1227-28,

Ther saugh I than Atiteris
And of Athenes dan Pseustis,

had the merit of first suggesting that the proper names had their source in the *Ecloga* of Theodulus, in which a shepherd Pseustis and a shepherdess Alithia contend in song, telling in turn stories from the pagan and Christian mythologies.¹ Koch in his review of Willert's book questioned the soundness of this view, because the connection in Chaucer's lines made it appear that, as pipers of all kinds were concerned, it would have to be shown that the persons concerned were distinguished in this respect, in order to make this indebtedness seem probable.² Skeat in his edition of the *Minor Poems* of Chaucer made the guess "that *Atiteris* represents *Tyrtaeus*, and that *Pseustis* is meant for *Thespis*,"³ a conjecture he repeated in his complete edition of Chaucer, where he considered that Willert's suggestion could only account for Pseustis; "as *Atiteris* can hardly be *Alithia*."⁴ All these statements apparently were written without a first-hand acquaintance with the poem of Theodulus.

In a communication to the *Athenaeum* for March 1, 1902 (p. 274), Skeat returned to the subject, giving a short analysis of the poem of Theodulus, and finding in Chaucer's line a condensation of the description of Pseustis in the prologue, in the fourth line:

Natus ab Athenis pastor, cognomine Pseustis,

which "being so near the beginning drew Chaucer's attention." He further notes an edition published by W. de Worde, in 1515, one by Pynson, and that of Schwabe of 1773. In the *Athenaeum* for March 15, 1902 (p. 338), W. H. Stevenson, commenting on

¹ *The Hous of Fame* ("Text, Varianten, Anmerkungen"), 1888, p. 42. This indebtedness had already suggested itself to him in 1883, the date of his *Hous of Fame* ("Einleitung und Textverhältnisse"), p. 13.

² *Engl. Stud.* XV, 412.

³ *Minor Poems* (1888), 350.

⁴ *Works of Chaucer*, III (1894), 269.

Skeat's communication, credited Chaucer with a close acquaintance with the *Ecloga*, acquired in his school-days and noted in general terms the use made of it as a primary schoolbook in mediaeval Europe. The author he refers to as Theodulus, Theodosius, and Theodore, "who is supposed to have flourished between the sixth and ninth or tenth century." The important article of Holthausen published in 1894 on "Chaucer und Theodulus," had unfortunately escaped the attention of these two English scholars, whose investigations are neither so extensive nor satisfactory as his. Accepting the source of "Pseustis" in the *Ecloga*, he rejects the possibility of finding a corrupted form of "Alithia" in any of the varied readings of Chaucer's line ("Atiteris," "an" or "dan Cytherus"), because it would not rhyme with "Pseustis." His suggestion that the line read

Ther saugh I than daun Tityris,

is the more acceptable, as the Vergilian Tityrus¹ who plays on his "tenui avena" (I, 2), is not subject to the same objection postulated by Koch, as Alithia, whose instrument is a harp, not a pipe:

Ad fontem juxta pascebat oves Alithia,
Virgo decora nimis David de semine regis
Cujus habens citharam fluvii percussit ad undam (8-10).

Moreover, Holthausen had clearly shown the indebtedness of Chaucer in the *Hous of Fame* to other passages in the *Ecloga*, and suggested that a gloss to the Latin poem was a source of the story of Demophoon and Phyllis in the *Legende of Good Women*.² Only so recently, therefore, has modern scholarship added one more book to Chaucer's library, in the work of an author who was generally known and esteemed in mediaeval Europe. An account

¹ Chaucer may not have owed his conception of Tityrus as an accomplished piper to the somewhat blind allusion in the Vergilian line, or to the more suggestive lines in the imitative first *Ecloga* of Nemesianus (1-5); as the statement of Calpurnius, a poet so favored in the Middle Ages, is explicit enough in every way:

(*Cor. loq.*) Tityrus hanc (i. e., fistulam) habuit, cecinit qui primus in istis
Montibus Hyblaes modulabili carmena avena.
(*Mel. loq.*) Magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras.
Ille fuit vates sacer et qui posset avena
Praesonuisse chelyn, blanda cui saepe canenti
Adiuser ferae, cui substitit advena quercus.
Quem modo cantantem rutilo spargebat acantho
Nais et implicitos comibat pectine crines" (*Ecl.* IV, 62-69).

On the popularity of Calpurnius in mediaeval Europe, see bibliography in Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litt.* II, 2, 76.

² *Anglia*, XVI, 284-66.

of the wide use of the *Ecloga* for centuries, especially in England, may be at once a contribution to the history of education and of pastoral poetry.

As the poem is now accessible in such an excellent edition as that of Osternacher,¹ one need not analyze the contents before discussing its place in literary history. The literary genre represented by the *Ecloga* was so affected by the learned Carolingian poets of the ninth century,² and its meter—leonine hexameters—was so peculiar to the production in verse of writers of the diocese of Rheims,³ that one finds very acceptable von Winterfeld's suggestion⁴ that Theodulus (*θεοῦ δοῦλος*) is nothing but a classical transformation of the Germanic Gottschalk; and that the poem is a work of Gottschalk of Orbais' last years. In one of the poems, assuredly of his composition, the opening lines:

O deus, miseri

miserere servi,⁵

which return as a refrain for twenty verses, contain an allusion to the Latin form of his name, as evident as is the allusion to the poet's name in the refrain of Donne's "Hymn to God the Father." Gottschalk's interest in, if small acquaintance with, Greek, is shown in the answer of Servatus Lupus to his query on the meaning of certain Greek words,⁶ and a Christian Greek name as common as Theodulus he may well have found explained in a bilingual glossary.⁷

¹ Urfahr-Lins, 1902.

² W. Meyer v. Speyer, *Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, I, 193, 194.

³ Traube, *Poetae Caroling.*, II, 711.

⁴ *Herrigs Archiv*, CXIV, 68, 69. Voigt in 1902 had already suggested the connection between the *Ecloga* and the other Carolingian pastorals.

⁵ *Poetae Car.*, III, 729-31. Cf. especially stanzas 2 and 3, and also 724, n.

⁶ Migne, *Patrol.*, CXIX, 491.

⁷ Although it does not appear among the names glossed in the *Corpus gloss. Lat.*, VII, 347 Gray the poet (*Works of Thomas Gray*, ed. Gosse, I, 361, n.) and Alexander Croke (*An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse*, 1828, 41), cite with confidence as a work of Theodulus a poem "*De contemptu mundi*," commencing:

Pauper amabilis et venerabilis est benedictus,
Dives inutilis insatiabilis est maledictus.

This bit of misinformation is no doubt due to the title of the editions of the *Auctores octo* used by them being similar to that recorded by Hain, 1913, "*Auctores octo libros subscriptos continentes videlicet Cathonis faceti. Theoduli de contemptu mundi. floreti*," etc., or one published at Angoulême in 1491 (Hain, 1971): "*Auctores VIII: nempe Catho, Facetus, Theodulus de contemptu mundi, Floretum*." Croke made use of the edition published at Lyons in 1538 (*loc. cit.*, 38, n. "Leyden") of which there is a copy in the Bodleian, unless, indeed

An imitation of the *Ecloga*, entitled *Synodicus*, was written in the second part of the eleventh century by one Warnerius of Basel;¹ another imitation, *Pistilegus*, is only known because it is

the same mistake is made in the *Manuale biblicum* of Goldast, also used by him, of which there is a copy in the same library (cf. Osternacher, *loc. cit.*, 28, 29, Nos. LII, LIV). There is no evidence of what edition Gray used. This poem appears as a separate poem in some manuscripts (Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 5. 6. Schenkl, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Ak. Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 136, V, 61; St. John's College, F, 10, *op. cit.*, 137, VIII, 59), and in a number of the editions of *Auctores octo* although it forms one of the *Auctores* with the poem "Chartula nostra tibi," the distinction is made in the title, "Cartule; alias de contemptu mundi" (Pellechet, *Cat. gén. des incunables des bibl. publ. de France*, 1427, 1429, 1431-37); and in the Spanish edition *Libros menores* published at Pamplona in 1499 by Brocar, Theodulus, *Facetus*, *Tobias*, and the *Parabolas* of Alain de Lille, are omitted, and according to the statement of the colophon, the poem, "Pauper amabilis," is accounted a separate work (Pellechet, 1439; Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, No. 539). Du Méril (*Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, 125, n.), while accepting St. Bernard as the author of "Chartula," and the traditional date of the *Ecloga*, remarks apposite of Croke's attributing "Pauper" to Theodulus: "Evidemment ce rythme dactylique ne peut être du Xe, ni même du XI^e siècle." Hauréau regarding "Pauper" as an integral part of "Chartula," attributed the whole poem to Bernard de Morlas, on account of the peculiar meter, dactyls ending in spondee or trochees, because in the *Preface* of what is assuredly his *De contemptu mundi*, Bernard comments on its difficulty, and the rare use that had been made of it (*Not. et Extr.*, XXVII, 2, 34; cf. XXVIII, 2, 365). Meyer in his study of rhymed hexameters (*Sitzungsber. d. philos.-philol. Classe der Ak. d. Wissenschaften zu München*, 1873, 82) adopting the nomenclature of a commentator of the *Laborintus* of Eberhard, noted that this meter, "Tripartiti dactyllici caudati," was common, and that it was especially introduced in pathetic places, among verses of a simpler meter. Does this explain the change of meter in the "Chartula," and the consequent division into two poems? Etienne de Rouen, who prided himself on being a disciple of Bernard in writing and devising difficult meters (Omout, *Etienne de Bec*, 209, 202), in giving some verses in this meter called them "inclinantes" (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Howlett, II, 1775). Gröber (*Grundr.*, II, 1, 376) conjectured that Bernard was the first to make use of the meter; but, no one but Hauréau has discussed critically the authorship of "Chartula," and his latest opinion of its authorship was that it was best "ne rien supposer" (*Des poèmes latins attribués à St. Bernard* [1890], 9). One manuscript in attributing it to divine authorship: "Alii dicunt quod fuit missus de coelo per angelum" (ib. 3), has given it the same source as more important works (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 19, n. 47).

¹ Huemer, *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 315; *Wiener Studien*, XIV, 156. Warnerius' other poem, *Paracritus*, which is cited in the *Registrum* of Hugh of Trimberg (ed. Huemer, 542, 550 ff.; cf. *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 355) of which there are a number of MSS (Haupt, *Berichte d. Berl. Ak.*, 1854, 150; Thurot, *Not. et Extr.*, XXII, 2, 116, n. 2; Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, IV, 670; W. Schum, *Beschreibender Verzeichniss der amplon. Handschriften Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 325), may have owed its name to that apparently given to the *Ecloga* in a list of books, found at Hamersleben in the twelfth century; "Paracritum Theodolum cum glossis" (G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, p. 141). The title appears as "Theoduli eclogae sive liber Paradisi" in a Paris MS, B. N. 4930 (Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 21, n. 5), and Amplonian MS (Schum, *op. cit.*, 652). This same title is found in the commentary due to Neckam "Incipit ecloga Theoduli vel Theodori vel Paradisi" (Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 7, n. 1), and given with an explanation in Kacheloven's edition, "titulus istius libri est talis: Eloga theoduli vel theodori vel paradisi;" "paradisus interpretur ortus deliciarum quod in presenti opusculo tractatur de fidelibus christi" (G. Bauch, *Gesch. des Leipziger Frühhumanismus*, 1899, 33). However, the title "Paradisus" which appears frequently in mediaeval catalogues (*Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, Surtees Soc. Publ., VII, 9, 118; *Chronica monast. de Melsa*, ed. Bond, III, xeviii; Charlton, *History of Whitby*, 113; Hearne, *History of Glastonbury*, 14; Omout, *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, IX, 202, 204), is apparently given to a translation of a Byzantine collection of the lives of saints (Krummbacher, *Gesch. d. byzant. Lit.*, 2d ed., 188), with its full title in a catalogue of the library of

mentioned and the first lines cited in the *Registrum multorum auctorum* of Hugh of Trimberg in 1280.¹ About the end of the eleventh century the poem of Theodulus was furnished with a commentary by Bernard of Utrecht.² Some fifty years later Bernard Silvester wrote another commentary, if we are to accept the entry in the catalogue of the Amplonian library at Erfurt, drawn up by its owner in 1212: "Commentum Bernhardi Silvestris super Theodulum,"³ and the more detailed entry taken by John Bale "ex Nordovicensi scriptorum catalogo"—evidently an index of books in the library of the Priory of Norwich,⁴ before the dissolution of the monasteries—where he found mention, among the works of Bernard Silvester, of "Expositiones in Aeglogas Theoduli, li. i. 'Domino sacrosancto.'"⁵ If the words cited, "Domino," etc., constitute the *Incipit* of the commentary of the first book of the poem, according to its division into three books, found in some manuscripts,⁶ it differs essentially from that of

Christ Church, Canterbury, "Vita Eraclidis heremite qui dicitur Paradisus" (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 47; cf. Oxford, Merton Coll., CXVIII, fol. 243: "Heraclidis Alexandrini Paradisus, sive Liber de vitis SS. Patrum;" cf. L. Delleale, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXI, 1, 240, 242). Is the entry in the twelfth-century catalogue of the books in St. Peter's Monastery, Salzburg, "Theodulus libellus de VII planetis" (Becker, *op. cit.*, 234), due to a misunderstanding of some such title for the *Ecloga* as is found in the catalogue of the library of Syon Monastery of the early sixteenth century: "Egloga seu Carmen pastorale Theoduli de testimoniis de spheris cultis" (*Cat. of the Lib. of Syon Monastery*, ed. M. Bateson, 4) and due perhaps to a confusion of the names of the planets with those of the gods who are mentioned in the *Ecloga* commencing with Saturn and Jupiter?

¹ Ll. 562-69; cf. Huemer, *Wiener Sitzungsber., Phil.-Hist. Classe*, CXVI, 151.

² *Hist. litt. de la France*, VIII, 678; cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 6th ed., II, 134. Couradi Hirsauensis, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. Schepss., 14.

³ Schum, *op. cit.*, 793. With the supplementary information from Bale one need not be too skeptical about this catalogue entry (cf. Langlois, *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, LIV, 235), although one need not accept with Sandys (*Hist. of Classical Scholarship*, I, 515) the confusion by early bibliographers of Bernard Silvester and Ultrajectensis (C. G. Jöcher, *Gel.-Arten lexikon*, IV, 1115; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Lat.* [1858], VI, 527; cf. I, 218; Ch. Richard, *Nouv. biogr. gén.*, V, 572). There is no indication of a MS of the commentary by Bern. Silv. at the Bibliothèque nationale, mentioned by Jöcher, nor can one identify the MS Bibl. imp. f. l. 946, cited by Richard, although there are a number of MSS containing the commentary of Bern. Ultraj. Cf. J. Frey, *Ueber das mittelalt. Gedicht, "Theoduli ecloga" und den Kommentar des Bernhardus Ultrajectensis* (1904) 8, 13, 14.

⁴ And not "The catalogue of the writers of Norwich," as it is rendered by M. S. Morris in *M. L. P.*, XXIII, 605. Bale shortly after his remarks on Norwich cited in the text, goes on: "As much haue I saued both there and in certen other places of Northfolke concerning the authors names and tytles of their workes, as I could."—*The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of John Leylande*, etc., ed. Copinger, 110.

⁵ Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed. Poole and Bateson, 48.

⁶ E. g., a Helmetadt MS (Leyser, *Hist. poetarum med. aev.* 295), an Amplonian MS (Schum, *op. cit.*, 632); a feature of the MSS not noted by Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 9.

Bernard of Utrecht which begins, "Liber aequivoce dicitur; nam liber appellatur pergamenum."¹ Today, unfortunately, one cannot verify the statements of the catalogues, as Bernard's commentary is not found in the extant Amplonian collection,² and already in 1549 Bale lamented, "I haue bene also at Norwyche, our second cytie of name, and there all the library monumentes are turned to the use of their grossers, candelmakers, sope sellers and other worldly occupiers."³ When Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) wrote a *Novus Aesopus*⁴ and a *Novus Avianus*⁵ and other works for school use,⁶ one would expect to find the commentary that appears in a Paris manuscript ascribed to his authorship.⁷

In the latter part of the fourteenth century a Carmelite monk, Stephen Patrington, afterward Bishop of St. David's, known on account of his attacks and writings against the Wycliffites,⁸ wrote another commentary;⁹ a century later among the earlier works published at Leipzig by Konrad Kacheloven,¹⁰ and at Cologne by Quentell,¹¹ we find in editions of Theodulus still another commentary of which the *Incipit*, "Circum inicium hujus libri, sciendum Averrois circa Prologus Physicorum dicit," shows that it was written later than those of the two Bernards, as it was only in the first half of the thirteenth century that a translation of the *Prologue* of Averroes to the *Physics* of Aristotle was made.¹² Only

¹ *Hist. litt.*, VIII, 679; Frey, *op. cit.*, 14.

² The only commentary now in the collection is anonymous (cf. p. 175, n. 3), and is not found as a separate work (Schum, *op. cit.*, 652).

³ Bale, *Lab. Journey*, 110.

⁴ Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, 2d ed., II, 392-416.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 462-80.

⁶ Cf. P. Meyer, *N. et E.*, XXXV, 2, 641 ff.

⁷ B. N. 1862. Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 15, No. 13; 7, n. 1. Osternacher has failed to note the identity of Alexander of St. Alban's with Alexander Neckam.

⁸ *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, ed. Shirley, lxxvii, 289, 295, 316. Perhaps there may be further information in Bale's book on Carmelite writers in B. M. Harl. 3838. Cf. J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, I, 187, n.

⁹ J. Leland, *Commentarii de script. Britannicis*, ed. Hall, 429; Bale, *Script. ill. majoris Brit. catalogus*, 539; Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 581.

¹⁰ Hain, *15482-83.

¹¹ Hain, *15484, *15486. Lessing noted that the commentary found in Kacheloven's editions of 1489 and 1492, and in Quentell's edition of 1495 was the same. *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur; Aus den Schätzen der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Erster Beytrag* (1773), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann, XI, 494.

¹² Jourdain, *Recherches critiques, etc.*, 2d ed., 31, 74, 190, 292; Renan, *Averroès*, 3d ed., 207; Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, 341, n. 1.

an examination of a large number of manuscripts will reveal the number, the dates, and perhaps the authors of such anonymous commentaries as are found respectively in a manuscript of Helmsstadt,¹ of Munich,² and of Erfurt.³ The latest commentary written seems to have been that found in an edition of the poem published by Wynkin de Worde in 1515, which was supplied "cum commento satis prolixo auctoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit."⁴

The cause of these many commentaries is not far to seek; the *Ecloga* was recommended, prescribed, and used as a primary textbook of reading in mediaeval schools. A commentary on Theodulus by Alexander Neckam has been noticed. In a plan of study found in a work of the last part of the twelfth century, attributed to him, Theodulus finds a place among the elementary textbooks:

Postquam alphabetum didicerit et ceteris puerilibus rudimentis imbutus fuerit, Donatum et illud utile moralitatis compendium quod Catonis esse vulgus opinatur addiscat et ab egloga Theodoli transeat ad eglogas bucolicorum.⁵

The poem offered occasion for those moral and allegorical interpretations so dear to the mediaeval mind, for which the eclogue seemed the chosen vehicle in which to convey the hidden truth, from the time that a prophecy of the coming of Christ was found in the fourth *Eclogue* of Vergil,⁶ to the Renaissance, when Boccaccio wrote a commentary on his own *Eclogae*.⁷ For this reason

¹ Lyeer, *op. cit.*, 236: "In principio hujus libri sunt principaliter quaedam inquirenda Primo quae materia, secundo quae forma, tertio quis finis, quarto quis Auctor."

² Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 21, n. 1: "Philosophia et divinarum rerum scientia."

³ Schum, *op. cit.*, 562: "Eglogarum tres . . . delectationem."

⁴ Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, II, 363, n. Dibdin considered Ames (*Typogr. Ant.*) the source of Warton's information (*Typographical Ant.*, II, 208), as Warton had probably not seen a copy himself. The *Incipit* is not given to be compared with that of Patrington's commentary, which is given by Bale, *op. cit.*, as "Aestas fer." A former librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Library, Lauterbach, had written on the title-page of Quentell's edition. "cum scholiis Stephani Oxoniensis," i. e., Stephen Patrington, a statement which Lessing seems ready to accept (*op. cit.*, 494).

⁵ Charles H. Haskins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 90; on authorship, *ibid.*, 76 ff.; date, 84 ff.

⁶ Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 90 ff.

⁷ A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, 3 ff.; cf. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums*, 3d ed., II, 397. The chief cause of this interpretation of profane writers was no doubt the early allegorization of the Bible, which has such a remote origin, and which is expressed so emphatically in 1409, in a report of twelve censors, elected by the

no doubt Conrad of Hirschau, in his *Dialogus super Auctores sive Didascalon*, written in the first half of the twelfth century, introduces Theodulus, not among the primary textbooks, Donatus, Cato, Aesop, and Avianus, but after Sedulius, Juvenius, and Prosper, because it was a work that needed a threefold interpretation:

Primum igitur in hoc opere a docente sensus ponendus est literae, deinde ipsa litera per allegoriam elucidanda, inde per moralitatem vita legentis instituenda.¹

An account of the author and an explanation of the poem Conrad took from the commentary of Bernard of Utrecht, to which he is much indebted in other parts of the work.² It was no doubt with such an interpretation in mind that Jacques de Vitry³ recommended it as second in the list with Cato, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, and above all the versified Bible.⁴ He did this in a sermon addressed to scholars,⁵ whom he warns that at the best the use of the classics is the spoiling of the Egyptians, that these authors of inferior style, which contain moral instruction, are preferable to pagan poets and historians who only excite to debauchery and vanity. The author⁶ of the third book of the *Laborintus* is no such obscurantist; it is the educational value of certain authors that interests him. In reviewing the poets as models of style, he recommends that the

University of Oxford to examine the works of Wycliffe, where it is noted that heretics tended to accept the literal sense, and despise the metaphorical sense of Scripture (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 339).

¹ Ed. Schepss., 46.

² *Ibid.*, 14.

³ A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge*, 2d ed., 474. Although the manuscript Paris, B. N. 17509, plainly reads *Theodoli* the author suggests there is a reference "au célèbre Théodulphe, évêque d'Orléans."

⁴ I. e., the *Aurora* of Pierre Riga, who died in 1209, cantor and canon of the cathedral of Rheims, in the diocese of which De Vitry preached the Albigensian crusade in 1213 (Crane, *op. cit.*, xxvi).

⁵ Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, xliii. There follows in the same sermon the story of Jerome, beaten because he was "Ciceronianus, non Christianus," and the story of the renunciation of the schools for the monastery of Serlo (Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, 475; Crane, *op. cit.*, 12, 145; cf. Schwob, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscript.*, 1893, 508; Omont, *N. and E.*, XXXVIII, 2, 368; P. Meyer, *Bull. de la Soc. des anc. textes*, 1903, 58; *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 114; XXVI, 558; Waddington, *Man. des péchés*, ed. Furnivall, 2528, 2727; Gower, *Vox clamantis*, IV, 1214).

⁶ Not Evrard de Béthune, as was clearly shown by Thurot, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscript.*, 1870, 259; cf. Hauréau, *Hist. litt.*, XXIX, 514. Yet Sandys, *op. cit.*, 515, 532, 622, refers to Evrard as the author.

work of Theodulus be read by schoolboys, after they have commenced with the *Disticha* of Cato:

Viribus apta suis pueris ut lectio detur,
 Auctores tenero fac ut ab ore legas.
 Elige quod placet, et lege, perlegis ecce sub uno
 Ordine, quos traxit gloria fama mei.
 Se mita virtutum, cautus Cato, regula morum,
 Quem metri brevitās verba polire vetat.
 Veri cum falso litem Theodulus arcet.
 In metro ludit theologia sibi.¹

Then follow in turn Avianus, Aesopus, Maximianus,² *Pamphilus*, the *Geta* of Vitalis,³ the *Achilleis*⁴ of Statius, and selected works of Ovid. In a decree of the papal legate Guido, establishing in 1267 a lower class of a grammar school in Breslau, the books mentioned for primary instruction are Donatus, Cato, and Theodulus.⁵ Hugo of Trimberg in his *Registrum* does not include Theodulus among the books he recommends for beginners, the "ethici minores:"⁶ Cato, Aesopus, Avianus, *Geta*, Physiologus, and Maximianus, "qui et nunc in studio currunt puerorum,"⁷ but among the theological writers, with its imitations:

Nam triplex legentibus fructus in hoc datur:
 Per fabulas historias et allegorias
 Ad discendum triplices lector habet vias.⁸

Twenty-five years later Pierre Dubois, that mediaeval radical, was most conventional in his choice of textbooks, and Theodulus is placed by him among the "minutos actores," whose literal sense alone interests him. In his scheme for the foundation of a

¹ Leyser, *op. cit.*, 825; first cited by Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 363, n., and then by Stevenson, *op. cit.*; and J. Frey, *Ueber das mittelalt. Gedicht, "Theoduli eclogi"* (1904), p. 1.

² On the licentious Maximianus as a moralist in the M. A. cf. Hugo of Trimberg, *Reg.*, 724 ff., where "Panphilus lascivus" is also commended; and R. Ellis, *Am. Journal of Phil.*, V, 7 ff.

³ Or more correctly *Amphitryon* (W. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I, 68 ff.).

⁴ When the *Achilleis* is recommended as a school-book, and appears as such in various MSS, it can scarcely be called a rare book in mediaeval Europe, as I have once supposed (*Publ. M. L. A.*, XX, 196).

⁵ *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, ed. Korn (1870), 35; cited by Specht, *Gesch. der Unterrichtswesen im Deutschland*, 250; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, I, 602, n.; Frey, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Reg.*, 383 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 648 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 521. He apologizes for placing *Physiologus* among the primary school books, "Quamvis sit theologus in adequatione" (747), i. e., allegorical in its intention.

school for missionaries to be sent to Palestine, set forth in his *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (1305-7), he recommends that as small boys they begin with Donatus, and then:¹

Demum cum debebunt audire logicam, in tribus mensibus estatis omnes poetrias audiant: videlicet prima die Cathonem, secunda Theodulum,² tribus sequentibus Tobiam, et sic de aliis; qualibet die per duos doctores sex audiant lectiones, quas fere totas per se possent videre, prestitis hystoriis et figuratis vocabulorum communium. De talibus scriptibus ubi non queritur nisi ordinatio et notio figuratorum³ potest quilibet juvenis, statim cum incipit proficere tantum, videre et legere sicut de uno romanico.

A study of the manuscripts containing the *Ecloga* shows that it was regarded sometimes as a primary book of instruction, sometimes as a religious or moral tract. Thus one manuscript contains the four books "*de moribus*," Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, and Maximianus;⁴ another⁵ contains the four authors with the *Achilleis* of Statius, the *Raptus Proserpinae* of Claudian, the widespread anonymous *Summa poenitentiae* in verse,⁶ and a *Liber hymnorum*;⁷ another Horace, Persius, Theodulus, Cato, and Avianus;⁸ still another Avianus, Theodulus, the *Achilleis*, the *Remedia amoris* and *Heroides* of Ovid, and Arator.⁹ On the other hand it is found in the same manuscripts with the *Dittochaemum* of Prudentius,¹⁰ and

¹ Ed. C. V. Langlois (1891), 58, 59.

² MS "Theodolum." The editor has the note (60, n. 1), "Theodolus avait mis en vers latin les miracles de l'Ancien Testament," citing as his authority the work of Thurot, *op. cit.*, 425, n. 2. Renan in his analysis of the work of Dubois has the note, "Auteur de quatre trains sur les miracles du Vieux Testament, célèbres au moyen âge" (*Hist. litt.*, XXVI, 513, n.).

³ Cf. the emphasis he gives to the study of the works of Alexandre de Villeneuve and Evrard de Béthune; "Doctrinale audiant—et ultimo Graecismum ita quod sensum litteralem breviter comprehendant, in solempnitatibus aliis nullatenus insistentes" (60).

⁴ B. M. Reg., 15, A, VII; Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. min.*, V, 315.

⁵ Reginensis, 1424, *ibid.* Cf. "Item liber poetarum, in quo quinque (*sic*!) libri continentur videlicet liber Cathonis glosatus. Liber qui dicitur Ysopus, qui incipit Ethiopum! Liber qui dicitur Avianus," an entry in a list of books in the church library of St. Andreas in Braunschweig, in 1412 (H. Nentwig, *Das ältere Buchwesen in Braunschweig* [1901], 28).

⁶ Hauréau, *N. et E.*, XXVII, 2, 10.

⁷ Cambridge, Peterhouse, 207; M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS of Peterhouse*, 247-49; cf. James, *Ancient Libraries*, etc., 368: "liber catonis et in eodem libro (liber) Theodoli/lib' auiani/lib' Maximiani/lib' Stacii Achilleydos/lib' Claudiani de adquisicione;" cf. Schum, *op. cit.* 790, 791, Nos. 14 and 20.

⁸ Cambridge, Trinity Coll., O, 3, 57; Baehrens, *op. cit.*

⁹ Etoniensis Bl. 6, 5; Baehrens, *op. cit.*, 314.

¹⁰ On its wide use in the Middle Ages cf. Manitius, *Wiener Sitzungsber. Phil. Hist. Classe* 117, XII, 26 ff.; 121, VI, 18 ff.

with such favorite mediaeval compositions as the *Contemptus mundi minor* of Bernard de Morlas,¹ the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme,² and the *Dicta Chrisostomi*.³ A manuscript of the latter type, in which the choice was limited to elementary school books of a moral or religious tendency, was no doubt the source of the popular *Auctores octo*, which contained Cato, *Facetus*,⁴ Theodulus, *De contemptu mundi*, *Floretus*,⁵ *De parabolis* of Alain de Lille,⁶ Aesopus, and *Tobias*. The popularity of Theodulus before the age of printing is attested by the 121 manuscripts enumerated by Osternacher,⁷ who with greater industry could have doubled the number, and by the frequent entries in the catalogues of mediaeval libraries.⁸ Sometimes it is found with a commentary,⁹ and again the commentary appears separately. When it sometimes appears in manuscripts largely made up of grammatical treatises¹⁰ it is not surprising to find its verses constantly cited as models of mediaeval grammarians and in metrical treatises.¹¹

With the coming of printing its popularity did not diminish; Osternacher has noted nineteen separate editions published before

¹ Cf. p. 171, n. 7.

² Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R, 3, 56; Schenkl, *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 136, V, 41; Oxford, Bodl. Auct., F, 5, 6; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 124, III, 30; Gonville and Caius, 202; James, *Cat. of MSS of G. and C. College*, I, 231.

³ Oxford, Bodl. Add., A, 171; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 121, IX, 76; Cheltenham, 16, 226; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 127, IX, 50; published in *Arch. f. Kunde österr. Geschichtsquellen*, V, 553.

⁴ Hauréau, *N. et E.*, XXVII, 2, 16 ff.; P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXII, 69.

⁵ Hauréau, *op. cit.*, 25; *Des poèmes lat. attr. à St. Bernard*, 43.

⁶ The appearance of this minor work of Alain de Lille in collections of school books (cf. Oxford, Bodl. Auct., F, 5, 6; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 124, III, 30; Schum, *op. cit.*, 791) explains Chaucer's acquaintance with, and use of, it, pointed out by E. Koepfel, *Herrigs Archiv.*, XC, 130.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 13-23.

⁸ *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cath.*, 6, 9; *Chron. monast. de Melsa*, III, xol, xevi; James, *Anc. Libr.*, 11, 368, 431 (cf. 487), 491, 492; Schum, *op. cit.*, 790, 791; Becker, *op. cit.*, 176, 223, 232; Bateson, *Cat. of the Library of Syon Monastery*, 4, 146; *Serapeum*, XIII, Intell., n. 1; Charlton, *History of Whitby*, 113 (the extracts given by Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 109-11, copied by Becker, *op. cit.*, 226, 227, do not contain this entry); M. James, "MSS in Austin Friars' Library, York," *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus* 1909, 93. Cf. Manitius, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft f. deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XVI, 38, 39, 233-35.

⁹ Osternacher, *op. cit.*, Nos. 49, 65, 71, 75, 85, 87, 117; James, *op. cit.*, 11, 431, 490, 491; Becker, *op. cit.*, 223.

¹⁰ Cambridge, Trinity Coll., O, 5, 4; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 136, VIII, 61; Worcester Cath., F, 147; *op. cit.*, 139, IX, 64; Lincoln C., 5, 8, *op. cit.*, 131, 10, 74; Winchester, III, A, *op. cit.*, 131; VI, 49.

¹¹ Thurot, *N. and E.*, XXII, 2, 119, 208, n. 1; 42, 598, 451, 452; *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* (1870), 248, 269; Huemer, *Wiener Studien*, IV, 300; *Hist. MSS Com. Appendix to Second Report*, 66.

1500;¹ to these are to be added at least five others.² The first edition was, without doubt, from a French press, as were half of the succeeding editions of the fifteenth century, and all the editions—thirty-two—of the *Auctores octo*,³ in which it was included, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of the incunabula not one was printed in England, but of the nine separate editions of the sixteenth century, four were French, four English, and one was printed at Antwerp for the English trade.⁴ It is to be noted that the last mentioned, printed by J. Martens in 1508, is the only edition printed in the Netherlands, while Italy, the home of humanism, is not represented by a single edition.⁵ The commentary on the text appears in most of the editions. Its interpretation of the "sensus moralis" of the text, so essentially mediaeval,⁶ would not enhance the value of the original for followers of the new learning; and to the proper valuation put on the work, even as an educational tool, by German humanists,⁷ is due no doubt the fact that not an edition appeared from the German press in the sixteenth century.⁸ That it was a school book was the reason that Pelgrim and Jacobi imported Martens' edition, as they imported other school books.⁹

¹ *Op. cit.*, 24-26.

² R. Proctor, *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, 8,037, 8,690, 8,818; an undated edition published by Kacheloven, F. G. Fraytag, *Adparatus litterarius*, I, 497; and the Spanish edition published at Zamora by Ant. de Centenera in 1492; Haebler, *op. cit.*, No. 634; cf. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain*, II, No. 5,782.

³ Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 27, 28; Copinger, *op. cit.*, 719-23; Pellechet, Nos. 1,420-22, 1,431; Proctor, 8,642; Haebler, 358. Besides the Pamplona edition of *Libros menores*, which omitted Theodulus (cf. p. 171, n. 7) cf. Haebler, 360-62. To the editions of the *Auctores octo* are to be added the editions of Theodulus printed with Cato, and one with "De contemptu mundi," all at Lyons; Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 28. The three editions of the *Manuale biblicum* of Goldast in which Theodulus was included can scarcely be reckoned among school books.

⁴ Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 26, where W. de Worde's edition of 1509, and one of Pynson's editions are not noted.

⁵ Manitius (*loc. cit.*, 234, 235), has noted that Theodulus is not found in Italian manuscripts; and that the one allusion to it in an Italian work is dubious.

⁶ G. Bauch, *Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus* (1899), 33, 41, n. 2.

⁷ In 1497 Matthaeus Lupinus Calidomus in an academic address assigns to Theodulus, Avianus, Maximianus, Alain de Lille, and Rabanus Maurus their proper position in literature (Bauch, *op. cit.*, 62), and Gregorius Bredekoph in his *Tractatulus succinctus artis poeticae*—a Defense of Poetry—puts Theodulus among the writers of "fabuli," Aesopus, Avianus, and Ovid, who need to be interpreted allegorically (*op. cit.*, 84).

⁸ To the negative evidence afforded by Osternacher one may add that no German edition is noted by Proctor, *op. cit.*, II, Part I, in a list of books printed in Germany, 1500-21.

⁹ E. G. Duff, *Bibliographica*, II, 104, 105. On books printed abroad for use in England cf. Duff, *Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476-1535* 72-100, 187, 188, 195, 196, 205-33, 235-40; for school books, cf. 73, 79, 83, 84, 195; A. W. Pollard, *Old*

The Renaissance came late to England, and her printers were not humanists. "A single oration of Cicero and the plays of Terence were the only Latin classics printed in England during the fifteenth century. No Greek classics were published until 1543."¹ One is not surprised, then, to find a mere school book like the *Ecloga* printed twice by Pynson (without date) and twice by Wynkin de Worde, in 1509 and 1515.² The last edition had the advantage of being specially designed for English readers, as has already been noted. However, it does not seem to have been used very generally, or for a much longer time in English schools, for it does not appear in the curriculum of such schools as Eton,³ St. Paul's,⁴ and Ipswich,⁵ and does not appear in the accounts of an Oxford bookseller in 1520,⁶ in the day-book of John Dorne of Oxford in 1520,⁷ or in the inventory of the stock of another bookseller named Clifton, made in 1579;⁸ showing that it had been superseded by other educational textbooks. To the rarity of its publication as a separate work in France is due no doubt the fact that it fails to find a place with the large number of similar works noted in the *Repertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques au XV^e siècle*, edited by F. Buisson.

With such a number of manuscripts and editions as evidence of the use of the *Ecloga* as a school book, it seems superfluous to note those manuscripts containing German glosses,⁹ and the statement in the biography of John Eck, the opponent of Luther, that he read the *Ecloga* with the *Eclogues* of Vergil at a Heidelberg

Picture Books, 102 ff.; Delisle, *Bull. de la Soc. des ant. de Normandie*, XV, 473 ff. Herbert (*Typogr. Ant.*, III, 1852) noted a copy printed in 1508, "pro Johanne Wright." Dibdin (*Typogr. Ant.*, II, 208) regarded the statement as an error of Herbert. Duff (*Bibl.*, I, 106) thought it was the Antwerp edition with another imprint.

¹ Pollard, *op. cit.*, 107; cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XX, 58. On the few translations of classics published in England in the first century of printing cf. V. Scholderer, *Trans. of the Bibliographical Soc.*, IX, 123 ff.

² *Hand-lists of English Printers* (Bibliographical Soc.), II, 1, 16.

³ H. C. M. Lyte, *Eton College*, 146.

⁴ J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet*, 279.

⁵ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 107.

⁶ E. G. Duff, *Library*, N. S., VIII, 256 ff.

⁷ F. Madan, *Oxford Historical Society, Collectanea*, I, 71 ff., II, 453.

⁸ S. Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Binders, etc., of Oxford*, 11 ff.

⁹ Osternacher, Nos. 22, 76, *op. cit.*; cf. Steinmeyer and Sievers, *op. cit.*, IV, 422.

school he attended, at the age of twelve.¹ One would expect to find frequent traces of its influence in mediaeval literature, but such is not the case. It did not have the fortune of its companion textbook, the *Disticha Catonis*, to be translated once or more into almost every language of mediaeval Europe. In Old French alone we have ten translations² and one parody of Cato,³ of Theodulus we have only the translation of Jean le Fèvre de Resson,⁴ as a manuscript of the work of the Minorite Jacques Bochet, "Tiaudelet," mentioned by Gilles li Muisit⁵ still remains to be discovered. In the first third of the thirteenth century Henri d'Andeli in his *Bataille des sept arts* introduces Theodulus as an important combatant in the forces of Gramaire:

La fu li sages Chatonez,
Avionès et Panfilès;
La portoit dans Theaudeleès
Une baniere mi partie;
Toissu i fu par grant mestrie
Dans Sextis percié son escu
Que Alicia ot vaincu,
Qui painte estoit de l'autre part.⁶

In Germany the only literary evidence of its use that has been pointed out is the acquaintance shown with it by Reinfrid von Braunschweig⁷ at the end of the thirteenth century; and farther

¹ Jaunsen, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, 16th ed., I, 88. Reichling (*Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, xvii) and F. A. Eckstein (*Lateinischer u. griechischer Unterricht*, 60) make only general statements about its use in mediaeval schools. Cf. Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 23, n. 7.

² Gröber, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 482, 863, 1,066; Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Ch.*, LXII, 161; J. Ulrich, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 85; *Rom. Forsch.*, XV, 141; Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXIV, 340. On a Provençal version cf. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXV, 98, 340; XXIX, 445.

³ Gröber, *op. cit.*, 1, 187.

⁴ P. Paris, *Les manuscrits françois de la bibliothèque du roi*, V, 12; Gröber, *op. cit.*, 1,067; Van Hamel, *Les lamentations de Matheolus et le livre de leesse de Jehan de Resson*, clxxxiii, clxxxiv; Ulrich, *R. F.*, XV, 70.

⁵ *Poésies de Gilles li Muisit*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, I, 86. If this was the translation of Theodulus as Gröber believed (*op. cit.*, 755), Gilles was not sure himself whether there was a copy of it: "Ne sai que nuls en ait copie" (*op. cit.*, 88). Nothing is known further about the author than this mention by Gilles (cf. P. Wagner, *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner und Cistercienser Orden*, XVII, 53; C. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge*, 307, n. 2).

⁶ Vss. 332-44, *Œuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, ed. Heron, 55. The two MSS containing the poem have Sextis and Malicia for the names of the disputants of the *Eclogae*. Peustis and Alithia (*ibid.*, 175); a striking example of the distorted forms of proper names in MSS.

⁷ Ed. Bartsch, 25,294; Laistner, *Germania*, XXVI, 420.

north in the same century it was a source of the *Trojumanna-Saga*.¹ Three of the Old French translations of Cato were written in England; besides these there are an Anglo-Saxon, and four Middle-English versions,² but there is no indication of a translation of Theodulus, however abundant may be the evidence of its popularity in other ways. For it was there that the literary influence of the *Ecloga* was most evident and lasting. Thus in the ninth strophe of the *Confessio Goliae* the fourth line reads,

Non est in tot turribus turris *alicie*,

in English manuscripts, while other manuscripts have *alethie*, *alothie*, *galatie*,³ and *aricie*,⁴ evidence that the stanza of this French poem was written or altered in English manuscripts, so as to have an allusion to the *Alithia* of the *Ecloga*,⁵ which, it has been suggested by Gaston Paris, became a proper name in English, developing into the modern name of Alice.⁶ Chaucer used Theodulus as a manual of classical mythology; the same use of it was made by a fourteenth-century commentator—possibly English—of the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius, who cites vss. 189–92, 341, as an authority on the story of Orpheus.⁷ In one of Wycliffe's most important theological works, *Triologus*,⁸ which

¹ I. H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojan. Kriege*, 76; T. Frank, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, XXX, 148.

² Brandl, *Grundr. f. germ. Phil.*, II, 1, 614, 646, 690; A. S. Napier, *Herrigs Archiv.*, XCV, 163; W. Blades, *Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, 2d ed., 204, 277 ff.; M. Förster, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVI, 1 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv.*, CXV, 298; CXVI, 25 ff.

³ Paris, *Rom.*, VII, 95.

⁴ Hauréau, *N. and E.*, XXIX, 2, 267.

⁵ As first suggested by R. Peiper, *Gaudeamus*, 1879, p. 213 (accepted by Laistner, *op. cit.*, although at an earlier date he did not regard the suggestion as acceptable; *Goliae*, 106), and by Paris, *op. cit.* Laistner, *Germ.*, XXVI, 421, n., has noted that the forms *Alethia* and *Alithia* appear in twelfth- and thirteenth-century MSS of Theodulus and of the commentaries; *Alathia* only in fourteenth-century MSS.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 95; *Rom.*, XXIX, 455.

⁷ F. G. Otto, *Commentarii critici in codices bibliothecae academicae Gissensis*, 269. Elsewhere (*op. cit.*, 268) this commentator cites an authority the work of probably the twelfth century, *De scholastica disciplina*, attributed to Boethius in mediaeval times; and with as much reason to a thirteenth-century author, Thomas de Cantimpré (S. Berger, *Thomae Cantipratensis Bonum Universale de Apibus quid illustrandis saeculi decimi tertii moribus conferat*, 14) by Teuffel (*Ges. der röm. Lit.*, 8478, 6), who has accepted this unfounded ascription, found in editions of Boethius, preceding that of Teubner. This work was cited for the first time in a commentary of the *De consolatione* by Nicholas Triveth, who lived in the second part of the thirteenth century (C. Jourdain, *Not. et Extr.*, XX, 2, 63). There are good reasons why Triveth should have cited this work, as a commentary on it is attributed to him (Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 126, VI, 61). The early use of Triveth's commentary on Boethius in the anonymous commentary points to the English origin of the latter.

⁸ Ed. Lechler, Oxford, 1869.

was written well toward the end of his life, perhaps in 1382,¹ the speakers, Alithia the philosopher, Pseustis the sophistical unbeliever, and Phronesis the fair-tempered theologian, owe their names to the disputants and the judge in the *Ecloga*. It may have been this use of the *Ecloga* that led Patrington to write an orthodox comment on it, although the fact that he also wrote a commentary on Aesop shows his pedagogical tendencies.² John Leland in his *Itinerary* noted that William Field, who was master of Fotheringay College, Northamptonshire, 1477-95,³ "sette the version of the book caullid *Aethiopum terras*, in the glasse windows with figures very neatly."⁴ The latest allusion to Theodulus appears in Alexander Barclay's *Eclogues*, written 1514-19.⁵ In his list of pastoral poets in the "Prologe," after mentioning Theocritus, Vergil, Mantuan, and Petrarch, he goes on:

What shall I speake of the father auncient,
Which in brieve langage bothe playne and eloquent,
Betwene Alatheia, Sewstis stoute and bolde
Hath made rehearsall of all thy storyes olde,
By true historyes us teaching to obiect
Against vayne fables of olde Gentile sect.

E. K., in his epistle to Gabriel Harvey, prefatory to Spenser's *Shepheards Calendar*, written in 1579, shows his indebtedness to the prologue of Barclay⁶ but in his list of bucolic authors, Boccaccio takes the place of Theodulus. Barclay probably used the

¹ I. e., 1382; cf. H. Rashdall, *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, LXIII, 222.

² *Incip. Quae alteri commodavit repetere*, Bale, *Script.*, loc. cit.; Tanner, *op. cit.* There would not have been any reason to write such an antidote, before the last publications of Wicliffe. Cf. Lechler, *John Wicliffe and His English Precursors* (1881), 415, 426, 457; C. F. Brown, *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 143, 144. Was Peacock accepting a hint from Patrington and Wycliffe in naming two of his early works after a school book *Donet* and *Follower to the Donet* (*Repressor*, ed. Babington, LXV, LXVIII)? Jacobs has failed to note Patrington's commentary on Aesop (*History of the Aescopic Fable*, 184 ff.) one of many omissions; and one finds nothing additional in Plessow's *Gesch. d. Fabeldichtung in England*, bis John Gay, xxix ff.

³ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Ellis, VI, 1411.

⁴ Ed. 1745, I, 7; cited by Warton, *op. cit.*

⁵ Not earlier than 1514, because in the "wofull elegy" in the fourth Eclogue upon Admiral Edward Howard, his father is referred to as the Duke of Norfolk, a lapsed title, which was only regranted by a patent, dated February 1, 1513/14 (Collins, *Peerage of England*, ed. Brydges, I, 77, 88); not later than 1519 because reference is made in the same eclogue to the "Deane of Powles," Colet, as still living.

⁶ W. P. Mustard, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 10. Mustard conjectured that Boccaccio *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, was alluded to in the lines of Barclay, a mistake, corrected at the earliest possible opportunity (*M. L. N.*, XXIV, 64).

Ecloga as a school book; in E. K.'s school days it had been quite forgotten. On the other hand, E. K. doubtless knew Boccaccio's eclogues—in no way a popular work, before or after the age of printing¹—in the collection of bucolic writings, *Bucolicorum auctores XXXVIII*, published at Basle in 1546 by Oporinus, who was well known to Englishmen since the time Foxe was his proofreader, and published the first edition in Latin of his *Book of Martyrs*.²

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¹ Only three manuscripts have been noted in Italian libraries, and two in the British Museum (A. Hortis, *op. cit.*, 911; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio Funde*, 45, n. 2), and outside of the collection of Oporinus it has been only printed in collections published in Italy in 1504 and 1719 (Hortis, *op. cit.*, 753, 755). Sir Philip Sidney, who was probably acquainted with the collection of Oporinus, shows his critical powers in remarking, after mentioning Theocritus, Vergil, Sanazzaro, and Spenser; "Besides these, doe I not remember to have seene but fewe (to speake boldly) printed, that have poetically sinewes in them" (*An Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, 63). If we accept Rand's suggestion, which has been worked out in some detail by Schofield (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 203 ff.), that the *Pearl* owed its inspiration to Boccaccio's fourth eclogue, we must account for this acquaintance of a fourteenth-century English writer with a little-known work of Boccaccio, within a few years of its composition, as due to some personal favor to the author from an Italian, or an Englishman traveling in Italy, instead of being a proof of "how close were the ties that bound mediaeval men of letters together, how speedy was the transference of works (in Latin at least) from one land to another," etc., etc. (Schofield, *op. cit.*, 215). Even Petrarch's most popular works did not find favor outside of Italy within such a short time of their publication, in the normal course of their propagation (cf. *M. L. N.*, XXIII, 169, 170). The appearance of a copy of the *Pearl* in the library of Henry Savile of Banke (1568-1617), in the catalogues of which it is entered as "an owld booke in Englishe verse beginning Perle pleasant to Princes" (J. P. Gilson, *Transactions of the Bibl. Soc.*, IX, 135, 209), shows that it did not have to wait till the nineteenth century for a proper appreciation (cf. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 402). As the Savile manuscript was paper it cannot possibly be identified with the well-known vellum Cottonian MS, Nero A (*A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum*, p. 204). Cf. F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, XLVII; R. Morris, *Early English Allit. Poems* (1869), XLI, A.x., the only extant manuscript of the *Pearl*.

² Strype, *Life of Grindal*, 298; *Memorials of Cramner*, 514; *Annals of the Reformation*, I, 151, 156, 161; *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc.), II, 112; *Original Letters 1537-1559*, 106, 595, 638; P. Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, 57.

THE INFLUENCE OF MACHIAVELLI ON SPENSER

I

The influence on Machiavelli upon the Elizabethans was twofold. On the one hand, he stood for resolution, promptness, severity, as necessary elements in government; on the other for treachery, deceit, self-interest. Tamburlaine is the dramatization of one of these phases; Barabas of the other.¹ *Il Principe* was the handbook of Cromwell, of Burghley, and perhaps of the great queen herself;² it was to others, or under other circumstances, a book "penned by the finger of Satan." This duality is perhaps involved in the book itself. The first fourteen chapters constitute a treatise on government, dealing with many of the problems which the England of Elizabeth was facing; the remaining chapters, including the notorious eighteenth, deal more particularly with the private character of the prince, and, perhaps through the distorted interpretation given by Gentillet, seemed a code for the trickster and the villain.³ To put it in another way, Machiavelli's insistence that the prince must be a combination of the lion and the fox is at the very base of the Elizabethan conception of his philosophy, except that as a rule they separated the two. In Spenser, both these phases are reflected: the lion in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, and the fox in his *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.

That Spenser knew Machiavelli's writings scarcely needs demonstration. The little group of friends who discussed theories of poetry also read eagerly the writings of the Italian student of statecraft. So early as 1573 Harvey asked a friend to send him

¹For exhaustive studies of Machiavelli's relation to the Elizabethan drama, see E. Meyer, *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, I, pp. 1 ff., and Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, II, chap. xii, and IV, chaps. iii, vi.

²Cf. W. A. Phillips, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1896.

³One of William Harrison's friends wrote, "Faith and truth is to be kept where no loss or hindrance of a future purpose is sustained by holding of the same, and forgiveness only to be showed when full revenge is made." (Cited by W. Raleigh, introduction to Hoby's *Courtier*, p. 1.) And in Meres' famous *Sketch* (1598) we read: "As the Lord de la Noue in the sixth Discourse of his *Politie and Military Discourses*, censureth the books of *Amadis de Gaul*; which, he saith, are no less hurtful to youth than the works of Machiavelli to age," etc. (Arber, *Eng. Garner*, II, 106).

a copy of "Machiavell, the greate founder and master of pollicies;"¹ and a little later, having secured the book, he breaks forth into verse,

Machiavell, Aretine, and whom you will,
That ar any waye renown'd for extraordinary skill,
I reade and reade till I flinge them away,
And then goodnight Studye, tomorowe is hallidaye.²

In 1574 Sidney refers to *Il Principe* in a letter to Languet, and in Languet's reply Machiavelli is called Sidney's friend.³ Four years later Harvey writes a Latin poem attributing various crimes to Machiavelli, and in 1579 asserts that the works of the Italian are surpassingly popular:

I warrant you sum good fellowes amongst us begin nowe to be preteley well acquainted with a certayne parlous booke callid, as I remember me, *Il Principe* di Nicolo Machiavelli, and I can peradventure name you an crewe or tooe that ar as cunnige in his *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Livio*, in his *Historia Fiorentina*, and in his *Dialogues della Arte della Guerra* tooe, as University men were wont to be in their *parva Logicalia* and *Magna Moralia* and *Physicalia* of both sortes.⁴

Harvey also mentions "Machiavel" in one of his letters to Spenser, published in 1580, and there are other evidences of the Italian's popularity with the young English students.⁵ There is reason to believe that not only were the originals familiar to Harvey and his friends but also the garbled and partisan interpretation written by Gentillet and translated into English by Patericke in 1579. And apparently it was this conception of Machiavellism as consisting mainly of trickery and foxcraft that appears in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, published in 1591, but composed, at least in part, some years earlier.

II

In another place I have sought to show that *Mother Hubbard's Tale* derives mainly from the famous mediaeval cycle of *Renard the Fox*.⁶ The introduction suggests the *Decamerone* or the *Canterbury Tales*; but the rogues' progress and the incidents of the tale, with the peculiar conclusion in which the fox escapes the

¹ *Letter Book*, ed. Scott, p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ Cited by Meyer, p. 19.

⁴ *Letter Book*, p. 79.

⁵ Cf. Meyer, pp. 22-24.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, January, 1905.

punishment he deserves, even the element of "Renardie" as a necessary qualification of him who wishes to thrive at court, as well as the satire of priests and courtiers, all these make clear Spenser's debt to one of the greatest of mediaeval story-cycles. But, as was pointed out in my former discussion, Spenser in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* was indebted to the Renard cycle only for the main outline of his plot. Possibly when he first wrote the tale, in the "raw conceipt" of his youth, his chief aim was to tell a story somewhat in the manner of Chaucer and based on the great beast epic. As it was published in 1591, however, the *Tale* shows some elements drawn from other sources and it is with this phase of Spenser's work that we are now concerned.

The first section of the poem, consisting of about five hundred lines, follows the Renard material, modified by the influence of Chaucer, pretty closely. This embraces incidents (a), (b), (c), (d);¹ even the first courtier passage (502-14) is thoroughly characteristic. The description of the hypocritical priest (379-95), as well as the "ghostly sermon" (415-79) which he delivers to the two rogues, suggests Chaucer.² But that part of the poem which deals with the experiences of the two rogues at court, while following the Renard material in the main, presents some peculiar problems. The material may be divided into four parts: the experience as courtier (642-942); the usurpation of the throne (943-1224); the intervention of Jove (1225-1332); and the conclusion (1333-88). Of these, only the first two sections relate to the present inquiry, for the third is based on classical material;³

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, January, 1905, pp. 421, 422.

² Cf. ll. 382 ff. with Chaucer's description of the Monk (*Prologue*, ll. 165 ff.); the "sermon" itself is strongly reminiscent of the *Pardoner's Prologue* and of the passage in the *Tale* in which that gentleman enlarges upon his view of life and his duty. Note also that the description of the Mule (589-94) is quite in the manner of Chaucer's portrait of the Monk. And cf. ll. 866-68: ✓

"Now like a Lawyer, when he land would lett,
Or sell fee-simples in his Masters name,
Which he had never, nor ought like the same."

with *Prologue* (319): "Al was fee-simple to him in effect."

— ³ Ll. 1225-30 and ll. 1246, 1247 are based on *Aeneid*, i, 222-26 and 247; and the whole passage is closely parallel to *F. Q.*, VII, vi, 14-18. Cf. especially ll. 1292-94 with stanza 18. This intervention of Jove and the use of Mercury as a means for carrying out his special providences are also found in Bruno's *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*. (For possible indebtedness of the Mutability cantos to Bruno, cf. Oliver Elton, *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, and *Modern Studies*, 1907, chap. i.) 277

and the fourth is composed, as I have already shown,¹ of purely conventional Renardic material.

As to the first two sections, dealing with court and courtiers, one notes that the narrative portions, and not a little of the satire, follow in all essentials the general source of the poem. But there are also evidences of other influences at work. For one thing, the Lion of ll. 621-30 is not the Lion of ll. 952 ff. Confusion resulting from Spenser's reworking of the poem is plainly evident in ll. 627, 628, for the "she" refers to the Queen. Again, though it is not uncommon in the later French versions of the Renard romances for the animals to be displaced in all but name by chivalric heroes, i. e., the treatment is purely anthropomorphic, yet it is puzzling to find that a long passage in Spenser's poem (ll. 655-942) has absolutely no suggestion of the animals. Except for the occasional use of the names "Ape" and "Fox" one would never imagine, if this were the only portion of the poem preserved to us, that it was a part of an animal tale. The persons, the allusions, the customs are those of the court, and the court was Elizabeth's near the end of the sixteenth century. There are such conventional Elizabethan themes as the praise of the perfect courtier, to be found wherever Castiglione was known and imitated; the intensely personal passage about suitors' delays; and the characterization of the crafty courtier whose only care is how to advance himself. (Lastly, though the animals all come trooping back in the second section, where the plotters usurp the Lion's throne, thus introducing an entirely different court, there seems to be a difference in much of the characterization of Reynold and the Ape; Reynold has practically become a new Prince in a conquered principality; together with the Ape, who is a mere figure-head, he represents the union of lion and fox which Machiavelli constantly stresses.)

¹ *Modern Philology*, II, 430, 431.

It seems to me probable that the entire section (642-942) dealing with the first court was written at a later date than the remainder of the poem. This is not because it is better, but because it is so entirely different, in its lack of the animal element and its use of Renaissance material, from the passage dealing with the usurpation. The animals disappear with the Mule, and do not return until the rogues begin their plot against the Lion. Ostensibly it is the same court in both passages; in reality there are two different courts, peopled by entirely different courtiers. The first court passage, which is of the Renaissance and not of mediaeval times, is opened with the speech of the Mule, which shows, as has already been pointed out, signs of confusion caused by reworking. It is probable that Spenser either inserted the long passage which follows, or practically reworked what he had originally

Greene's *The Scottish Hystorie of James the Fourth* is an admirable illustration of the way in which the conventional conception of Machiavellism was applied to the drama, and it contains some useful parallels to *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.¹ Professor Gayley dates the play ca. 1590; thus it is practically contemporary with Spenser's poem. There is a passage in dispraise of court which is very similar to that in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.² The king is called a "lion,"³ and Ateukin the "fox."⁴ Thus the two illustrate in precisely the same manner as in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* Machiavelli's oft-repeated formula, lion plus fox. Ateukin uses methods of attracting attention in accordance with Machiavelli's advice;⁵ and his methods are similar to those used by Reynold.⁶ Greene's model is revealed by the fact that Ateukin is making "annotations upon Matchavell" which he carries about with him.⁷ Ateukin's theory that

'Tis pollicie, my liege, in everie state
To cut off members that disturbe the head,⁸

[written.] Moreover, it is worthy of note that it is this passage which gave offense to Burghley, and probably caused the poem to be suppressed or "called in." There is one interesting bit of evidence that Spenser got into hot water because of his satire that I believe has not been noted. In Thomas Soot's *Philomythie*, a curious satirical poem in which "outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes are taught to speake true English plainly," first edition published 1616, we read:

"If Spenser were now living to report
His Mother Hubbert's Tale, there would be sport
To see him in a blanket tost, and mounted
Up to the stars, and yet no starre accounted."

¹ It may be mentioned, in passing, that there are interesting parallels between this play and *Twelfth Night*. Examples are Dorothea's words when told she must disguise herself as a man, and her fear of a sword (III, iii, 99-114); her mood, closely parallel to Viola's, here and in IV, iv, 1-15; the situation (V, i) in which she is placed by finding that Lady Anderson loves her; etc. The characterization of Dorothea is very similar, in many respects, to that of Viola.

² Induction, ll. 40-52, ed. Manly. This is a very frequently used *motto* in Elizabethan literature. From Wyatt's time on, there are scores of passages which complain bitterly "what hell it is in suing long to bide." One of the most interesting parallels to *Mother Hubbard's Tale* is supplied by Braithwaite's *Strappado for the Divell* (pub. 1615):

"The Ornaments which he admires are these,
To faune, to observe times, to court, to please,
To make strange faces, sleeke his perfum'd skin,
Starch his Mouchatoes, and forget his sinne,
To dance, to dice, to congie, to salute,
To stamp, to stalke, to finger well a lute,
To tremble at a Cannon when it shootes,
To like, dislike, and fill his head with doubts,
To be in passion, wind his carelesse armes,
To lie his Mistresse with delightful charmes,
To be for all, yet ignorant in all
To be disguised, and strange fantasticall."

—Ed. Eberworth, Boston, 1878, pp. 124 ff.

³ I, i, 253 (ed. Manly).

⁵ *II Principe*, cap. xxi.

⁷ III, ii, 56.

⁴ II, i, 72; V, vi, 142.

⁶ *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 669-88.

⁸ IV, v, 45, 46.

is not only good Machiavellism but it is also the method followed by Reynold in making his false Prince secure.¹ This "fox Ateukin," careful student of "Matchavell," typifies the distorted view which the Elizabethans gained from Gentillet. The influence of this species of Machiavellism on the drama has often been pointed out; we may now note the same influence at work in a part of *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.

The principal elements in Gentillet's charge against Machiavelli are his so-called blasphemous attacks on religion; his unscrupulous cruelty and perjury; his apology for hypocrisy; in short, his use of "policy" and self-seeking rather than sincerity and humanity. All these traits are characteristic of Reynold in the two incidents dealing with court and government.

1. The Mule says they must see to it

That men may think of you in generall,
That to be in you which is not at all;
For not by that which is, the world now deemeth,
(As it was wont) but by that same that seemeth.²

2. There is mockery of religion:

He would his impudent lewde speach
Against Gods holie Ministers oft reach,
And mocke Divines and their profession,
What else then did he by progression,
But mocke high God himselfe, whom they professe?
But what car'd he for God, or godliness?³

3. He cares only for himself, and stops at no means to gain his ends.

All his care was himselfe how to advaunce,
And to uphold his courtly countenance,

¹ Ll. 1175 ff. It is an interesting coincidence, also, that Ateukin, like Reynold, escapes without punishment after his schemes have fallen in ruins about his ears. Thus he is the true fox of the Renard cycle.

² Ll. 547-50. [Cf. Gentillet, *Max. C. 22* (these maxims are taken from Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-14): "La foy, clemence, liberalité sont vertus fort dommageables à un Prince; mais il est bon qu'il en ait le semblant tant seulement." Also, cf. *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Ma è necessario questa natura saperla ben colorire, ed essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore: e sono tanto semplici gli uomini, e tanto obbediscono alle necessità presenti, che colui che inganna, troverà sempre chi si lascerà ingannare. . . . A un Principe, adunque, non è necessario avere tutte le soprascritte qualità; ma è ben necessario parer d'averle."

³ Ll. 839-44. Cf. Gentillet, B: "Maximes de la seconde partie, traitant de la Religion que doit avoir un Prince." These maxims, with the comments thereon, charge Machiavelli with being an impudent blasphemer.

By all the cunning meanes he could devise;
 Were it by honest wayes, or otherwise,
 He made small choyce. . . .
 No statute so established might bee,
 Nor ordinaunce so needfull, but that hee
 Would violate, though not with violence. . . .
 "I for my selfe must care before else anie."¹

4. The Ape, who is a mere figure-head, is joined with the Fox, ? thus illustrating Machiavelli's theory that the Prince must be a combination of lion and fox.²

5. Reynold establishes a strong guard;³ increases his own treasure;⁴ and ruins the country, reducing all the nobles to abject poverty or driving them into exile.⁵

III

In the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* the influence of Machiavelli is unmistakable. Here, however, it is the master of statecraft that appeals to Spenser rather than the apostle of individualism. Though the tract was not published until 1633, Spenser endorsed it "fynys 1596," and it was entered for publication in April, 1598. MS copies of it were circulated, and in 1598 a brief of the main arguments was sent to the queen under the caption, "Certaine points to be considered of in the recovery of the Realme of Ireland."⁶ It may also be noted that the defense of Lord Gray's course in Ireland, which forms the chief part of the fifth

¹ Ll. 845-49; 1161-63; 1196. Cf. Gentillet, C. 18: "Le Prince ne doit craindre de se perjurier, tromper et dissimuler; car le trompeur trouve tousiours qui se laisse tromper;" C. 21: "Le Prince prudent ne doit observer la foy, quand l'observation luy en est dommageable, et que les occasions qui la luy ont fait promettre sont passees," etc. Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xv: "Onde è necessario ad un Principe, volendosi mantenere, imparare a potere esser non buono ed usarlo e non usarlo secondo la necessità;" and cap. xviii, especially where Machiavelli enlarges on the necessity of foxcraft. *Also 1161-3, 1146*

² Gentillet, C. 12: "Le Prince doit ensuyvre la nature du Lyon, et du Renard: non de l'un sans l'autre." Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Essendo, adunque, un Principe necessitato saper bene usare la bestia, debbo di quelle pigliare la volpe e il leone;" and xix: "... io voglio mostar brevemente quanto egli seppe ben usare la persona della volpe e del leone; le quali nature dico, come di sopra, esser necessarie ad imitare a un Principe." The same comparison is often repeated in Machiavelli's writings.

³ Ll. 1115 ff.

⁴ Ll. 1137 ff.

⁵ Ll. 1175 ff. Cf. Gentillet, C. 4: "Le Prince en pays nouvellement conquis doit abbatre tous ceux qui souffrent grand' perte au changement, et du tout exterminer le sang et la race de ceux qui auparavant dominoient;" C. 36: "Les gentis hommes qui tiennent chasteaux et jurisdictions sont fort ennemis;" references to *Il Principe* are given in connection with the same point in the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, below.

⁶ Published by Grosart, I, 551 ff.

book of the *Faery Queene*, is repeated, with the veil of allegory removed, in the *Veue*.¹ Lord Gray died in 1593; Book V of the *Faery Queene* was completed by 1594, and "entered," with Books IV and VI, in January, 1596. Perhaps the poet's desire to win the favor of Essex, shown also in the *Prothalamium* (November, 1596), accounts in part for his growing interest in matters of state policy. The problem presented by Ireland was one of the most vexing of those with which the queen and her advisers had to deal. With it the poet had some knowledge at first hand; he also saw how entirely the principles laid down by Machiavelli for the governing of a turbulent foreign colony would fit the present case; he resolved to point this out, trusting to the well-known popularity of Machiavelli's writings at court as an element in his favor, and incidentally seizing the opportunity of once more defending Lord Gray, this time on the unimpeachable authority of the Italian thinker. No doubt, too, the parallel between his own disappointed ambitions and those of Machiavelli suggested itself to him, and like Machiavelli, he hoped by writing such a book to win the favor of his superiors.

In its general scheme, the *Veue* follows *Il Principe* very closely. Spenser finds his text in Machiavelli's third chapter: "Ma quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua,

¹ Machiavelli's well-known distrust of the people is paralleled in Arthegall's rebuke of the giant who represents the theory of political and social equality in *F.Q.*, V, ii. Later, Arthegall (Lord Gray) fights in behalf of Irena (Ireland) and vanquishes her enemies. After restoring peace

"All such persons, as did late maintayne
That Tyrant's part with close or open ayde,
He sorely punished with heauie payne;
That in short space, whiles there he with her stayd
Not one was left that durst her once have disobayd.

During which time that he did there remayne,
His studie was true Justice how to deale,
And day and night employ'd his busie payne
How to reform that ragged commonweale;
And that same yron man, which could reveale
All hidden crimes, through all that realme he sent
To search out those that used to rob and steale,
Or did rebell gainst lawfull government;
On whom he did inflict most grievous punishment."

—V, xii, 25, 26.

But "ere he coulde reforme it thoroughly," he was recalled, for "envies cloud still dimmeth vertues ray;" the charge against him being

"that he had, with unmanly guile
And foule abusion, both his honour blient,
And that bright sword, the sword of Justice lent,
Had stayned with reprochfull crueltie
In guiltless blood of many an innocent."

—V, xii, 40.

All this is repeated, with additions, in the *Veue*.

di costumi e d'ordini, qui sono le difficoltà, e qui bisogna avere gran fortuna e grande industria a tenerli." The entire tract is a development of this idea, except that Spenser includes the differences in language in his discussion of the customs of the Irish, and stresses the variation in religion. It should also be noted that whereas Machiavelli contents himself with postulating a difference in language, customs, and laws, Spenser devotes rather more than the first half of his essay to an exposition of these differences. In this there is considerable "ripping up of auncient historyes," and Eudoxus is quite right in thinking that it "savoureth of good conceits, and some reading withall." Particularly interesting are the descriptions of costumes, a subject in which Spenser proves himself expert; the singularly neglected brief treatise on the function of poetry, which suggests Spenser's former interest in the subject; the defense of Lord Gray, to which he also returns in the last part of the essay; and the discussion of religion, which throws considerable light on Spenser's own religious opinions. There is not a little humor, considerable learning, and a deal of keen observation in this part of the essay.

But it is the second division which shows most directly the debt to Machiavelli. The first fourteen chapters of *Il Principe* are drawn upon, and the most important arguments in each work exactly correspond, though of course Spenser does not follow the same sequence of topics, and his method is further modified by being applied to a particular case. The indebtedness of Spenser can best be pointed out by constructing a brief of his argument, with cross references to passages on the same subjects in Machiavelli.¹

"VŒUE"

I. We are dealing with a people differing from ours in Laws, Customs, and Religion.

II. Strong medicine is necessary. "Even by the swoorde; for all those

"IL PRINCIPE"

The difficulties arise in dealing with a new state, differing in language, customs, and laws.²

Under such circumstances there are three courses: to ruin them; to reside

¹ The Globe text of the *Vœue* is used, "a" and "b" indicating the columns on the page. Of *Il Principe* the edition by Zambelli, Florence, 1888, is used, but the references are by chapters, which are short, rather than by pages.

² Ma nel principato nuovo consistono le difficoltà quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua, di costumi, e d'ordini, qui sono le difficoltà (cap. iii).

"VEUE"

evills must first be cut away with a strong hand, before any good can be planted" (650 a). "Doe you yourself nowe prescribe the same *medicine*? Is not the sword the most *violent* redress?" "There must needes this *violent meanes* be used" (650 a). Cf. also "*violent meanes*" (613 a); "Too *violent a Metirine*" (623 a).

Unless ruined they "looke after libertye, and shake off all government . . . it is in vayne to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of policies, till they are altogether subdued" (614 a).

(a) Therefore, "the first thing must be to send over . . . a strong power of men" (650 b). This is in order that the one strong blow may be given which will put an end to vacillation. The present method is not less expensive and is utterly ineffective. See 651 a and also the defense of Lord Gray, noted below.

(b) The imputation of cruelty is not to be feared. Lord Gray suffered from the charge "that he was a bloudye man, and regarded not the life of her subjects noe more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, soe as nowe she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in her ashes. . . ." When he was removed "not onely all that

"IL PRINCIPE"

there in person; or to hold as a dependency, taking tribute.¹

Cf. *metirine forti* (cap. iii) etc. There is no safe way to retain them except to ruin them.²

Unless ruined, the city will destroy the conqueror, for the watchword of liberty and ancient privileges is a rallying point in rebellion; the safest way is to destroy utterly or reside there.³

Machiavelli constantly stresses promptness, severity, and the ability to give a crushing blow.

Cruelty is justifiable if applied at one blow and necessary to one's security; unjustifiable when, notwithstanding slight beginning, it must be persisted in. A prince who follows this second course cannot maintain himself.⁴

So Cesare Borgia in Romagna found the country full of robbers; exter-

¹ Il primo è rovinarli; l'altro andarvi ad abitare personalmente; il terzo lasciargli vivere con le sue leggi, tirandone una pensione, e creandovi dentro uno stato di pochi, che te lo conservino amico (cap. v).

² Perchè in verità non ci è modo sicuro a possederle, altro che la rovina (cap. v).

³ E chi diviene padrone di una città consueta a vivere libera, e non la disfaocia, aspetti di essere disfatto da quella; perchè sempre ha per rifugio nella ribellione il nome della libertà, e gli ordini antichi suoi . . . talchè la più sicura via è spegnerle, o abitarvi (cap. v).

⁴ Credo che questo avvenga dalle crudeltà male o bene usate. Bene usate si possono chiamar quelle . . . che si fanno una sol volta per necessità dell'assicurarsi. . . . Le male usate son quelle, quali, ancora che da principio sian poche, crescono piuttosto col tempo che lesi spenghino. Coloro che osserveranno quel primo modo, possono con Dio e con gli uomini avere allo stato loro qualche rimedio. . . . Quelli altri, è impossibile che si mantenghino (cap. viii).

"VEUE"

greate and long charge, which she had before beneat, quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore putt backe, and cleane frustrated . . . all that was formerly done with long labor and great toile was . . . in a moment undone . . . the necessitie of that present state of things enforced him to that violence . . . his course indeede was this, that he spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practize or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for examples sake, that all the meaner sorte, which also then were generallye infected with that evill, might by terrour therof be reclaymed, and saved yf it might be possible" (855, a, b).

(c) The rebels should be dispersed and deprived of their arms.

They should not be allowed "to remaine anie longer in those partes, noe nor about the garrizons, but sent awaie into the inner partes of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they shall not come together, nor easelie returne if they would" (654 a). The country should be left desolate (660 b).

"I would have them first unarmed utterlye and stript quite of all theyr warrlick weapons . . . and have land given unto them to occupye and to live upon" (663 a). "That in noe place

"IL PRINCIPE"

minated the leaders and used the cruel and swift D'Orco as his governor.¹

Cesare was considered cruel, but his cruelty reconciled Romagna, unified it, and restored it to peace and loyalty.²

A Prince should not mind the reproach of cruelty, for with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who through too much mercy allow grave disorders to arise.³

It is impossible for a new prince to avoid the name of being cruel, owing to new states being full of dangers.⁴

They never forget their name or privileges unless they are disunited or dispersed.⁵

This is implied in all that Machiavelli says concerning the necessity of ruining the province in order to bring it completely under subjection. See especially cap. xx, on the necessity of

¹ The seventh chapter is mainly devoted to the account of Borgia's work in Romagna; the passage is too long to quote.

² Cap. xvii, *ad init.* Machiavelli also says that he was in reality more merciful than the Florentine people, who, to avoid the name of being cruel, permitted Pistoia to be destroyed.

³ Deve, pertanto, un Principe non si curar dell' infamia di crudele, per tenere i sudditi suoi uniti ed in fede: perchè con pochissimi e-empi sarà più pietoso che quelli li quali, per troppa pietà, lasciano seguire i disordini, onde naschino occisioni o rapine (cap. xvii).

⁴ E intra tutti i Principi, al Principe nuovo è impossibile fuggire il nome di crudele, per essere gli stati nuovi pieni di pericoli (cap. xvii).

⁵ E per cosa si faccia o si provvegga, se non si disuniscono o dissipano gli abitatori, non si dimentica quel nome ne quelli ordini, ma subito in ogni accidente vi si ricorre (cap. v).

"VEUR"

under any land-lorde there shall remain many of them planted together, but dispersed wide from theyre acquayntaunce, and scattered farre abroad through all the countrey" (663 *b*). Cf. also 676 *a*.

(*d*) Particular care must be taken to discipline the chiefs or nobles thoroughly.

It is a mistake to temporize or parley with the Earl of Tyrone; the rebellion cannot be crushed unless he is first crushed (658-60). He is described as a prince in terms which suggest a Machiavellian hero in 660 *a*.

In pp. 672-75 are further remarks on the mode of dealing with the nobles.

"This base sorte people doth not for the most parte rebell of himself, having noe harte therunto, but is of force drawn by the graunde rebels into theyr actions, and carryed away with the violence of the streame" (653 *b*).

Lord Gray was wrongly accused of cruelty in destroying the chiefs, because he did it to strike terror into the common people (655 *b*).

III. After the Irish have been utterly subdued by this swift and severe treatment:

(*a*) English soldiers should be established there as colonists.

This is developed in detail in pp. 662 *b*-663, in a passage too long to quote. The argument is based on the precedent of the colonizing of Britain by the Romans.

(*b*) The English Governor of the province should live there and have absolute power.

This principle is stated in p. 666 *b*. Cf. also p. 682 *b*: "This should be one principle in the appoyntment of the

"IL PRINCIPE"

disarming a new state which is added as a province to the old one.¹

Cf. Machiavelli's defence of the methods of Cesare Borgia, cap. vii.

On this cf. cap. ix.

Cesare Borgia is defended for exterminating the nobles in Romagna (cap. vii).

In cap. iii Machiavelli dwells on the importance of establishing colonies as a means of holding a dependency. The Roman method in this respect is several times referred to. Near the end of the chapter, one of the capital errors of Louis XII is said to be his failure to send colonies into Italy.

Cesare Borgia made d'Orco his governor in Romagna and gave him absolute power.²

¹ Ma quando un Principe acquista uno stato nuovo che come membro s'aggiunga al suo vecchio, allora è necessario disarmare quello stato . . . ed ordinarli in modo, che tutte l'armi del tuo stato sieno in quelli soldati tuoi propri, che nello stato tuo antico vivono appresso di te.

² Cap. vii.

"VEUE"

Lord Deputyes authority, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power" (682 b).

This in order that troubles may be dealt with before they become serious, thus gaining "timely prevention." Here occurs a direct reference to "Machiavell in his discourses upon Livye" where he commends the Roman practice of giving to their governors absolute power (683 a).

(c) The laws should not be too radically changed.

"I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breede a greate trouble and confusion. . . . Therefore since we cannot nowe apply lawes fitt for the people, as in the first institution of commonwealthes it ought to be, we will applye the people, and fitt them to the lawes, as it most conveniently may be" (670 b-671 a).

(d) Farming and religion are to be fostered (677 b, 680).

(e) Towns are to be multiplied. "They will both strengthen all the countreye rounde about them . . . and will also be as continuall holdes for her Majestie, yf the people should revolte and breake out agayne, for without such it is easye to forraie and over-runne the whole land" (682 a).

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Of the three courses allowed by Machiavelli in dealing with a new state (to ruin them; to reside there in person; or to permit them to live under their own laws, establishing an oligarchy by means of colonizing) it will be observed that Spenser stresses the first and third.¹

The necessity of keeping the people satisfied and contented is emphasized.² Agriculture to be fostered for this reason.³

Princes should fortify their towns, and not on any account defend the open country. By this means they will avoid attack.⁴

Some additional reasons may now be given for postulating indebtedness of the *Veue* to Machiavelli:

1. Verbal parallels. (a) Machiavelli's phrase *medicine forti* supplies the key to Spenser's plan for reform, and often appears in the *Veue*.⁵ Several instances have already been cited under II

¹ Cap. v, quoted above p. 196.

² Cap. xix.

³ Cap. xxi.

⁴ Cap. x, *ad. init.*

⁵ Professor Fletcher (*Encyclopedia Americana*, s. v. "Spenser") has referred to Spenser's use of this phrase from Machiavelli.

(a), above; one also notes "too violent a medecine" (623 a), and in Spenser's letter "To the Queene" (1598)¹ is the statement that "nothing but a moste violent medecyne will serve to recouuer it." The phrase is too frequently used by Spenser to be mere chance. (b) The idea, based on the same phrase, that the work of reform in Ireland is the work of the physician, seeking by heroic measures to save the life of a patient desperately ill, corresponds to Machiavelli's frequent use of the simile of the physician.² (c) The reference to "the Prince" (670 b) is significant: "I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breed a greate trouble and confusion." Spenser does not elsewhere in the *Veue* refer to the Queen in this manner.

2. Similarities in structure and style. One illustration of this has already been pointed out: the fact that in general outline the *Veue* closely follows Machiavelli's idea of proposing a course of action suitable for dealing with a principality differing in institutions and customs from the country of the Prince. It is hardly less striking that Spenser's method of supporting his arguments by illustrations drawn from history is directly imitated from Machiavelli. Nothing is more characteristic of *Il Principe* than this: an observation or general statement is followed by copious historical illustration. Spenser uses precisely the same method, at times even using the same illustrations.

3. There is a direct reference to Machiavelli, with an illustration drawn from the *Discorsi*.

"VEUE" (682 b-683 a)

Therefore this should be one principle in the appoyntment of the Lord Deputyes authoritye, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power to doe anything . . . for it is not possible for the Counsell heere, to direct a Governour there, whoe shal be forced oftentimes to followe the necessitye of present occa-

DISCORSI (Lib. II, cap. xxxiii)

The authority given to these Consuls and Dictators was of the most unlimited character.

Fabius did not even notify the Senate in a crisis; thus there was no delay, and they did not meddle in affairs which they did not understand.

¹ Grosart, I, 538 ff.

² *Veue* 609 b, 610 a, 656 b; *Il Principe*, cap. iii; *Discorsi*, lib. III, cap. i., etc.

"VEUE"

sions, and to take the suddayne advantage of time, which being once loste will not be recovered; whilst, through expecting directions from hence, greate danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is woorthlye observed by Machiavill in his discourses upon Livye, when he commendeth the manner of the Romaine government, in giving absolute power to all theyre Consuls and Governours.

And the contrarye therof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italye."

"IL PRINCIPE"

The Republics of the present day, such as the Venetians and the Florentines, act very differently which has brought them to the condition in which they now find themselves.

There are a few other indications that Spenser knew the *Discorsi*, such as the fact that in III, i, Machiavelli emphasizes the need of fostering religion, a point not brought out in *Il Principe* for the obvious reason that there he was planning a course of action to be applied to Italian cities, in which there were no variations in religion; Spenser stresses the point in the *Veue*. Also, Machiavelli's favorite simile of the physician dealing with a disease requiring heroic treatment, so often used by Spenser, occurs again in *Discorsi*, III, i. Again, Spenser often says that the semblance of old forms must be preserved in Ireland; this is also observed by Machiavelli in I, xxv. And finally, Spenser's statement (674b) that it is a great grace in a prince to deal liberally in occasions where there is no constraint, is an echo not only of the praise of liberality in *Il Principe* (cap. xvi), but also of the *Discorsi* (I, 51), where prudent men are said to make it appear as if their course were dictated by their own liberality.

In general, however, the debt of the *Veue* to the *Discorsi* is extremely small; it is therefore the more significant that Spenser's only direct reference to Machiavelli is to this work. If he drew directly from a book which in the nature of things had little to contribute to the problem which he had in mind, it is the more

certain that he must have known the one book of his time which in subject and in method bore most directly upon such a problem.

4. Finally, Spenser acknowledges (683 *b*) that his plan is not original with him. "I doe not deliver (it) for a perfect plott of myne owne invention, . . . but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of verye wise Governours and Counsellors." Among these very wise governors and counsellors Machiavelli assuredly stood.

Thus the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, despised and rejected by most lovers of Spenser, is seen to possess a certain distinction in Elizabethan literature, the distinction of rightly interpreting Machiavellism. To Spenser's contemporaries, the word was anathema. In Spenser's own earlier poem, the conventional view was given, the foxcraft of pseudo-Machiavellism being combined with mediaeval Renardie. In the *Veue*, however, we have not a mere servile defense of Lord Gray's atrocities, nor an inhuman hatred of the Irish people, but an earnest plea for the course which Spenser believed would soonest bring relief to that wretched and suffering province. The theories of Machiavelli are here applied as the great Italian intended, not as a code for an adventurer who seeks by unholy means to advance his own fortunes, but as a means for bringing a new province into a condition where permanent reform should be possible.

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BALIN AND THE DOLOROUS STROKE

All readers of the second book of Malory's *Morte Darthur* are familiar with the story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke. The attention of scholars has recently been called to this story by the publication of the early Spanish version¹ of Malory's source for this book. It is now possible to read in detail the story nearly as it came to Malory. Hitherto we had only the French of the Huth MS, in which two entire leaves are missing just at the point where the dolorous stroke was described.²

The story is very briefly as follows:

Balin le Sauvage, angry because two knights have been slain in his escort by an invisible adversary, determined on vengeance. He learned that the invisible foe was Gallan, brother to King Pellam. Pellam was the most holy man in the world. Balin arrived at King Pellam's castle during the progress of a feast, and was told to leave his sword at the door. He kept his sword however and entered the banquet hall. Recognizing his adversary Gallan in the seneschal at the table he slew him at a blow, but was attacked and pursued by King Pellam who snatched up a wooden club. In the *melée* Balin's sword broke and he fled from chamber to chamber of Pellam's castle in search of some weapon. At last in a magnificent chamber he came upon a marvelous lance and with this struck down King Pellam. This was the dolorous stroke; the castle walls fell down, people were slain on every side, the country was laid waste, and King Pellam lay wounded many years till he was healed by Galahad. In Pellam's castle was the Grail; and the spear (called several times however "*la lanche vengeresse*") was the bleeding lance of the Crucifixion.

The pagan and the Christian elements of this story are at war with each other. Pellam is the most holy man in the world, but his brother, who dwells with him in the Grail castle, rides invis-

¹ "Demanda del Sancto Grial," *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. Bonilla, Madrid (1907), VI, 91-120.

² Ff. 136, 137. See Paris et Ulrich, *Merlin*, II, 27.

ible and strikes down innocent knights. The lance is the sacred relic of the Crucifixion but it is called "the Spear of Vengeance" and in the destruction it occasions lives up to this pagan epithet.

Many details of this story when read in full have so vivid a Celtic atmosphere¹ that some time ago I began examining ancient Irish literature in search of parallel tales. Among other parallels I have found one so noteworthy that it ought, I think, to be brought at once to the attention of Arthurian students.²

Aengus of the Terrible Spear made his way to the royal palace of Tara to take vengeance for a wrong done to his sister by Cellach the son of King Cormac.

He reached Tara after sunset and it was a prohibited thing (*geis*) at Tara to bring a hero's arms into it after sunset; so that no arms could be there except the arms that happened to be within it. And Aengus took Cormac's *Crimall* ["bloody spear" according to O'Curry;³ "ornamented spear" according to the Irish Laws⁴] down from its rack and gave Cellach the son of Cormac a blow of it and killed him; and its edge grazed one of Cormac's eyes and destroyed it: And in drawing it back out of Cellach its handle struck the chief of the king's household of Tara in the back and killed him. And it was a prohibited thing that one with a blemish should be king at Tara.

Cormac therefore gave up his throne and spent the rest of his life in retirement.

This story is summarized and quoted from the translation in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Our MS authority for this text is of the fifteenth century but the story of "The Blinding of Cormac" exists in many versions⁵ and surely goes back to a time before the rise of French or English Romance. One version of "The Blinding of Cormac" is in the Book of the Dun, a MS dating from 1106. These versions do not in some respects agree so

¹ Miss Lillian Huggett, a graduate student at Northwestern University, in a paper soon to be published has very clearly brought out the Celtic characteristics of the Balin story.

² Summarized and quoted from the translation given in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III, 82-84, where is also printed the Irish text.

³ O'Curry, *MS Materials*, pp. 48, 512.

⁴ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III, 83.

⁵ See *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 101-35 (1901); *Friu*, III, 135-42 (1907); *Anecdota from Irish MSS*, I, 15-24 (1907); and compare as to the date Zimmer, *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, XXXV, 85-87, 117 (1891).

closely with "The Tale of Balin," but on the other hand they supply new coincidences of detail. One of them calls Aengus, for example, "a man fierce and savage"¹ (cf. Balin le Sauvage), and another sums up the destruction wrought by his spear in words that recall more vividly the Dolorous Stroke: "So there fell Cormac's son, and his steward, and Cormac's eye was put out, and nobody was able to lay hold of Aengus before he escaped to his house, and he killed nine of Cormac's warriors as they were pursuing him."²

The parallelism between the Irish tale and "The Story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke" is sufficiently evident: In both the hero comes to the king's palace as an avenger of a personal wrong. In both is the prohibition against carrying swords into the palace (thoroughly understandable as an Irish *geis*,³ this is not very natural in mediaeval France. Balin remarks that to wear one's sword at a feast is the custom of *his* country). In both tales the mischief is wrought by a spear kept in the palace as a relic or marvel. In both the king's chief steward or seneschal is slain, although in a somewhat different manner. In both the aggressor escapes after killing a near relative of the king, and leaves the king wounded in such a way as to be incapacitated for kingship.

The Irishman who attached this account of the blinding of Cormac to his *Book of Laws* regarded it as sober history and evidently rationalized it as much as possible. From what is known, however, concerning the marvelous character of Irish spears we can readily imagine that we have here a euhemerization of some ancient half-mythological tale about the destruction wrought by an enchanted spear—a tale like the Welsh Enchantment of Britain from which Professor Rhys⁴ has suggested comes the "Dolorous Stroke." I have undertaken an investigation of the "Tale of Balin" in its varied aspects, the results of which I expect to publish shortly. In the meantime it seems to me that

¹ "Fear garg amnus," *Anecdota from Irish MSS*, I, 15, l. 15.

² *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, f. 53a. The translation is my own.

³ On the Irish *geis* or taboo, cf. Alfred Nutt, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 212-14.

⁴ Rhys, *Art. Legend*, pp. 291, 292.

only by supposing an identical or related source in Celtic legend can we understand why there should occur this remarkable parallelism of plot between the "Blinding of Cormac" and Balin's "Dolorous Stroke."

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THE SOURCE OF AN INTERPOLATION IN THE HJALMTÉRS SAGA OK ÖLVIS

Eugen Kölbing called attention in one of his earlier publications to the value of the Icelandic *rímur* as an aid to textual criticism and showed that they are usually a nearly literal versification of the saga whose contents they relate.¹ By way of illustrating the assistance afforded by the *rímur* he discusses (pp. 200 ff.) the *Hjálmþérs rímur* in their relation to the saga of the same name, and concludes that the author of the *rímur* employed a different version of the saga than that preserved to us in prose, and that the text of this other version is frequently better and nearer the original than the prose redaction that has been transmitted to us. Kölbing further points out that two incidents in the saga which are in no way connected with the rest of the story are not found in the *rímur*, namely: the fight with Kollr and Tóki (chaps. iv and v) and the victory over Núdus of Serkland with the liberation of the Princess Díana. I wish to show in the following paper that the former episode is interpolated and that its source is in the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*.²

The text here used is that of Rafn.³ All references to *Fornaldarsögur* are to his edition unless a better and later one is especially mentioned. The *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* occupies pp. 383 to 459 of Vol. II, and the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, pp. 453–518 of Vol. III, into which Rafn put the “less reliable” sagas.⁴

The last-mentioned saga impresses even the casual reader as being a later product than the former; not only does it contain more improbable events than the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*, if

¹ *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der englischen und nordischen Litteratur*. Breslau, 1876.

² I am preparing a new edition of the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*. It is to be hoped that someone will soon re-edit the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis* and publish the corresponding *rímur*.

³ *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*; 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1829–30.

⁴ First sentence of Rafn's preface to Vol. III.

that be possible, but it contains foreign words,¹ more foreign and foreign-sounding names,² and, more convincing still, references to chivalric institutions,³ together with an attempted refinement in manners and speech that is absent in the older sagas.⁴ But not only the style is later; the transmission itself is later; while we have a vellum of the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* from the first half of the fifteenth century, we have only paper manuscripts of the seventeenth century for the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis*. There can be no question that the latter saga, in its present prose form, is the younger of the two. It is therefore from the outset chronologically not impossible that this late version of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* should have used the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* as a source.

The following is a translation of the passages under discussion:

Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis: IV, ll. 20 ff.—Late in the autumn they came to an island and landed in a hidden creek. That was late in the evening; it was covered there with forests and crags. They went on land, *Hjálmþér* and *Ólver*, and up in the mark on the hill. There they saw a big fleet of ships on the other side under the island, a large and fine dragon [a warship with a dragon figure-head] and fifteen longships therewith, and there was a big tent on the land and much smoke there. *Hjálmþér* said: "Who may these be who treat themselves so well? I will go and meet them and know who they are." "Do so," says *Ólver*. They laded themselves with roofing-bark and took clubs in their hands and walked along in a stumbling fashion to the tents. There was much smoke within; they sat down in the door. They who were within bade them to go away from the door. The former said they might not because of the cold, 'but what is the name of the chieftain who commands this fleet?' "You ask questions like fools," they say, "or were you brought up such a long way off that you have never heard of our famous leader? His name is *Kollr* and his brother's is *Tóki*. They are very great men in every way. They have lain in viking [i. e., been engaged in piratical

¹ *Handtéra*, XIII; *karbunkulus*, *lilja*, XIV; *nattúra*, *nattúrulauss*, VIII; *priss*, VI; *rósa*, XIV; *salterium*, *simfon*, VIII; *spasera*, IV; *tempra*, VIII.

² *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* contains *Arabía*, XXII; *Diana*, VI ff.; *Bóðeía* (MS C *Bóeía*), III; *Lucartus* (MS C and P *Lucratu*), III; *Magartius* (MS C *Margatus*), I; *Nédus* (MS P *Rútus*), III ff.; *Ptólómeus*, XXII; *Syria*, VIII. The *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* has only *Indíalánd*, II ff.; *Marsceraland*, III; *Tírur*, III; MS C has *Tíróna* for *Tróna* of A, III ff.

³ *Hoffolk*, II; *høfgyðr*, II; *kastali*, II ff.; *kurteiss*, VIII; *kurteisliga*, XIV; *riddarasveit*, VII; *turniment*, II; II contains a description of a tournament.

⁴ E. g., *Hjálmþér* politely seats his stepmother on his knee, and she calls him "My sweet son" (VIII); *Hjálmþér* addresses the princess as "Dear lady" (XIX).

expeditions] since they were twelve years old, both summer and winter; all creatures are afraid of them; both kings and earls have they put under them in war and their kingdoms as well; and now they parted this summer; Tóki held toward England and the chieftain Kollr is come here; we have been in this haven for half a month." "You have entertained us well," say they. Afterward they went back to their ships and tell their men all they have found out. "Let us," says Hjalmtér, "get ready tonight and carry our goods on land and stones on board ship and give the vikings a thorough ramming tomorrow." Now they do so. And when it dawned and the sun came up they row at the ships and send a hard shower of stones at the ships of the vikings and waken them with an evil dream. The foster-brothers had won five ships from the vikings before the latter had on their armor. Kollr asks who is going at them so boldly, "You shall surely get resistance here." Hjalmtér tells his name. There began now a hard battle; Kollr had a hardened company and numerous. Both pushed on well and many men fell of both parties, but more though of Kollr's men, for the foster-brothers lopped them like saplings; however, it did not last long until Hjalmtér and Ólver had lost four of their ships and their crews with them. They had also killed every mother's son on Kollr's ships except such as fled to him on the dragon. Then said Ólver: "It is best for us, stall-brother, to try whether we cannot get on the dragon to Kollr." "That shall be," says Hjalmtér; they do so and get on the dragon and so at each other; there began now again a hard battle; one fell after the other, until Hjalmtér and Kollr met and they struck at each other with sharp swords until the shields were hewn away from each. Hjalmtér thinks now that it cannot go on that way any longer, raises his sword and hews at Kollr's neck so that his head fell off. Afterward he offered to those that were still alive that they swear the oath of fealty; the latter took up with it. They got there great wealth in gold and treasures; afterward they went back to Mannaheim¹ to the kingdoms of their fathers and sat in their castles during the winter.

V. At spring they went a-harrying and had ten ships and the dragon Kollsnautr [nautr: an object obtained from some person as a gift or as booty]. They harried far and wide during the summer and got little goods. And when they were on the way home they lay one evening in a hidden creek; they saw a dragon and thirty ships with it sail into the bay. They stood into the bay rather grandly and cast anchor. A man stood by the mast of the dragon, big and of an evil face, and spoke a verse:

Who are the rascals
who run these ships,
hard hardened
hapless lubbers?

¹ Mannaheim = Sweden.

We shall plunder
the pack of their lives
and 'mongst us all
even up their loot.

Hjálm tér listened and said:

Hjálm tér hight I,
who is it asks,
black-visaged battler
on sea-beast?
Slay the lads we shall
and seize your stuff,
foul false one,
else flee you hence.

Tóki answers: "Are you that Hjalmtér that killed my brother Kollr last summer?" "It is the same man," says Hjalmtér. "It is a good thing we have met," says Tóki. "I do not abuse that which you praise so much," says Hjalmtér, "There shall be a truce until morning," says Tóki. "So there shall," says Hjalmtér, and they now betake themselves to rest. When it was fighting-light they took to battle with shot and stone, and when that sort of battle abated they took their weapons and fought manfully. There was no lack of stout blows which each gave the other, the foster-brothers thought they had never before found such champions; one fell after another; they fought that day until evening, and the truce shield was held up; there were three ships left of the foster-brothers, and four of Tóki's; so passed the night. But at the coming of morning they take to battle; Tóki attacked bravely and thrust toward both sides; he had a big and strong spear in his hand; he slew thirty men in a short time. Ólver sees that and leaps on the dragon in a great rage and makes a keen attack and slays them in heaps until he meets Tóki, and he hews at him into his shield and he cuts it through the whole length. Tóki grasps the spear with both hands and drives it through Ólver's shield and also through his two arms, casts him up into the air and hurls him down on the planks so that he lay there in a faint. At that moment Hjalmtér comes up and hews at Tóki's hand so that it came off and the spear fell down. Tóki now takes to his heels and plunges overboard into the sea. Hjalmtér leaps after him, Tóki swims away hard and well, but Hjalmtér after him until Tóki is exhausted; then they met, Hjalmtér went at him at once, and they took to hard wrestling and long dives, for each dragged the other to the bottom until bleeding weakened Tóki, and Hjalmtér left him dead. He then came back to his ships, his men received him with joy, and thought they had got him back from the dead. Hjalmtér now binds up Ólver's wounds. They got there great wealth in rare treasures, gold and goods and jewels. In a few days they go homeward, Hjalmtér com-

manded the dragon Kollsnautr and Ólver Tókanautr, and they sat in their castles over winter.

I regard the following passage as the source of the chief incidents of the latter part of chap. iv of the *Hjálmtérs saga ok Ólvis* quoted above.

Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar, XX, ll. 30 ff.—The next summer they went a-harrying and got little goods because all the vikings shunned them, and they came to those skerries which are called the riverskerries;¹ they stood into the harbor at evening; and they went up on land, Thorstein and Beli, and across the ness under which they lay. Now when they came over the ness they saw twelve ships there covered with black tarpaulins. They saw tents on land and smoke rose from them; they thought they knew that must be the meat swains. They put on clothes that disguised them and went thither, and when they came there at the tent-door they both went in at the door, so that the smoke did not get out. They who were getting meat were hard spoken and asked what was the matter with the beggars, that they were so shrewd that they wished to be burned alive or choked with smoke. They acted queerly and answered in a hollow voice that they wished to get something to eat, 'but who was the great man who commanded this fleet which lies off shore.' "You must be foolish carls," say they, "if you have not heard tell of Úfi, who is called Bad-luck Úfi, son of Herbrand the Big-headed;² he and Ótunfaxi are brothers; I know of none more famous under the sun." "You say well," says Thorstein. Shortly after they went back to their men. Early in the morning the men got ready and rowed out in front of the ness; they shouted at once the war cry; the others got ready quickly and took to their weapons and a hard battle began there. Úfi had a bigger force and was himself most valiant. They fought so long that it could not be seen which of them would win. Now on the third day Thorstein undertook to board that dragon which Bad-luck Úfi commanded, and Beli was right behind him. They struck out valiantly and

¹ I. e., the skerries at the mouth of the Götaelf.

² Chap. xxi of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* explains the nick-name of Bad-luck Úfi: "Úfi had got into the bad luck that he had killed his father and mother." His father, *Herbrandr the Big-headed*, is the Old High German *Heribrant*. The *Þiðreks saga af Bern* describes *Herbrandr* [p. 340 of Bertelsen's edition, Copenhagen, 1905-] as having "a long face, but not very broad." From this idea of a long face the appellation *big-headed* might easily arise. The *Þiðreks saga af Bern* knows nothing of a relationship between *Hildibrandr* and *Herbrandr*. The latter is *Þiðreks* standard-bearer. In the *Wolfdietrich* he is the king's standard-bearer and Hildebrand's father [cf. p. 91 of Bertelsen. *Om Didrik af Berns Sagas oprindelige Skikkelse. Omarbejdelse og Håndskrifter*, Copenhagen, 1902]. The *Þiðreks saga* is not necessarily our sagaman's only source of information. This is then an allusion to a version of the Hildebrand's story which has a tragical conclusion and in which the son slays the father and the mother as well. For other instances of the Hildebrand theme in Icelandic literature see Busse, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* XXVI, 1, and Kahle, *ibid.*, XXVI, 319, and XXVII, 408.

slew every man before the mast. Úfi then rushed out of the poop at Beli and they exchanged blows for a short time, Beli was then wounded, for Úfi was both skilled with weapons and a hard hitter. At that juncture Thorstein came up with [the sword] Angrvapl and strikes at Úfi;¹ that blow came into his helmand split the whole trunk and the mailed man from end to end, but the sword went into the mast-step so that both edge-rims were hidden. Beli said: "That blow of thine, foster-brother, will be told of as long as the north is dwelt in." Afterward they offered the vikings their choice: either they should give themselves up and their lives be spared, or they should fight with them. They bade the rather that they might receive life of them; they then gave quarter to all, for they were glad to get it. They got there much loot; there lay they three nights and attended to their men and held homeward at autumn.

The following passage from the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* XXIII, ll. 80–110, bears a close resemblance to chap. v of the *Hjálmtǫrs saga ok Ólvis*, which is translated in the foregoing pages. Three years have intervened between this and the passage just quoted. Ótunfaxi has all this time been searching for Thorstein in order to take revenge. Thorstein and his two foster-brothers arrive at an island whose friendly inhabitant informs them that Ótunfaxi's fleet lies on the other side. Thorstein proceeds to attack at once, surprising the enemy and killing more than a hundred men in their sleep. The fight is long drawn out and most of the ships of both parties are disabled.

Thorstein undertook to board the dragon, as did Angantýr and Beli; there were still many people on Elliði [Ótunfaxi's dragon]. Faxi leaps forward against the foster-brothers Angantýr and Beli; they had a hard exchange of blows with one another; no iron weapons bit Faxi, but they had not fought long before the two foster-brothers were wounded; at that juncture Thorstein came up and struck at Faxi's face as it came handiest, but he did not yield a bit; then Thorstein struck a second time and no less stoutly; then Faxi got tired of the blows and sprang overboard and into the water so that he showed the soles of his feet. Beli's and Angantýr's hearts failed them at the idea of going after him. Thorstein leaped overboard at once and swam after Faxi, but the latter was fleeing; it was likest as a whale swims there where Faxi went; it went so for a long time and until Faxi came to land; but the foster-brothers fought with the men who were left and did not stop until they had killed

¹ Cf. Kahle, *Altwestnordische Namenstudien*, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 14, pp. 133 ff., for sword names in Old Norse. P. 204: "Angrvapl. angr, M. 'Schade,' vapl, M. 'das Waten,' resp. 'der Watende' von vapa 'waten,' also 'der durch Schaden Watende.'"

all who were on the dragon; afterward they took a boat and rowed to land to Faxi and Thorstein. Now when Faxi was come to land and Thorstein was swimming toward him, Faxi took up a stone and sent it at Thorstein, but he dived away from it and there was a big wave caused by the stone's coming down. He took up a second and a third, and they all went the same way, and at that moment came the foster-brothers Angantýr and Beli. Thorstein threw the club back on the ship when he sprang overboard, and Beli had picked up the club, and he came to where Ótunfaxi is standing and he strikes him with the club from behind under the nape of his neck, then a second time, and Angantýr stoned him with big stones. Now Faxi's skull began to hurt him somewhat and he became tired of enduring their drubbing and plunged down into the sea from off the rock. He swam then on the surface of the water and Thorstein after him, and when Faxi saw that, he turned against Thorstein and they attacked each other while swimming; they had there great and mighty wrestling bouts. Each dragged the other down, but Thorstein found that he had met more than his match. It came about that Faxi dragged Thorstein to the bottom and the latter could swim no more. Thorstein thought he knew that Faxi was going to bite his windpipe in two;¹ Thorstein said: "Could I ever need you again, dwarf Sindri, more than I do now?" With that Thorstein became aware that such a hard grip was taken of Faxi's shoulders that at the next moment he was down on the bottom and Thorstein on top of him. He was very tired from their struggle. Thorstein then takes the dirk which Sindri gave him. He stabs Faxi then in the brisket with it so that it sank clear up to the handle; then he slits his whole belly down to the little guts; still he found that Faxi was not dead, for he then said: "You have done a great deed of daring in that you have slain me, for I have had ninety battles and have had victory in all except this one; I have won eighty times in single combat, so I have been a duelist, and I am now ninety years old." It seemed to Thorstein that there was no use in the man's gabbing any more if he could stop him; he then ripped out of him everything inside that was loose. Now is to be told of Angantýr and Beli, that they took their ship and rowed out on the sea and looked for Faxi and Thorstein and for a long time find them nowhere; then they came to a place where the sea was mixed and red with blood; they then thought they knew that Faxi must be down on the bottom and have killed Thorstein, and when a short time had passed by they saw that something nasty was floating on the sea. They went thither and saw big and unsightly bowels floating there; a little afterward Thorstein came up and he was so beaten up and exhausted that he could not keep on top of the water. Then they

¹ A disgraceful thing for a warrior to do, but characteristic of trolls. Cf. *Sörlasaga sterka*. XXV, "And that would seem a bad way of doing, if I should bite you in the windpipe, as trolls do."

rowed to him and pulled him up into the ship; he had little hope of life, yet he was not greatly wounded, but the flesh hung down his legs in lumps. They went and sought relief for him and he soon came to.¹

The passage from chap. iv of the *Hjálmtárs saga ok Ólvis* and that from chap. xx of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* have the following elements in common: two foster-brothers land with their fleet at an island; they climb a hill and see below them a strong fleet on land, tents (in the *Hjálmtárs saga ok Ólvis*, a tent), and smoke rising therefrom. The brothers disguise themselves and go into the tent door. They who are within abuse them and try to drive them away. The brothers inquire who commands the fleet and receive the answer that they must be fools not to know that; they are told the name of the chief and also that he has a brother, though the latter is not present, and these two men are very famous warriors. The foster-brothers return to their men, and in the early morning attack the vikings and finally defeat them, giving their men quarter. Later they sail homeward to spend the winter there.

This list looks, however, more imposing than it really is; foster-brothers are a common stock in trade of the *Fornaldarsögur*. The landing on an island, climbing a hill to look for enemies and discovering a fleet on the other side is as common an incident in this group of sagas as it must have been in the lives of these roving pirates.² Even indicating that the questioner is a fool for not knowing the name of the leader of a fleet is paralleled elsewhere in this group.³ The agreements which follow this one are all so

¹ We have here the same theme as in Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother, namely: a submarine contest. Thorstein is in this passage a water-hero, like Beowulf; and Faxi seems to be a water-demon. In both the *Beowulf* and the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* the hero plunges into the water, clutches with his enemy, and goes to the bottom. Grendel's mother seats herself on the prostrate Beowulf and tries to stab him with a dagger; Thorstein gets on top of Faxi and stabs him with a dagger. In both the friends of the hero watch the sea mixed and red with blood and decide that their lord is slain by his enemy, but after a long time the exhausted warrior returns, to their great joy. The naïve story of Faxi's boasting at the bottom of the sea causes one to ask if this fight did not in an earlier form of the tale also take place "in some unfriendly hall or other, where no water harmed him in any way" (J. R. Clark Hall's translation of *Beowulf*, ll. 1513 and 1514), i. e., in a submarine cave, free from water, where talking would be possible. Whether these accounts do or do not go back in the dim past to a common origin is a question of small import. More important is, that they present the same situation, one of the limited number of stock themes in early popular literature.

² *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, X and XV, in Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, Halle, 1891; *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar*, I; Boer, *Örvar-Odds saga*, XVI, Leiden, 1858.

³ *Örvar-Odds saga*, XXV.

colorless or so frequent in the *Fornaldarsögur* that they need no comment.

The one incident which occurs nowhere else, and which is so striking that it is of itself convincing, and which in connection with the other agreements renders them of corroborative value, is this: two men go in disguise down to a tent from which smoke arises, stand in the door, endure the abuse of the inmates, and find out the name of the leader. The incident occurs elsewhere neither in the *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* nor in the similar group of tales in *Saxo-Grammaticus*.

It is a natural conclusion that these are two versions of the same tale. The passage from the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* gives the fuller and clearer account: the cause of the smoke is explained, i. e., the men are preparing food; their anger is explained, i. e., the strangers in the doorway prevent the exit of the smoke; the latter's excuse is better, i. e., they have come to the cooks' tent for food; more particulars are given, the conduct of the assumedly hungry, frightened beggars is pictured. Adding to the greater fullness and definiteness of the account the fact that the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* is older than our redaction of the *Hjálmtérs saga ok Ölvis*, I feel justified in regarding the passage in the former as the source of that in the latter rather than vice versa.

Chap. v of the *Hjálmtérs saga ok Ölvis* and the passage from chap. xxiii of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* also exhibit considerable similarity: a surviving brother is seeking the slayer of his relative; the two parties meet in battle; the foster-brothers board the dragon of their enemy, who fights successfully until the chief hero intervenes, when the former jumps overboard followed by the hero, who finally slays him at the bottom of the sea and returns to the surface and to his rejoicing followers. The submarine fight is the notable incident here, which the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* again relates with greater detail. Feats of swimming and diving are not infrequent in the *Fornaldarsögur*,¹ and

¹ E. g., F. Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, IX, Copenhagen, 1904; *Ásmundarsaga kappabana*, VI, in Detter, *op. cit.*; Ranisch, *Die Gautrekssaga in zwei Fassungen*, Berlin, 1900, XI, also p. 67; *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, XVIII; *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, VI; *Hálfdanarsaga Brúnufostra*, XI.

a defeated man often escapes overboard, but in no other case is the fight concluded at the bottom of the sea. I may also add that the surprise of the sleeping company in chap. iv of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* finds its parallel in chap. xxiii of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*.

It would seem that the interpolator of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* had in mind what seemed to him a couple of good stories which he had read or heard somewhere. He combined them into one incident and incorporated them into the saga he was writing down. These stories are the same that occur in the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*. Of course both versions may go back to a common source, but until there are indications that such a source once existed, it would be but idle to discuss such a question, and we may regard the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* as the parent of a portion of chap. iv and of the whole of chap. v of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis*.¹

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¹I am indebted to my friend, Dr. A. LeRoy Andrews, of Cornell University, for a number of suggestions and corrections.

A COMIC VERSION OF *ROMEO AND JULIETTE*

Among the many versions of the Romeo and Juliette story current in the sixteenth century the following curious little comedy merits a humble place. *Li tragici successi*, as it is called, is only an outline plot, the merest skeleton, for a *commedia dell' arte*, in which the dialogue was improvised; it was printed as the eighteenth *scenario*, in the once famous *Teatro delle Favole rappresentative, overo la ricreatione comica, boscareccia e tragica, divisa in cinquanta giornate, composte da Flaminio Scala detto Flavio In Venetia, 1611*. The author, Scala, was head of the *gelosi*, the troupe of *comici*, which, in its many visits to Paris between 1576 and 1604, was so greatly favored by the Italianate French court. More than one of the *scenari* in their repertory betray indebtedness to an old story for plot outlines, but in every case the situation, originally perhaps simple, is complicated by a double or even triple love intrigue, and in every case the characters are rechristened with the usual stage-names of the comedians—the same name for the same mask in all the plays.

In *Li tragici successi*, therefore, the two old men, the heads of hostile houses, are called by their type names, Pantalone and Gratiano, Dottore. Capitano Spavento, son to Gratiano, loves his enemy's daughter, Flaminia, while his own sister, Isabella, the *prima donna* of the piece, loves Flaminia's brother, Oratio. The Captain, prowling about under his mistress' window, is set upon and apparently killed by Oratio, who is therefore banished from his native city. Isabella cannot live without her lover, her "husband by promise," and, aided by an old physician, swallows a sleeping draught, with the intent to escape from her father through this apparent death. She is more fortunate than Juliet, for though she is buried, she awakens at the proper moment and leaves the vault just as Oratio returns to Florence in disguise to find her. So much—enough one would think for at least four acts of a play—is told in the Argument or Prologue. Then follows the *scenario*, of which I give a slightly abridged translation:

ACT I

SCENE 1

Oratio tells his friend Flavio that love for Isabella has drawn him back to Florence in disguise, though he knows he is running into great danger. He knocks at the door of an inn and inquires from the host of Isabella's welfare. The host tells how she has just died suddenly and has been buried an hour past. *Exeunt* Oratio in despair, and Flavio consoling him.

SCENE 2

Pantalone rejoices over the misfortunes of his old enemy, Gratiano, whose daughter has recently died, and whose son, Captain Spavento, has just been arrested and will soon be executed. *Exit*, with host.

SCENE 3

Flaminia, lamenting her lover's imprisonment on false charges, begs her maid, Franceschina, to run to the officials and try to free the Captain. *Exeunt*. Night falls.

SCENE 4

Gratiano, armed, laments to Arlecchino, his man, the misfortunes of his house. Enter Pantalone, attended, with lanterns; exchange of insults between the two parties. *Exeunt*.

SCENE 5

Oratio, with lantern, passes on his way to visit Isabella's tomb. Flavio tries to hold him back. *Exeunt*.

SCENE 6

Isabella, with the old physician's servant, comes to the inn to hire horses for her journey to Oratio. As she talks, Pedrolino, Oratio's valet, and Arlecchino peer at her cautiously; on her turning to them and saying "I am Isabella," they flee, persuaded that she is a ghost. Isabella retires.

ACT II

SCENE 1

Oratio and Flavio return from the tomb, not having found Isabella's body, and ask the inn host whether she's really dead. He says he saw her buried. *Exeunt* all, to inn.

SCENE 2

Isabella, in man's dress, engages horses from the host. He scans her carefully and calls Oratio, saying, "Here is a youth who has a kind of resemblance to Isabella." The lovers gaze at each other, and after some hesitation, Isabella "discovers herself" and goes in with Oratio.

SCENE 3

Pantalone laughs at Pedrolino's story of having seen Isabella. He tells Flaminia to rejoice that their enemy's son, the Captain, will pass by to execution at daybreak. *Exit* Pantalone. Franceschina confirms the old man's news and both women go home weeping.

SCENE 4

Oratio and Flavio decide to flee at once with Isabella. Gratiano overhears their talk, recognizes them, and goes to report them to justice.

SCENE 5

Oratio recommends Isabella to the host's care for a short time, and is about to depart when Gratiano and officers seize him and carry him to prison, Flavio vainly protesting. Day breaks.

SCENE 6

Flaminia and Franceschina hear trumpets and come out to see the Captain brought to execution. He appears with a rope around his neck; Flaminia, in despair, throws herself into his arms, crying, "my husband, I cannot let you die innocent." General astonishment. The officers consent to take the Captain back to interview "the Eight." *Exeunt* with Flaminia.

ACT III

SCENE 1

Pantalone angrily asks Franceschina his daughter's whereabouts; she replies, "Flaminia has gone to tell the judges that the Captain is her husband and not a thief or a murderer." A messenger from the Eight confirms the story by summoning Pantalone to witness in two important trials. *Exit* Pantalone with messengers, Pedrolino following and begging for his wages.

SCENE 2

Franceschina tells Flavio and Isabella that Oratio is in prison; they rush off to the hall of judgment.

SCENE 3

Gratiano delighted cries, "Oratio shall be executed for having broken the ban." Isabella throws herself at her father's feet, telling the whole story of her love for Oratio and her pretended death. Gratiano threatens her with severe punishment.

SCENE 4

Franceschina enters, telling Pantalone that the judges have pardoned both the young men. Pantalone humbly salutes Gratiano, who returns the courtesy coldly, "doubting some treachery."

SCENE 5

Captain Spavento kneels to his father to pardon Flaminia, as she is his betrothed wife. Pantalone seconds the appeal, begging Gratiano to forget the past. Gratiano weeps, *per tenerezza*. All are reconciled, Oratio marries Isabella, the Captain marries Flaminia, Arlecchino and Pedrolino draw lots for Franceschina, who falls to Pedrolino. "Here ends the comedy."

The complications provided by the double plot and by the *lazzi* of the servants somewhat obscure the outlines of the original story; yet it seems quite evident that the essential skeleton of the piece is a legend of the Romeo and Juliette type, reworked by a pitying artist to a mercifully happy ending.

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A MODERN FINNISH CAIN¹

Finland, the "Land of a Thousand Lakes," is now experiencing a most intense literary activity in its own language, the Finnish. This melodious and very peculiar tongue was repressed for centuries upon centuries in favor of Swedish; but, especially through the patriotic efforts of Johan Vilhelm Snellman in the forties of the last century, a great awakening of the national spirit took place. And although this "spring" of Finnish nationalism was quickly followed by a "second winter" of official repression dealing death to the bright hopes of enthusiastic minds, the tenacity of the Finn triumphed in the end after long struggles. During the last forty or fifty years a literature in Finnish has sprung up that surprises one by its wealth, considering the small number of inhabitants and the unfavorable conditions of this land of arctic snows and of a thousand sorrows. There are a number of talented poets, and the prose writers already form a goodly company, which is fast increasing.

The Finn is given to reflection and introspection; a striving for ethical ideals seems part and parcel of his nature. So it is no wonder that social and ethical questions have been handled so often in Finnish literature. *L'art pour l'art* thus far counts few strict votaries in this country of stern realities.

Johannes Linnankoski, a young Finnish writer whose real name is Vihtori Peltonen, exhibits this ethical trend even more strongly than many of his fellows. His greatest book thus far is "Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta," the "Song of the Fiery Red Flower," an intoxicating dithyramb on love and life and at the same time a picture of the ruin wrought by the man whose only desire is to quaff the drink of love to his heart's content. All the splendor and beauty of sexual passion is there but also its terror

¹Arturo Graf has published a good and rather exhaustive article on "La poesia di Caino" (Cain in Poetry) in the *Nuova Antologia* of March 16 and April 1, 1908. The book I speak of he mentions nowhere. As Finnish is not read by many people and the Finnish drama of Cain is really important, a rather full treatment of this work does not seem out of place.

and cruelty. The flood of modern individualism has swept through Linnankoski's soul, not converting it into a swamp choked with the rank weeds of rabid egoism and the poison flower of self-inflation, but fructifying and quickening a good and substantial soil to healthy and life-giving growth. Linnankoski has simply outgrown that puerile individualism which is now so all-powerful and obstreperous; a far nobler and manlier spirit permeates his works, "Love thy fellow-men, work for the happiness of others and the uplifting of the race, fight and overcome thine own self whenever the fulfilment of its desires would mean harm to others. In the *child* there is the expiation of man's errors."

These ideas form also the *finale* of Linnankoski's first work, a drama entitled "Ikuinen taistelu," "The Eternal Struggle."¹ Its central figure is Cain and the drama hinges on the slaying of his brother.

The writer has chosen for his motto the lines of the Swedish poet Rydberg,

Lifvets strid har mening,
Djupaste fall har tröst,

"The fight of life has a meaning, deepest fall a consolation." The drama opens up with a lengthy Prologue, which introduces Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Adah (Cain's sister-wife), Zillah (the sister-spouse of Abel), and their youngest sister Thamar (a girl of eight or nine years). We get a glimpse of the character of these people and see how the catastrophe is to develop out of the conflicting elements in the family of the first human pair. Playful, childlike innocence pervades the beginning of the Prologue. Zillah and Adah are plucking the apples that have just ripened, Zillah up in a full-foliaged tree, her sister down below with a basket in her hand. They chatter about the beautiful fruit and the surprise it will give the others. Abel comes home from tending his flock. Adah bids Zillah sit still in the tree and tells Abel, who is looking for his wife, that she must have run away from him, but finally she has the strange, beautiful bird in the tree answer her bird-like chirping in similar

¹ Porvoo, *Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö*, 1903. Since then several editions.

fashion. Zillah is detected and helped down by her husband. Abel, too, has good news to tell, three little lambs born in the night gladdened his eyes this morning. Soon they are joined by Cain, who is received with demonstrations of most ardent love by Adah and shows the others some ears of ripened corn, specimens of his new crop. The seed he had found in the wilderness and his genius of investigator and inventor was aroused immediately; he planted the corn and here is the result.

Abel. That was indeed a happy chance.

Cain. Chance?—That's true, nearly everything is yet in the hands of chance. But it will not *always* be so.

Abel. I do not understand you.

Cain. Do I myself understand it! This only I understand that everything around us lives, breathes, moves. Nature is full of mysteries. Touch her and she trembles like a bride in the first embrace.

Adah. Incomparable, Cain!

Cain. The earth speaks, the mountain talks, the wood whispers. No, they cry out! Take away the fetters, son of man! they cry out to us. Take away, tear, break—and we will serve thee! . . . Of its own accord! What is it that comes of its own accord? Misfortune, nothing else. Sit with your hands folded and your flock will frisk about in the cornfields and your cornfields will be full of thistles . . . And great Nature round about us! Oh, how it makes my soul boil and strain! Nature there is full of powers, and we here are powerless.

Abel. But what are you aiming at with all these words?

Cain. Into the heights, into the depths! What is there up there, what in the womb of the earth, what in the interior of the mountains?

Cain goes on to expatiate on his dreams of the future. That which seems impossible today may be an accomplished fact tomorrow. Abel on the other hand confesses,

Abel. I am satisfied with the Creator's creation such as it is . . . The sky is clear, the earth full of life, full of fragrant odors—always the same, but nevertheless new every day.

Cain. I see it. But why look at everything only in the light of day? Now everything shines and sparkles, the wood is full of chirping and fluting, the sheep strolls gently in the fields. Only a moment—and the sounds of night and conflict will be heard. Twilight will spread its mantle, the wild beasts will rush out growling from their lairs, the shrubs, the young pines will break under their feet, the noise of a thousand feet will make the plain tremble. . . . There shining teeth glitter,

there blood-thirsty eyes burn like live coals. The small take to flight, your sheep run around senseless inside the paling; howling, bleating, groaning with pain, blood, rattle of death, uh!—That I consider strife.

Abel directs Cain to God, who rules the world and its mysteries. But Cain replies,

What do we know of him. And our parents, who have seen him, did not comprehend him, they only fear him. And how can he who is called light leave us in the dark? If he does not deign to come down to us we will strive to get up to him. As to limits of human understanding, such are unworthy of man. Either perfect insight into the nature of God, or perfect separation from him!

Cain is whittling away on a new kind of bow, with which he intends to shoot a fiery red bird that is continually haunting his imagination. If he get that bird then many things now impossible will be susceptible of accomplishment. Abel fears the tempter Snake may be preparing another snare for mankind. Cain spurns the whole idea of the tempter and says,

Why shouldn't I dare to doubt that story? What is good? What is bad? The nettle! Wasn't that a bad, a noxious weed stinging secretly like a poisonous snake? Now we wear its fibers for a light and easy garment. That same evil thing has become our best friend. As for the paradise our parents forfeited, I do not wail over its loss. The earth is young and we are young, and a voice in my bosom says that we may one day create for ourselves even a new paradise.

But Abel is terrified at such bold words, which seem to be the whisperings of the tempter. Their little sister Thamar comes and tells of her strange experience with somebody in the wood who repeated her every word and whom the others recognize as the echo of her own voice, kind and good, or bad and angry, in accordance with the words and tones of him who is calling. When she is gone Abel says, "How happy is the time of childhood If we only could always be children." But Cain retorts, "To feel and to believe that is the happiness of the child; to will and to search that is—the unhappiness of the man. Choose!"

Zillah. Then I choose happiness—to be like a child, to love all, parents, brothers, sisters, Jehovah, nature—the whole world.¹

¹ Cf. Adah's "O Cain, choose Love," Byron's *Cain*, I, i, 431.

Abel. Yes, are we not like Thamar in the wood? What we are ourselves that also are our surroundings.

Cain. Certainly, but how about fear, evil, the tempter?

Abel. Do not go on, brother, do not go on. The Lord enlighten us!

Cain. Yes, yes, do not go on, do not go on . . . eat, drink, do your work, and die, that is the chief aim.¹

Adah. Oh, I understand Cain so well. I too crave for something more although I never yet dared to say it.²

Cain. Here you have it—we do not dare. We do not dare to plant our whole foot on the surface of this earth—we only creep along on our toes as if we feared to awaken sleeping beings . . . Our present life only a bubble on the stream?³ Never! It is the stream itself . . . My soul is like the whirlpool of a waterfall—nobody answers, only the din of the waters sounds around me.

Zillah recounts a dream of hers that seems to bode evil, especially to Cain. But he declares dreams to be dreams and finally gets into a rage over Abel's and Zillah's weakness of soul and flings the piece of cloth on which Zillah is engaged to the ground because she hides her face behind it in horror at his impious words. Adam, Eve and Thamar come, and Adam, the typical *pater atque dominus familias*, scolds Cain for his eternal questionings and his dissatisfaction with the present state of their knowledge, and for thus disturbing the peace of their otherwise quiet household; he ends by saying, "It is all an unruly boy's stubbornness. Let us pray and all will be well." And Abel offers up a prayer that is, indeed, most beautiful and that asks also for peace of mind. Thus closes the Prologue.

We see Abel and Zillah are the optimists who look only at the sunny side of life; they are not wholly insensible to all the evil and the tantalizing riddles of the world, but they neither like nor dare to face them squarely. They content themselves with expecting everything from the hands of the Lord. But Cain stands on his own feet. An unawed spirit of inquiry and experimentation animates him. His are the great discoveries that

¹ Cf. II, ii, 416 (quotations without indication of the work meant refer to Byron's drama).

² Byron's Adah cannot sympathize with her husband (I, i, 187-90). She has the beautiful heart, but neither the intellect and strength, nor the delight in playful fun of Linnankoski's Adah.

³ This is Abel's view.

have hitherto been made for the comfort of the first human family, as, for instance, the weaving of cloth out of the nettle's fibers and the improvement in raising grain. His great aim is to subject all the forces and products of nature to the will and use of man, and just now he dreams day and night of mastering that mysterious being called fire by us and "the fiery red bird" by him. But he almost suffocates in the depressing atmosphere in which he lives—thousands of mysteries surround him, nobody except Adah sympathizes with the powerful workings of his mighty, fearless soul, Abel is ever prompt with his "Don't touch that," and old Adam tries to thunder the obstinate young fellow into silence. The conflict is there, and the Tempter makes good use of such opportunities.

Lucifer summons his spirits to a nocturnal conference. This "Night Meeting" forms the first act of the drama. Lucifer has been baffled in his great scheme; man fell, but he was too weak to imitate the fallen angels and rise in rebellion against Jehovah. Lucifer has brooded for twenty-five years in order to hit upon some new scheme of revenge; now he has found it and lays it before his servants. Two dozen evil demons embodying the different vices, corruptions, and sinful inclinations of mankind are introduced. This act I consider the weakest spot in the drama. The more or less allegorical figures have a chilling effect, we move in a world of lifeless, bloodless shadows. And wherefore all these pyrotechnics of hell? The "snake" is in our own hearts, as Cain justly supposes, and it certainly doesn't require scores of spirits from the abyss to make a man slay even his own brother. In fact, only a few of them are instrumental in disposing Linnankoski's Cain for the deed. Of course, what we see and hear in the drama is typical of the struggle of all mankind. But Linnankoski's way of bringing out these ideas is wrong so far as it concerns this act. It is to be hoped that the young poet will recast certain parts of the work; so I give no further details about these two dozen devils, the Messrs. Hawksclaw (avarice), Stiffneck (haughtiness), Fiery Red (hatred), Unquenchable (revenge), Hundred Fingers (lust of power), Stonefoot (oppression); the Mesdames Foxear (idle curiosity), Greeneye (envy), Volup-

tuous (sexual desire), and other male and female worthies. Lucifer himself is the proud, tempestuous rebel so well known from Milton's and Byron's pages. But at the same time a most perceptible streak of the buffoon runs through his nature; he can be a most undignified fellow, given to coarse laughter, ludicrous mimicking of pious people, and the use of such expressions as "The devil take it" and similar profane language. He recalls to us frequently some of the traits found in the popular devil and the terrestrial edition *en miniature* of his Satanic majesty—a very bad boy. He says,

You, my demons, are germs in man's blood. He yonder calls us "Evil." The fool! What is evil? I am it. And nevertheless I spring from the same root of origin as everything else. . . . Where is the boundary line? Yes, the boundary line, O thou Master of the Six Days, that does not exist at all. No, no, it exists, but *I* am it. I am the boundary line that opens the eyes and conducts man to the waves of the Stream of Life. . . . Do I hate man? Why should I? He has been created without his asking for it just like all the others. Do I desire his suffering? Why should I? Has he done anyone a wrong? . . . I wish man well, but how can I help it that joy seems to be tied to suffering—I cannot separate these two sisters from each other. And why should not man also suffer if his sufferings are requited? And I will requite them. Let them suffer and struggle, but let them also take deep draughts of enjoyment. So kindle the torch of life! I know it is the torch of sorrow, but it is also the torch of warmth, therefore they will suffer gladly. . . . And let them dance! . . . There is but one fundamental thought: down with the phantoms, break in pieces the slave's fetters, make nature free!

Lucifer's new plan of revenging himself on the Creator in his chief handiwork Man is based on the great law that he has observed to govern all the beings of this world—heredity. Together with his spirits he subjects the representatives of the human species to a close scrutiny. Both Adam and Eve are a pair of old fools now, and one of the demons remarks of poor Eve, "O that stupid goose! Why did she have to nibble at that apple *first* although she was created *second*? If she had only offered it to her old man and waited whether anything would have been left for her!" Abel is a mealy-mouthed preacher, a tender of sheep and himself a sheep, Zillah a sweet innocent, just tasting

the first raptures of love, Thamar a child, but Cain and Adah—there's a pair for you! They came into being when the sap of the apple was yet boiling in the veins of Adam and Eve.¹ Adam and Eve can have no more children, Zillah is as yet not pregnant, but Adah is. So speedy action is necessary, Abel must be prevented from begetting offspring, the whole human race to come will then consist of Cain's, the rebel's, descendants and therefore of rebels against God—in accordance with that law of heredity. The evil spirits are not allowed to kill Abel, so he must fall by the hand of his brother. Even the demons are appalled by the boldness of this scheme which promises so many fine consequences and such possibilities of revenge on Jehovah. But how is Cain to be moved to do the deed, loving his brother as he does? Lucifer answers,

Cain's soul is overflowing with the craving for knowledge and freedom and with the presentiment of his own power. These I shall wing for flight. He dreams of a new world, a world of genius, work, and domination. From this I shall start. I shall immerse him deeper in his own dreams, and out of these and out of what I foresee by virtue of my own knowledge I shall create a dazzling, beautiful picture of the future (of the human race). And now when this thought burns and glows red and Abel is all water, humility and honey of the fear of the Lord, then I shall hurl one against the other so that it will give a whiz.

Lucifer's subjects, Pride, Love of Self, Flattery, Deceit, Envy, Calumny, Lust of Power, Avarice, Hate, Revenge, Voluptuousness, Jealousy, etc., also exult in the prospect of being able to influence Cain. They applaud Lucifer's plan that Cain is to slay his brother at the sacrifice the brothers are about to offer up to Jehovah in return for the blessing bestowed on their flocks and fields. "That altar is *his*, he expects the smoke of the sacrifice and wheedling, but he will get—a slap in the face."

The second act is entitled "The Red Bird." Cain is working with a kind of wooden mattock in his newly cleared field, but the prongs break. He is in despair. "Everything breaks—our whole life is like that—it doesn't hold. But *could* it not hold?" Here a Strange Voice whispers, "Could it not hold?"

¹ Cf. Act iii, ll. 508 ff.

Cain. Is there no material that would surely hold? That would eat its way through soil, through tree, through stone . . . if one only could find it.

The Voice. And why should one not find it? It is found already.

Cain. Yes, yes, some things are found. . . . But the red bird still soars in the air.

He inserts a drill in the string of his bow, puts it on the wood, and begins to whirl the drill around. At last the living spark leaps forth, the dry moss at the point of the drill flames up—man can produce fire. In the ecstasy of his delight Cain can hardly believe his senses; he repeats the experiment three times before he is satisfied. He sits down near the fire thus kindled and looks at it in a reverie.

Cain. In thee there dwells a soul—now for the first time I comprehend this. Thou moveest, thou speakest, if only I could understand thy language. Thou carriest my thoughts along into the distant future.

The Voice (as if continuing Cain's thoughts). Why shouldn't I foresee all that?—the wonders and secrets of the future—how fire was at first a little spark, how it grew to be a world power—

Cain—how everything springs from the spark. Yes, yes. Of all these things I have a presentiment, but how am I to *see* what my hope speaks of?

Lucifer now rises out of the ground behind Cain and remains through the whole act behind his back, unseen by Cain, only speaking to him. His words either start new thoughts or complete thoughts already sprung up in Cain. This dialogue between Cain and Lucifer, which extends through the entire act, is, in a way, only the communing of Cain with his own soul. At the same time Lucifer in visions shows and explains to Cain the things that he so ardently desires to behold—the great inventions of the future, which are all due to fire, the force of nature which Cain just now has learned to call forth at will. Cain sees the miners of the future at work in the entrails of mountains and listens to their proud song of the treasure they thus bring to light. After this vision has disappeared the songs of the Spirits of Iron and of blacksmiths are heard and Cain's eye is met by the marvels of a foundry and a smithy. The iron mattocks, axes, plows, and other farm implements forged by the blacksmiths call

forth his delight and admiration. Thereupon a glimpse of the goldsmith's art is afforded him. But sights still more wonderful are to follow. On a clear lake a rather large ship formed like a water bird with eyes of fire glides along. Steam issues from the bill of this bird, in it are many people, who wave their handkerchiefs, and a band of musicians is playing. When this vision has vanished, a long, loud whistling is heard and a locomotive shaped like a horse passes before Cain. Fire are the eyes of this miraculous animal, whirling steam is its mane, its sides are full of round windows, out of which people are looking.¹ Fire is the soul animating all these marvels, and fire is the visible symbol of the mind of man. While Cain is still musing over this, again the sounds of music are wafted to his ear. An airship in the form of a flying bird and illumined by lights of various colors floats through the air. In it sit many people who wave their hats and cheer. Cain is almost speechless with joyful astonishment, but soon he recollects that there is nevertheless a realm into which man cannot peer, the beautiful world of the stars. But Lucifer causes a number of these heavenly bodies to speed by the eye of Cain. Cain realizes that fire is the life and essence also of these seas of splendor, and filled with solemn rapture he expresses his wish to be submerged by this ocean of light when he is to die.² Lucifer tries to lead him on to the conviction that the whole earth is not God's, but man's. Cain remonstrates, saying that the earth and man are dependent on God for rain and sunshine. "Yes, now, but not in the future." And Lucifer bids Cain shoot into the clouds with his bow, whereupon rain begins to pour down, and he even raises before Cain's eyes a brilliant sun made of fire by the hand of man, which illumines the whole landscape. That clinches the argument, Cain finally concludes,

Man is the lord of the earth. . . . He himself creates a paradise, there he suffers, struggles, and rejoices—always as his own works deserve.

Lucifer. But if the little snake should glide also into that paradise.

Cain. The snake? Then it is true after all—?

Lucifer. —that . . . ?

¹ The reader will be reminded of a chapter in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

² Cf. II, i, 98 ff.

Cain. —that there is evil in the world.

Lucifer. It is true. But not in earth, tree or beast, but in man himself.

Cain. Is that it? Something of that sort I always suspected. But its shape and manner?

Lucifer. Hardly perceptible. One distinguishing mark nevertheless is sure.

Cain. Which?

Lucifer. This, that evil always is at variance with endeavors for the public good.

Cain. Ah, such it is—that reminds me of the story of the fallen angels.

Lucifer (embarrassed, but with quiet scorn). Yes, yes—and the same spirit appears in man.

Cain. Should that be possible?

Lucifer. Possible after all. That great aim requires great exertion—but if not all do exert themselves? Some are lazy shepherds.¹

Now Lucifer has Cain at the point where he wants him. Most artfully, and without ever mentioning Abel, he insinuates to Cain that there are others who are not only indifferent, but inimical to the great schemes the glowing soul of Cain harbors and seeks to realize for the advancement of the human race; that they even try to take away from their toiling brethren what they possess—their fields and meadows, the peace of their homes—their wives. They reap what the others sow and say, "The Lord gave it in his mercy." They even oppose the others and the progress of mankind, and their formula is, "In the name of the Lord." When Cain is thus thoroughly stirred with indignation, Lucifer conjures up before him a phantom battle of the future. The manly instincts of Cain are roused still more strongly by this spectacle and made to pant for the undying glory of the brave fighter. And a still more tempting prospect opens up: the earth thus won by valiant strife will be the victor's, there man will enjoy the fruit of his painful struggle: the new paradise, and in that paradise there will be the reward of rewards for the hero—beautiful woman, and not one woman only, but many, many, as witnessed by Cain (whose simple soul had thought hitherto "One

¹Cf. Gessner's "Tod Abels," in Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationallitteratur*, pp. 109, 144, 150 ff., and for the following the whole dream of Cain in the fourth canto.

woman for one man and she his helpmate") in a new vision, which discloses to his hungering eyes the hero in the midst of a festival in his honor and surrounded by slightly clad young damsels that offer him the intoxicating cup. And the burden of their songs is, "Love and enjoy as long as you can, even if heaven and earth should thus go to ruin; for life is short. To the victor the cup!" Cain is fully in sympathy with such a philosophy and he exclaims, "Man is the lord of joy and pleasure. . . . Now I know whither my path leads and what is my goal. Out of the way with all impediments! . . . Fly, thou red bird! I am the lord of the earth." We see, the red bird is also the symbol of proud, self-gratifying dominion, of the *Herrenmenschentum*.

Intoxicated with these thoughts and feelings of the superman Cain returns to his hut, but he evidently is not one of those Napoleons or Cesare Borgias so fondly dreamed about by Nietzsche. He is in many ways an extremely modern man, a high-strung *Stimmungsmensch*. The reaction sets in. The next act opens up with the fatal sacrifice. Cain begs Abel that they omit it this time, he is so dejected, cannot collect his thoughts for the holy ceremony, does not even know why he should thank the Lord,¹ instead of thanking his own fists that have to wrench everything from the unwilling earth, thinks that work, too, is a burnt offering. But Abel in his childlike narrow-mindedness urges him to engage in this "religious exercise" for the very reason that his mind is so perturbed; it will restore calm to his troubled soul. And finally he mentions that Adah, too, thought Cain might thus at last be filled with a feeling of peace. Cain's jealous suspicion is aroused, his blood begins to boil. "Adah! Why, really—! Do you settle what I have to do—*thou and Adah?*" Finally his anger subsides, his gloom returns, and he again begs to be released from his promise. But Abel is inexorable and bids him choose one of the two altars that are raised for their sacrifices. Cain requests Abel to choose for him, Abel declines because of Cain's birth-right, at last Cain says, "Be it as

¹ Cf. I, i, 23; III, 109 ff. Graf informs us that also in Lope de Vega's *Creacion del mundo y primer culpa* Cain declares that he can stand on his own feet and does not owe anything to God. The attitude of Cain in the Towneley Mysteries is somewhat similar.

you wish—I have chosen.”¹ Hitherto Abel, who has to guard the fire they once obtained by a lucky stroke of lightning, used to give Cain a live coal for kindling fire on such occasions. Lucifer and the Archangel Michael appear on the scene, both invisible to the two brothers; they begin to contend for Cain’s soul. Lucifer urges him to refuse Abel’s divine coal and apply his newly discovered method of producing fire, which is as yet unknown to the other human beings. Cain struggles with his own self; on the one hand there is his suspicion of Abel, awakened especially by Abel’s mention of Adah and by a seemingly too great familiarity between the two on the previous evening, on the other hand, his love for his brother and the almost unmistakable proofs of Abel’s innocence, good nature, and piety. Michael admonishes Cain to desist from offering up the sacrifice on account of his unfit state of mind, Lucifer goads him on, and the devil can quote Scripture, too, for his argument. Michael exhorts him to humility, Lucifer awakens his pride. And pride carries it; he refuses the coals offered by Abel and proceeds to kindle fire by means of his drill and bow. Abel is surprised at the new discovery, but after a few moments admonishes him to thank the Lord for this wonderful gift. This causes Cain’s wrath to flame up again. “*I made the bow.*” Finally their sacrifices are lighted and Abel asks Cain to begin to pray, Cain being the elder. But Cain begs Abel to take the lead, as he is not used to such things.² The younger brother launches forth into a lengthy, submissive, and indeed very excellent prayer, which in the drama is frequently interrupted by silent fervor, by the speeches of Michael and Lucifer, and by Cain’s prayer. And this is the way Cain prays,

Jehovah, thou who art honesty and truth, hear an honest man’s prayer. I am not an expert at praying, nor do I simply comply with a good custom, but my heart is full of anguish. Also I do not ask thee for mercy or gifts, but I should like to keep myself what I obtained by dint of my own exertions. I want to be an honest, straightforward man, both with thee and others; I do not object to suffering for my own deeds, but I hope I shall not have to suffer for the deeds of others. Give us a fair chance to work and struggle on earth, but we ourselves desire to enjoy also down

¹ Cf. III, 188-210.

² Cf. III, 220-23.

here the fruits of our work and struggle. I have never seen thee and I know nothing of thee, but I believe that thou art right-minded. Now we want to keep the spot that we are tilling and do not want to be driven forth into the wilderness. I thank thee that thou hast not given everything to us ready made, but hast allowed room for the exercise of thy gift, the intellect—I rejoice over those victories that we have gained over the creation created by thee, over that creation which thou in thy mercy hast—

Lucifer. —created barren, full of blood-thirsty wild beasts, an eternal battle-field.

Lucifer has been communicating impious and disturbing thoughts to Cain during his whole prayer, while Michael has tried to lead him back to the path of good. The conflict almost drives him mad, and by this last remark of the Evil Spirit Cain is so disconcerted that he cannot go on. Abel continues all the time in his divinely serene and humble devotion. Cain finally stammers in heart-rending anguish, "Jehovah! I do not know—I do not understand—here is the offering for Thee—the offering of work—the offering of sweat—the offering of anguish." In this moment the sacrifice of Abel sends up a clear, high flame and Abel's words ring out triumphantly, "Praised and exalted be the Lord," etc. But poor Cain's offering will not burn, a gust of wind sweeps along and carries the smoke into Cain's eyes. Goaded on by Lucifer he exclaims, "Dost thou mock me, Jehovah? Dost thou despise an honest man's offering? Dost thou love laziness, blood, the pain of the sacrificial sheep?"¹ A terrible fit of rage overpowers Cain, he takes a billet of wood, beats and scatters the altar with it, shouting:

Cain. Thou creator of creeping beings (beats)! Thou god of fawners (beats)! Thou sender of the serpent (beats)! Thou scorner of honest work (beats)! Thou eater of meat and blood (beats)! Thou (beats) thou (beats) thou—"

Abel. Cain, Cain! What are you doing? Do not touch the altar, it is consecrated to the Lord.

Cain. Don't meddle with my affairs—the altar is mine (beats).

But Abel runs toward him with outstretched hands, intending to quiet him, and exclaims, "In the name of the Lord I set myself against this profanation of the holy. . . ." *Cain.* "In the

¹ Cf. Byron and the last paragraph of Gessner's third canto.

name of the Lord! Now I understand what you are. Out of my way!" Abel. "Not a step!" Cain rushes toward him crying in a voice that almost chokes with rage, "You don't want to? Out of my way, devil!" and strikes him. Abel falls and Lucifer declares, "I, I have won."¹

The second half of this act is entitled "The Thunderstorm." Zillah and Adah stand near Abel's body, Cain sits on the ground at a little distance, wrapped in deep gloom. Zillah, the leaves of the trees, the flowers, the grass, and the ephemerae wail in lyrical effusions over the death of Abel. Adah, who has gone to inform the others, returns with Adam, Eve, and Thamar. Adam. "My God, what is this?" Adah. "Death—death has come!" They first deem it the work of the snake or of the evil powers.² But when Adam finds out that Cain has done the deed he curses him in the sublimely gruesome fashion of the old Hebrew writers (turned to such good account also by Byron's Eve).³ Eve and Adah try to pacify him but he rebuffs Eve with the reproach, "Thou eater of the apple, thou listener to the serpent!" and goes on:

Accursed be he who raised his hand against his brother and broke the holy cord of life—ten times accursed! Greedy earth that drankest this innocent blood, open thy mouth and swallow the murderer of his brother alive!—No, let him live for a hundred generations! Like a hunted wild beast let him wander from place to place!⁴ . . . heaven, deny him thy dew! may the ears of corn and the fruit that he grows drip blood!—may the water in his spring be blood.⁵ And accursed be his seed, may it dry up in his loins!

¹ Cf. III, 288 ff.

² Cf. III, 370 and III, 381 ff.

³ It certainly seems better that Adam, and not Eve, utter these maledictions. Byron's own sad experiences with his mother and his rake's career are to be held accountable for the terrible curse of Eve in his drama, which I consider a stain on this magnificent poem. Mothers are not given to cursing their own sons and least of all if they happen to be Cains—the black sheep of the family. In the "Erschlagene Abel" of the *Kraftgenie* Maler Müller, Adam after hearing from his son's own lips the avowal of his guilt, wants to kill him and an angel has to lay hold of his hair and throw him on the ground in order to prevent him. Cain himself hurls wild reproaches at his parents—him they hated, Abel they loved, Abel has robbed him of his sacred rights. One is reminded of Klinger's *Geschwister*. This sketch of Maler Müller's is not mentioned by Graf. Here, too, Maler Müller was pricked by the laurels of Gessner, to whom he owes not a little. Klopstock, in his drama *Der Tod Adams*, has Cain come to Adam just before Adam's death in order to curse him (Zweite Handlung, Fünfter Auftritt).

⁴ I distinctly remember that Jean Paul somewhere identifies Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew with Cain. So Hamerling mistakes in supposing that he himself is the first to have done this (in his *Ahasverus in Rom*).

⁵ Cf. III, 432.

Here Cain interposes, but Adam continues:

. . . . Beget children, beget so many that they shall fill the wilderness and may they do by thee as thou hast done by thy brother!¹ And when the hour of departing this life arrives for thee, may it be full of dread and terror! May the earth deny a last shelter to thy wretched body, may the storm scatter thy bones broadcast over the fields and may invisible teeth tear to pieces thy vile soul from eternity to eternity!

Eve and Adah again intercede for Cain, but Adam commands Adah to leave Cain. She resists most firmly. Adam calls them a lot of rebels against himself and Jehovah. Finally even Zillah implores forgiveness for the slayer of her husband, and Eve addresses Adam with words so powerful that he is deeply moved and allows Adah to assist in carrying the body away. Cain is left alone with the upbraiding and lamenting voices of the wind, the birds, the trees, Mother Earth, the waves, and the storm that is gathering.² Adah returns to her husband, he bids her leave him as the others have left him, and fly from the curse that is upon him. He is tormented by keen remorse and black despair. He cannot understand why he killed his brother, he cannot comprehend that gentle, kind Abel should have been a living man a few moments ago and now—dead and cold! The murderer did not realize that this would be the effect of his blow.³ "Man is like a mouse—burrows, runs about—a big foot comes down—all is over. This is man, the image of God." The thunderstorm now is above their heads, but Cain calls Jehovah a mean rascal and shakes his fist in the face of thundering and lightning heaven, "These are still free. Man against Man! Yet I am Cain." Poor Adah in her horror finally succeeds in hurrying him to their hut, while she prays, "My God, my God, do not deliver us over to darkness."

The fourth and last act bears the title "Out into the Wilderness." Cain and Adah are sitting under a tree ready to start out.

¹ According to an old tradition Cain was really killed by one of his descendants, Lamech. See Graf, *La poesia di Caino*, pp. 193, 194.

² A thunderstorm after the crime also in Gessner's and in Maler Müller's "Abel."

³ Cf. III, 323 ff.

Adah. Look around you, Cain. The air is light and cool—it calls. On the shoulders of the wood there is the shining mantle of the moon—it calls. And you are again calm and desire to live—we are ready.

Cain. I desire to live since life is a necessity.

But he goes on to complain that something had snapped in him, that all his force seemed spent, that he could not brace himself any more, even by enthusiasm for the future and for freedom, for he had sinned grievously against freedom by depriving another of the freedom most essential of all—of the freedom to live.

Cain. The thought of the future is dead within me—and so am I myself dead. . . .¹

Adah. And nevertheless we *have* to look forward—into the future.

Cain. Into emptiness.—Oh, Oh, Oh, I did not only kill my brother, but my own child—my future.

Adah. Your child? It . . . (Her face shows that her mind is deeply moved, and gradually a strange light gathers on it. She presses her hand against both sides of her heart and listens.) Cain! It lives! It is found! It is in me!

Cain. What? Are you out of your mind?

Adah. I am—from joy. Life! Victory! It lives, it *moves*. Everything lives, moves, vibrates, sparkles. Put your hand here, Cain!

Cain. You rave. What moves?

Adah. Life—the future—you, I—Jehovah moves within me. Don't you understand. *The child! Our child!* That of which we dreamed so much, but which we had forgotten in our sorrow. Put your hand here, Cain!

Cain (horrified). This hand?

Adah. Just that—here, under my heart. With it you feel the heartbeats of the future and these heartbeats will in turn also make your own heart beat.

Cain (trembling with emotion). My God, it lives, it lives. (He grasps Adah's hand fervidly, looks deep into her eyes.) Mother!

Adah. Father!

Cain (suddenly withdraws from her). Father? But his father is the murderer of his own brother!

Adah. Why such words again? Give me your hand, Cain—no, father, father, a thousand times father! What part does the child have in our errors? At that time dark thoughts did not yet move within you. It is the best that was in you and given in love. Everything that was good in me and you lives in it.

¹ III, 347, 348.

Cain. These heartbeats may just as well be the wild pulsations of future sins.

Adah. Never! Can't you believe that forgiveness is possible, that this is the token of mercy and consolation, the message of a new and purer world?

Cain. I too have been pure, of me too they hoped.¹

Adah. And your road is not yet traversed to the end—the child's path only begins. Let us love it, and by the power of this love it will walk a new road and open up also to us the path of expiation.

Cain. The path of expiation? Do you think so?

Adah. Not only do I think so, but a voice in my bosom cries and asseverates that it is possible this way.

Cain. That the child was . . . ?

Adah (rejoicingly). —that new goal! Just think—*our* child, maybe a boy. It is pure and innocent, the seed of the future generation, which will take in hand what we ourselves could not do on account of our errors.

Cain. It will continue where we had to leave off, will realize what we dreamed of . . . ?

Adah. Exactly so. The spark of hope that we take out with us into the wilderness.

Cain (with assurance). And for which we will *suffer and struggle*.

They go on discussing the new and great thing that has come into their lives and that deepens, strengthens, and ennobles even their love. But soon Cain again falls into blackest despondency. His crime is too great to remain unavenged. "The brother's hand against the brother; why not in the following generation the son's hand against the father; that would only be—" The Archangel Michael appears, announces to Cain that God's curse is neither upon him, nor upon his descendants, and imprints the mark on his forehead which is to keep others from harming Cain. "And now, Cain, go thy way and by struggling obtain expiation for thyself." Let him who wants to be master of the world first learn to be master of himself."

Before they depart Eve and Zillah come to bid them farewell. Eve complains about the wicked snake, but Cain expresses his belief that the snake is in man's own bosom and tells her that the angel of the Lord appeared to them and bade him struggle with himself and vanquish himself. Adah whispers her secret to the

¹Cf. III, 489 ff.

²Better, *Erkämpfe dir Versöhnung*.

two women, and these glad tidings mitigate to some extent their keen sorrow. Then the two set out for the wilderness, from which is heard the roar of the lion. On the way Cain again gives utterance to his brooding thoughts and questionings. "What is life? What is man? What is God?" Eve stands before Cain's deserted hut, weeping and looking after her children who are going into exile. Michael approaches and comforts her, also announcing to her the birth of another son similar to Abel. When the two women have gone Lucifer steps up to Michael with cutting sarcasms. The angel of the Lord points out to him that he made a mistake again, but Lucifer answers his arguments and finishes by saying, "You forgot that I too go with them into the wilderness." Cain comes running back to get his bow for kindling fire—"comrade and brother anyhow, no matter what has happened." Michael in the course of his last conversation with Lucifer says,

Only he is the original being, who is the origin of all, the others are *forms*—and likewise thou also. . . . It is true, for awhile thou canst extinguish the light, but even in the night they will sigh for their original union (with God, whom Michael declares to be love). And from that sigh will be born the child of hope—the new time. It rises slowly, but it rises nevertheless, and the hour of freedom will one day strike for the suffering. The universe will again chime into harmony, heaven and earth will draw nigh each other; hatred, persecution will vanish, the lion and the lamb will walk side by side on the pasture—the spirit of the Lord will fill everything. And when this hour shall once have come, then also thy end will have come—thou too, thou wild voice of battle and strife, wilt dissolve into the same harmony, wilt disappear.

But Lucifer denies,

I am what I am—I am as eternal as thy lord. And as long as I exist, let heaven and earth tremble before me.

Michael. Then thou wilt not cease sooner?

Lucifer. No.

Michael. Then our struggle will be perpetual.

Lucifer. Eternal!

Lucifer and Michael vanish. The edge of the horizon brightens and the sun rises casting a red light over the landscape. A bird begins to twitter in a tree.

We see here we have no Byronian Manicheism or dualism, but rather a kind of pantheism. It seems clear enough that only *Lucifer* thinks that the battle between good and evil will go on for all eternity. It will certainly go on as long as the universe, the world of phenomena exists; in that sense it will be perpetual. But Michael, the exponent of the highest truth, predicts the final great consummation, the ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων of Origen and others. But also from the point of view of mankind it will be the eternal struggle. Man's lot is to fall and to rise again, his mission, to overcome the evil in his own nature, to work for the material, intellectual, and ethical advancement of the race; above all to increase continually in nobility of soul and to contribute in this way—the most effectual of all—toward making the world a better and happier world and toward developing a higher human species. This is part of a fundamental difference between Byron and Linnankoski. Byron's Cain is an exponent of *Weltschmerz*.¹ He also "always mourns for Paradise," that is, Paradise lost. Linnankoski's Cain doesn't care a straw about that old story of Eden. His whole fiery, dreaming soul is bent on creating a paradise of his own. Byron's Cain is of the same kith and kin as Naciketas, the ardent questioner in the *Kaṭhopanishad*, who yearns for a solution of the great riddle, "What is death?" Everything in Byron's drama centers about the thought of death, and the deep tragedy of Cain's life is this that he whose feelings and thoughts rebel so strongly and incessantly against death and who replies to Lucifer's question, "What sate nearest thy heart?"—"The mystery of Death" (II, i, 138 ff.), is the very one who first introduces death to mankind. The climax of the drama terminates and is summed up in the cry of Zillah, "Death is in the world" and in the words of Cain,

And who hath brought him there?—I, who abhor
The name of death so deeply that the thought
Empoisoned all my life, before I knew
His aspect—I have led him there, and given
My brother to his cold and still embrace,
As if he would not have asserted his

¹ Cf. I, i, 83 ff.; II, ii, 279; III, 37.

Inexorable claim without my aid.
 I am awake at last—a dreary dream
 Had maddened me;—but *he* shall ne'er awake!

(III, 371 ff.)

Linnankoski's Cain is only concerned with life. His musings about death are either incidental to his musings about life or are brought about by his own bloody deed. The eye of Byron's Cain looks backward into the past; and Lucifer, too, shows him chiefly past worlds, for even the world to be peopled by the dead of the future (now already partly peopled by pre-Adamite men and animals) is a world of the past; of "present worlds" there is only the vision of the heavenly bodies. Of the future there is really nothing, in spite of Lucifer's promise, "I will show . . . the history of past and present and of future worlds" (II, ii, 23 ff.). Linnankoski's Cain consecrates himself entirely to the future, the better, brighter, greater, nobler future, and to *him* Lucifer reveals the glorious achievements the future has in store for mankind.

Most closely connected with these fundamental differences is the solution of the greatest and most difficult problem in the story of Cain, "What made him slay his brother?" The psychological explanation apparently intended by the Bible did not satisfy Byron. He says,

Cain is a proud man: if Lucifer promised him kingdoms, etc., it would *elate* him: the object of the Demon is to *depress* him still further in his own estimation than he was before, by showing him infinite things and his own abasement, till he falls into the frame of mind that leads to the catastrophe, from mere *internal* irritation, not premeditation, or envy of Abel (which would have made him contemptible), but from the rage and fury against the inadequacy of his state to his conceptions, and which discharges itself rather against Life, and the author of Life, than the mere living.¹

This "internal irritation" vented on an unoffending being near and dear to Cain may not have seemed "contemptible" to Byron, who himself was given to unaccountable "fits of rage," but Lady Byron probably took a somewhat different view, and to us it will seem at least slightly puerile. Linnankoski is certainly much

¹ Letter to Moore, November 3, 1821.

more fortunate in his motivation of the deed. With him Cain is elated by his own achievements, and his pride and self-sufficiency contribute powerfully toward bringing about the catastrophe. He is hardly susceptible of envy,¹ but very strong is his feeling for right and justice and honesty, he is enraged at the thought that some one else might take away the fruit of his own toil. Woman and lust also allure him, and the suspicion that another might rob him of his wife proves fatal. He has also been "elated" by the magnificent prospects of the future shown to him by Lucifer; his finer self exults in all the good that will arise for mankind out of his all-important mastery over fire; and the more animal part of him anticipates a world of delight shed by woman and glory—and now he is thrust back into the narrow atmosphere of Abel's childlike and uncomprehending piety that stifles and exasperates him. But most powerful of all, in preparing him for the bloody act, is the idea that ruin threatens his noble work for the benefit of future generations. Linnankoski's Cain is a *man*, Byron's *ein genialer Junge*, or rather almost a woman, thus resembling his great creator, in whose image he was made. We also need not wonder that Byron's Cain is hardly anything else but an idle dreamer. He hates toil, and his good, divine Adah no doubt had to confess time and again,

Thou hast laboured not

This morn; but I have done thy task. (I, i, 137, 138)

Linnankoski's Cain, on the other hand, stands for work, work raised in our own times from her Cinderella position to her princely rank. Carlyle and others of that ilk have not lived in vain. Nor has Nietzsche, notwithstanding all his extravagances. We have profited, and Linnankoski has profited. A comparison

¹ Byron's *Cain* confesses that *he* is, II, ii, 351 ff. Cain is impelled by envy or jealousy also in the Armenian Legend. "Adam and Eve loved Abel dearly. Cain was jealous of their partiality. He wished to kill his brother, but knew not how. Satan took the form of a raven, picked a quarrel with another raven, and in Cain's presence cut his opponent's throat with a pointed black pebble. Cain picked up the stone, hid it in his girdle, proposed to his brother a walk on the mountain, and there cut his throat with a pebble. The peasants of Armenia to this day call flints 'Satan's nails,' and conscientiously break every pointed black one they may find." To wash away the blood from his hands Cain held them in a waterfall "day and night, summer and winter, during a whole year, without sleep and without food, but at the end of that time they were still as crimson as on the day of the crime."—LUCY M. J. GARNETT, *The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore*, London, 1893, Vol. I, p. 274.

of his drama with Byron's points to many things. Byron's *Cain* was written in 1821; in 1819 Schopenhauer published his principal work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, and at that very time Leopardi's wonderful genius surprised Italy. The atmosphere was impregnated with *Weltschmerz*. But Linnankoski has only been quickened, not overpowered, by Nietzscheanism or individualism, which is only one of the *roads* that may, and ultimately surely will, lead to something greater, though in itself it is neither noble, nor new, for India had her most consistent and radical individualists thousands of years ago. He utilizes also other material, and Byron's *Cain* has perceptibly influenced his drama, but the structure thus reared is his own.¹

It was a happy thought to make Cain also a kind of Prometheus—the bringer of fire, the first great pathfinder, whose intellect is not only busied with philosophic speculations but also, and above all, with practical life. He is full of enterprise and vigor, whereas Byron's Cain, this first man born of woman, staggers under the heavy *Weltmüdigkeit* of an old, old world—an aristocratic *elegant*, younger and nobler brother of Childe Harold. Byron's poem, in spite of its failings the most beautiful of all of his productions, moves in stately majesty and elevating sublimity along the heights, Linnankoski's prose drama is pitched in a far more terrestrial key—we find ourselves in a simpler, much more primitive world. Even his devils have a rustic tinge, and Cain is a brilliant-minded sturdy peasant. Of all the existing poetic treatments of the subject these two seem to be the greatest—Byron's magnificent chant of death and Linnankoski's triumphant psalm of life: the inspiring hymn of the eternal struggle.²

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¹ Besides the similarities pointed out, some others could be quoted. Still we must not forget that human nature, the principal source of every true poet, is everywhere the same. If the spirit of ever-unsatisfied painful prying into the mysteries of the world animates also Linnankoski's Cain, he resembles Byron's Cain and every human being that belongs to a higher intellectual order. If also Linnankoski's Adah clings to her blood-stained husband she is like many another noble and loving woman. Other *poesie di Caino* besides Byron's drama do not seem to have influenced Linnankoski.

² I hope my words are not understood to imply that I consider Linnankoski a greater poet than Byron. It may be mentioned that Linnankoski's drama, like so many Finnish books, would profit here and there by compression. *Dichten*, "to compose poetry," not in its etymology, but in its sense, is the same as *dichten*, "to condense;" *Dichtung ist Verdichtung*.

A SEMASIOLOGIC DIFFERENTIATION IN GERMANIC SECONDARY ABLAUT

The following paper attempts to give an approximately full list of words exhibiting a certain semasiologic differentiation: in the nature of the subject no absolutely definite limits can be drawn; some may find too much included, some, too little.

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Where the dictionaries give definitions in Swedish, Danish, or Dutch, these have been translated into English—Björkeman, Larsen, and Calisch being the guides used.

The words are arranged by consonants, but, especially in the case of medial consonants, it was often impossible to keep to strict separation and order. The form usual in the modern dialects is the one considered; thus Germanic *hw*, *hr*, *hl*, are under *w*, *r*, *l*, not *h*. The order of consonants is the following: *p*, *b*, *f*, *m*; *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *l*, *r*; *k*, *g*, *j*, *h*, (*nk*, *ng*), *w*.

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I

A striking characteristic of the Germanic family of languages is its feeling for vowel grades and vowel variations. A few inherited vowel variations become, in the "strong" verbs, models for the expression of tense differences. Derivative nouns and verbs also stand—at least in the older dialects—in a definite ablaut relation to their primitives: one need only cite the old causative verbs or nouns such as NHG. *Schnitt*, *Schuss*, *Fang*. In short, the vocalism of Germanic is characterized by a vivid sensibility to a few ablaut variations, such as *a-ō*, *e-a-ē*, *i-a-u*, and for these ablaut variations as bearers of meaning.

Though this predisposition has remained, the last fifteen hundred years have changed the well-defined system of the old Germanic. The systematic parallelism of the strong verbs is still felt—we inflect one strong verb by the analogy of another—but in the nouns and weak verbs the change has been thoroughgoing. Formations have multiplied, new methods of formation have arisen, new stems or “bases” have been created.

No phonetic process could derive, for instance, NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern*, *knabbern*, *knubbern*—which are felt as connected—from a single Germanic ablaut base: such sets of forms are the result of analogy—in some cases of centuries of analogic formation and re-formation. In some cases, among which we may probably include the above example, the sensitiveness to onomatopoeic vowel variations (as in *bim* : *bam* : *bum*, *piff* : *paff* : *puff*) has created part of the parallel forms from the nucleus of a single Germanic base; in other instances the approach of two somewhat similar bases might give the appearance of relationship and then cause new forms to be made in imitation. Thus the approach of two IE. roots in Dutch dial. *nippen* ‘pinch’ (<G.**hnīpan*, cf. E. *nip*, ON. *hnippa* ‘stossen’) and Dutch *noppen* ‘nop, pick cloth’ (<G.**hneupan*, cf. E. *nop*, ON. *hnupla* ‘wegraffen’) may have caused like parallel-forms to arise from a single root of either type. Cf. Wood, *Indo-European a^x : a^xi : a^xu*, especially § 408.¹

Thus the MHG. has *knabbern* : *knubbern* ‘nagen,’ *kittern* ‘kichern’ : *kuttern* ‘girren, lachen;’ the Waldeck dialect *ferlat-sken* ‘Schuhe breit treten’ : *ferlutsken* ‘durch unordentlichen Gebrauch verderben,’ *sprikel* n. ‘Reiser; dürres Kind’ : *sprokel* n. ‘kleines, dürres Holz;’ the East Frisian has *nibbe nib* f. ‘Schnabel, Mund’ : *nubbe nub* f. ‘Knuff, Stoss, Schlag;’ the E., forms like *flip* : *flap* : *flop*, *tip* : *tap* : *top* : *tup*, dialectic *tip* ‘a ram’ : *tup* ‘a ram,’ or *dab* : *daub* : dial. *dub* ‘bungler, idiot.’

The relation in such sets of words is as much an ablaut relation as that in E. *lie* : *lay*, *sing* : *sang* : *sung* or Greek *λείπω* : *λέλοιπα* : *ἐλείπον*. In the above-cited cases the ablaut is “secondary”

¹Phonetic changes, such as umlaut or the E., Dutch, and HG. change of Germanic *ō* > *u* (*) have also created sets of forms that have been analogically imitated. Some of the examples that follow are due to this.

or later, that is all—and it may be that a study of the cases nearer to us, where origins are often more apparent, may give us some help in penetrating into the mystery of the “original” or IE. ablaut. With this ultimate end in view a number of examples are here given of secondary Germanic ablaut forms exhibiting a certain more or less well-known feature of semasiologic differentiation, a development such as must have had part in the formation of the IE. vowel system.

II

The commonest form of the Germanic secondary ablaut is that of the vowels *i*—*a*—*u*.¹ The origin of this ablaut is apparent, though not in every case traceable. Parallel roots of the types IE. *kneb*, *kneib*, and *kneub* might give the Germanic forms *hnapan*, *hnipan*, *hnupan*; and if these became associated in the feeling of the speaker they might lead him to form sets like NHG. *knabbern* : *knibbern* : *knubbern*. Or else a root of the nasal and liquid series would give derivatives like E. *slink* : dial. *slank* : dial. *slunk*, and the German words could have been modeled after such a set of forms.² The part that umlaut and other phonetic developments may have played has been mentioned; also the independent feeling we have today for onomatopoeic variants like *bim* : *bam* : *bum*—this feeling may have been developed by the other factors.

There is a good reason why the vowels *i* : *a* : *u* are common in sets of connected words. Of all the vowels these three are farthest separated in the scale of natural pitch—they differ most, from one another, in acoustic effect and in anatomic production; so that if several distinct forms (out of a possible greater number) are to be created or are to survive, these forms with their clearly marked character will be the most favored—especially if a differentiation of meaning is at the same time developing. Thus it is natural, if words with distinct meanings were to sur-

¹Examples below. Cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 22; Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*², 144 ff.; Wood, *Indo-European* *ax* : *ax i* : *ax u*; Goettsch, *Mod. Phil.*, VI, 253 ff.

²In Scandinavian, especially, the nasal or liquid could not have been felt as a necessary adjunct of *i* : *a* : *u* ablaut, since the nasal early disappeared in verbs like ON. *drekk* : *drakk* : *drukken*, Dan. *drikke* : *drak* : *drukken*.

vive, that we have, for instance, MHG. *kittern* 'kichern' : *kuttern* 'girren, lachen,' rather than, say, **kettern* : **köttern*.

Although there are many cases of secondary ablaut with less extreme vowels than *i* : *a* : *u*, the principle just stated has been an important factor in the development of the modern Germanic vocabularies. We have seen how an old ablaut base—a strong verb IE. **sleng-* Germanic **slinkan* E. *slink*, let us say—has given rise to a number of words—as E. *slink* (strong verb) : dial. *slank* (weak verb) : dial. *slunk* (weak verb). Such words are perhaps often identical in meaning, cf. NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern* : *knabbern* 'hastig und mit Geräusch nagen,' but it is natural if not inevitable that such words should become semasiologically differentiated. E. *slink* 'sneak' : dial. *slank* 'go about in listless fashion' : dial. *slunk* 'wade through a mire' are examples.

What has determined the direction of this differentiation of meaning? In many cases the old laws of derivation must have been decisive. Germanic **prangjan* is the causative of **prin-gan* : hence NHG. *drängen* : *dringen*; this explains the difference in meaning of the two words, the transitive use of the former while the latter, at least in its literal sense, is intransitive. The meaning of NHG. *würfeln* is explained by its being a regular denominative from the noun *Würfel*, which in turn is regularly derived from the base in *werfen*. But one cannot so explain the meanings of *slink* : *slank* : *slunk*, nor indeed the great majority of such modern Germanic word groups: another force has been at work.

This force is the old inherent Germanic sense for vowel pitch. It is by the pitch of the stem vowel that sets of words like *slink* : *slank* : *slunk* have become differentiated.

If a word designating some sound or noise contains a high pitched vowel like *i* it strikes us as implying a high pitch in the sound or noise spoken of; a word with a low vowel like *ū* implies low pitch in what it stands for. For Germanic we need only think of NHG. *bim!* : *bam!* : *bum!* or E. *screech* : *boom*. Who would apply *Bim!* to the roar of a cannon, *Bum!* to the tinkling of a bell? And *Bam!* would better fit the bang of a fist on the

Biertisch than either of the above noises.¹ Church Slavic *krikū* 'Geschrei,' *kričati* 'schreien': *krakati* 'krächzen'; Greek *κράζω* 'knarre': *κράζω* 'schreie': *κράζω* 'krächze'; *κρίζω* 'ritze, kratze, reize': *κρίζω* 'kratze,' *κνύζω* 'knurre, winsele'; *βάζω* 'rede': *βύζω* 'schreie wie der Uhu' (Wood, *Indo-European a^x : a^x i : a^x u*) and similar words illustrate this general principle, but so far as I know no full material illustrating its operation has ever been collected. Its far-reaching effects on our vocabulary are surprising. It has affected not only words descriptive of sound like E. *screech*, *boom*, or the doublet MHG. *kittern* : *kuttern*; for not only the direct imitative values of the vowels have come into play, but also their more remote connotative effects. A high tone implies not only shrillness but also fineness, sharpness, keenness; a low tone not only rumbling noise, but also bluntness, dulness, clumsiness; a full open sound like *ā* not only loudness, but largeness, openness, fulness. Nor must the subjective importance of the various mouth positions that create the different vowel sounds be forgotten: the narrow contraction of *ī*, the wide opening of *ā*, the back-in-the-mouth tongue position of *ū* are as important as the effect of these vowels on the ear of the hearer.² Though there are many exceptions, due for the most part to the older rules of derivation above illustrated—such words belong to an older stratum—yet the development in question is a very common and characteristic one for Germanic wherever a number of words standing to each other in a relation of secondary ablaut have become differentiated as to meaning.

An impetus to this development was surely given by such purely onomatopoeic words as *bim* : *bam* : *bum*; and another impetus may have been accidental models. Thus NHG. *dringen* implies the penetration of some small, usually sharp object into a larger one; *drängen* meant originally to cause such penetration, and neither the subject nor the action of the verb *drängen* needed to be fine, small, or penetrant: in this case the relative vowel

¹ This general fact has been remarked by many observers, not only by linguists but also by critics of style—especially of poetic style where vowel tones play an important rôle. Cf. most fully perhaps A. H. Tolman in the *Andover Review* for March, 1887, the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1885, and in his *The Views about Hamlet and Other Essays* (Boston, 1904).

² Cf., most recently, Thomson, *IF.*, XXIV, 1 ff.

qualities of the words happened to accord with the meanings: and on such an accidental model the forms in question would multiply.

The following is a list of modern Germanic secondary ablaut sets that show this differentiation. The etymologist will find some sets of words in which several old ablaut bases are involved, others in which one base has by regular phonetic derivation given rise to all the forms, still others whose existence is due to analogy after more or less definite models, and finally words directly due to the sharpened sense for parallelism of vowel sound and meaning—the etymological character of the material does not, however, here concern us.

The practical linguist, the “Kenner” of a given dialect will no doubt find sets of words that are not sets at all, sets of words which no speaker of the dialect ever associates with one another. Where such “sets” of words are not even the result of differentiation from a single origin, our plea must be lack of first-hand acquaintance with the dialect, though it may be remarked that a varying subjective element often enters into one’s connecting certain words as related in meaning: thus the writer’s judgment as to some words in the dialects familiar to him varied from time to time. There is nevertheless amply enough of indisputable material to illustrate the importance of vowel pitch in semasiologic differentiation of secondary ablaut sets in the modern Germanic dialects.

If we possessed sufficient records of the Germanic tongues in their historic development, each set of words could be traced to its origin from one or several roots, many analogies could be recognized, and the semasiologic development could be observed; but unfortunately the meagerness of our records and their uncolloquial character frustrate such an attempt. Even where parallel forms are met with, our lexicographers have usually been unable to see any divergence in use, though this may often have existed in actual speech. In fact, where a modern lexicon sets up, as equivalent, forms like NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern* : *knabbern* : *knubbern*, the actual consciousness of the speaker differentiates: thus *knibbern* is a more audible gnawing than *knubbern*, and the object gnawed is harder; *knabbern* refers to a louder but less crisp sound than *knibbern*.

A few words from mediaeval sources are: MDan. *baldre* 'beat, strike': *buldre* 'quarrel, make uproar' (Kalkar); MLG. *nipen* 'kneifen': *nopen napen* 'antasten, anstossen' (Lübben); MHG. *snarren snerren* 'schwätzen, plappern': *snurren* 'rauschen, sausen.'

To repeat: the forms with high-pitched vowel—the scale, running downward, is *i* (*y*), *e* (*ø*), *a*, *o*, *u*—represent high-pitched, clear, shrill sounds, fine, small, bright, flashing, quick, sharp, clear-cut objects or actions; the forms with low-pitched vowel express low, muffled, rumbling, bubbling, sounds and dull, loose, swaying, hobbling, slovenly, muddy, underhand, clumsy actions or objects. The *a* vowel will often express the large, the loud, the rattling, the open. A diphthong is likely to express a wide swing or scope.

The differences between words, not the similarities are, of course, in question.

1. N. *pipla* 'pipe gently (of young birds)': *pupla* 'bubble, prattle.'

E. *peep*: dial. *pip* 'crack the eggshell in hatching,' dial. *pipple* 'cry, whimper': *pop* 'shoot,' *pop out* 'blab': *poop*, dial. *pup* 'cacare': *pipe*.

Dutch *piepen* 'chirp, squeak': *poepen* 'pedere, cacare': *pijpen* 'pipe, whistle.'

OF. *pipen* 'piepen, wimmern, pfeifen': *pupen* 'leise furzen; seine Notdurft verrichten.'

Westf. *pīpen* 'piepen, wimmern, pfeifen, winselnd ausstehen; küssen': *pupen* 'küssen,' *puppen* 'pedere,' *puppern* 'schlagen (vom Herzen).'

Pr. *pīpen* 'pfeifen, piepen, winseln': *peppeln* 'sprechen, pappeln': *pappeln* 'viel, unverständlich sprechen,' *pāpern* 'plappern': *pūpen* 'pedere,' *puppern* 'schnell klopfen (vom Herzen), schnell u. mit dumpfem Laut bewegt werden.'

Lux. *pīpen* 'weinen,' *pipsen* 'leise sprechen': *pūpen* 'pedere.'
Siebenb. *pīpsn* 'pfeifen, kränkeln': *pū mache* 'cacare.'

2. S. *piff* interjection; m. 'point, spirit, go, pluck': *paff* interjection 'pop!': *puff* m. 'push, pop, puff': *piff paff puff* interjection.

E. dial. *piff* 'a small puff of wind,' dial. *piffle* 'trifle, dawdle,' dial. *piffer* 'whimper, complain peevishly': dial. *paffle* 'fly, peck

at, scatter' : *puff* 'blow hard,' dial. 'put out of breath; boast' : *piff puff puff*.

OF. *paffen* 'laut u. stark Tabak rauchen' : *puffen* 'dumpf tönen, klopfen, blähen' : *pif paf puf*.

Westf. *paffen* 'Dampf hervorstossen beim Rauchen' : *puffen* 'puffen, prahlen.'

Pr. *paffen* 'knallen, schnell u. hörbar rauchen' : *puffen* 'mit "Puff" schallend fallen.'

Lux. *paffen* 'Rauchwolken von sich blasen' : *pöfferen* 'weh tun' : *puffen* 'bauschen.'

Hess. *paffen* 'schmauchen' : *puffen* 'pedere.'

Thur. *paßen* 'die Tür heftig zuschlagen,' *paffen* 'knallen, besonders mit den Lippen beim Tabakrauchen' : *puffen* 'stossen; schießen.'

3. N. *pampa* 'make small stamping or hacking movements' : *pumpa* 'walk stamping in something soft.'

S. *pimpla* 'tipple, guzzle' : *pumpa* 'pump.'

D. *pimpe* 'tipple,' dial. 'trot slowly; gurgle (of liquids being poured from a bottle),' dial. *pimpgang* 'mincing walk' : dial. *pampe* 'be proud, boast; do trifling work' : *pumpe* 'pump,' dial. *pumpe* 'bullfrog.'

E. dial. *pimper* 'show daintiness in regard to one's food,' *pimp* 'pander,' dial. 'indulge a squeamish appetite' : *pamper* 'coddle, spoil,' dial. 'fret, mess about,' dial. *pample* 'trample lightly; toddle about' : *pump* 'draw up water,' dial. 'pedere.'

OF. *pimpeln* 'in kleinen Zügen trinken' : *pumpeln* 'watscheln, nachlässig gehen; sich unordentlich kleiden.'

Moselfr. *pempeln*, Siebenb. *pämpeln* 'kränkeln, viel klagen' : Moselfr. *Pumpes*, *Pompes*, Siebenb. *Pump* m. 'Schlag mit der Faust auf den Rücken.'

4. N. *pita* 'touch, prick; stick out; walk with small, weak steps,' *pitla* 'walk with short steps, trot, mince,' *pitra* 'spurt out in a thin stream, but with high pressure' : *patla* 'trot away, run along' : *pota* 'bore; push with a stick.'

S. dial. *pittra* 'write small, scribble' : dial. *pottra*, *puttra* 'boil, murmur, talk low.'

E. *patter* 'beat' : *potter* 'botch, mess about.'

OF. *patjen* 'patschen, waten, laut im Wasser herumtreten': *putjen, pütjen* 'mit kleinen Schritten gehen oder waten.'

Pr. *pitschen* 'peitschen,' *pitschen, petschln, potschen*, 'mit leisem, langsamem Stosse rudern': *patschen* 'durch Schlamm gehen; im Wasser mit den Händen herumrühren; mit den Händen schallend zusammenschlagen, mit der Hand klatschen; erzählen': *pitschipatschi* 'ungenannte Person.'

Lux. *patschen* 'waten, schwerfällig gehen; schmauchen; leise krachen; spucken': *putschen* 'ohne Fett braten.'

Hess. *pitschen* 'einen zischenden gelinden Knall geben': *putscheln* 'sich heimlich besprechen; heimliche Wege gehen.'

Thur. *pfitscheln* 'schwirren, besonders vom dünnen, hellen Geräusch einer ins Wasser geschlagenen Rute': *pfutscheln* 'mit Geräusch durchs Wasser waten.'

5. E. dial. *piddle* 'work triflingly, take short steps': dial. *peddle* 'hawk articles from door to door; work ineffectually': *paddle* 'row,' dial. 'beat; walk with short steps; trample down; finger, handle': dial. *puddle* 'poke, push; work in clay or mud; work in a dirty, disorderly manner; dawdle.'

Pr. *piddlig* adj. 'kleinlich, übertrieben akkurat': *peddeln* 'treten, coire': *paddeln* 'mit kurzen Schritten gehen; watscheln; in Wasser gehen': *puddeln* 'scharren, wühlend sich in Weiches (Betten, etc.) hüllen,' *puddlig* adj. 'rund u. voll in der Körperform.'

Lux. *piddelen* 'krabbeln u. grübeln': *puddelen* 'manschen, im Wasser herumrühren.'

Moselfr. *piddeln*, Siebenb. *piddern* 'mit den Fingern an etwas herumzupfen': Moselfr. Siebenb. *Padderich* m. 'Dreck, Patsche': Moselfr. *sich puddeln* 'sich im Wasser tummeln,' Siebenb. *sich puddern* 'die Flügel schüttelnd den Staub aufwirbeln.'

Els. *pfattle* 'waten': *pfuttle* 'quallern, mit Geräusch hervordringen (wie Wasser aus einer Flasche); verhalten lachen; schlecht waschen,' *pfuttere* 'stossen; im Wasser plätschern.'

6. D. *piste* 'pipe, chirp': *puste* 'blow, puff.'

Els. *pfise* 'zischen, leise singen, pfeifen, furzen; anschwellen; weinen, sich verdriesslich zeigen': *pfuse* 'zischen, leise furzen; anschwellen; halblaut weinen.'

7. N. *pira* 'itch, prick gently, stick out with a thin point; blink with the eyes; trickle out; be stingy,' *pirra* 'tease a very little, make fun of; give a whirring sound while moving quickly back and forth; stare at': *pōra* 'prick, push, root in the food (of animals); bother': *pura* 'work with little progress, dabble, bungle,' *purra* 'bother, vex, play a trick on; give an occasional ill-tempered grunt or growl': *paura* 'be in constant small movement; crawl, swarm; boil gently; work hard with little progress.'

E. dial. *pirr* 'breeze, breath of wind, flurry; fit of pettish humor,' dial. *pirr up* 'freshen up, blow gently': *purrr* '(of a cat),' dial. 'push, thrust, stir up, poke; hesitate,' sb. dial. 'a buzzing sound.'

8. S. *picka* 'peck, tick, click,' dial. 'hit small rapid blows with a hammer on copper or brass': *packa* 'pack, stuff, cram': *pocka* 'demand insolently; pride oneself,' dial. 'beat, strike, thrash.'

D. *pikke* 'tap, tick': *pakke* 'pack, cram': *pokke*, *pukke* 'stamp, beat': *pukke* 'boast.'

E. *pick* 'peck at; select': dial. *pake* 'poke about, peep at': *peck* 'hit lightly': *pack* 'stuff, cram': dial. *pock* 'shove, push': *poke* 'jab into': dial. *puck* 'hit or strike sharply, butt with the horns': *puke* 'throw up, vomit.'

Dutch *pikken* 'pick, peck, sneer at': *pakken* 'pack; grasp, catch': *poken* 'poke.'

WVl. *pikke* f. 'small sickle,' *pikken* 'cut with the "pikke,"': *pekken* 'peck at': *pakken* 'arouse the feelings; take away, steal': *pokken* 'knock.'

Westf. *picken* 'picken (von Vögeln), schwach schlagen': *packen* 'packen, fassen; packen, zusammenlegen; umarmen': *poken* 'schlagen': *pucken*, *pūken* 'schlecht nähen,' *puckern* 'pochen, schlagen (vom Herzen),' *pucksen* 'plumpen (vom Schalle eines niederfallenden Körpers).'

Pr. *piken* 'mit spitzem Instrument stechen, stossen': *pēken* 'mit der Gabel aufheben; klauben; kratzen.'

Lux. *picken* 'stechen': *peken* 'picken': *packen* 'packen, anfassen.'

9. S. dial. *pinka* 'hammer copper or brass with small, quick blows, so that a clinking sound is heard': *panka* 'hammer out, make thin.'

E. *pinch* 'zwickern,' dial. *pink* 'strike, beat; contract, peer; trickle, drip': dial. *pank* 'beat; pant': *punch* 'strike with the closed fist.'

Westf. *pinken* 'Geld in die Höhe werfen (vom Tone der anschlagenden Münze),' *pinkeren* 'Feuer schlagen': *punk* m. 'Stück.'

Pr. *pinken* 'den Ton "pink" hervorbringen, hämmern, Feuer schlagen,' *pinkern* 'auf dem Klavier klimpern': *panksen* 'dumpf tönen bei einem Stosse oder Schlage': *punken* 'dumpf tönen': *Pinkepank* m. 'Schmied.'

10. Tir. *pfnatthern* 'sieden, aufwallen': *pfnotten* 'schmollen': *pfnuttern* 'verhalten lachen.'

11. Pr. *plimpern*, *plempern* 'giessen, im Wasser patschend spielen; plätschernd tröpfeln; giessend regnen': *plampen* 'im Wasser arbeiten': *plampen* 'im Schmutz wühlen oder waten': *plumpen* 'pumpen.'

12. S. dial. *plattra* 'shoot many and weak shots': dial. *pluttra* 'talk low to oneself; answer impudently.'

13. D. *pladre* 'mix up; prate, jabber': *pludre* 'gabble, babble; moisten peat before kneading.'

Wald. *pläderen* 'plätschern': *pluderen* 'Blasen im Wasser machen (z. B. von Kühen beim Trinken); mit Geräusch aufbliesen, sich aufblasen.'

Pr. *pladdern* 'plätschernd giessen; stark regnen; laut, viel und unnütz schwatzen': *pluddern* 'wellig und bauschig herabfallen und dabei rauschend tönen.'

Els. *pfittere* 'kichern, heimlich lachen': *pfattere* 'dünne Exkremeute fallen lassen': *pfuttere* 'plätschern; den Kot fallen lassen.'

14. E. dial. *plash* 'splash': dial. *plash*, *plash* 'splash, dash through water or mud; rain heavily': dial. *plash* 'plunge in mud or water, splash, bespatter.'

15. D. *plire* 'blink': *plör* n. 'slush.'

Pr. *pliren*, *plirren* 'die Augen zusammenziehen um genau zu

sehen; weinen' : *plarren* 'viel u. laut reden' : *plüren* 'greifen, zausen.'

16. OF. *plikken* 'leicht schlagen, stechen' : *plukken* 'schlagen, kleben.'

17. E. dial. *prim* 'close firmly or primly (the lips); be affected' : dial. *pram* 'press, overcrowd.'

18. S. dial. *primpa* 'eat or drink immoderately' : *prumpa* 'pedere.'

19. N. *prata* 'talk prattle' : *pruta* 'haggle, make difficulties.'

S. dial. *prittla* 'write small and illegibly' : *prata*, 'prate, prattle' : *pruta* 'haggle,' dial. *pruttla* 'purl, boil hard.'

D. *prate* 'prate, talk' : *prute* 'poop; haggle.'

E. *prate* : *prattle* : dial. *prittle* 'prick.'

Dutch *pret* f. 'joy, pleasure' : *praten* 'talk, prate' : *pruttelen* 'boil softly, bubble; grumble, mumble.'

Westf. *pratteln* 'trotzen, maulen' : *präteln* 'gackern, plappern' : *prötteln* 'brodeln, brummen' : *prüeteln* 'brodeln, brummen.'

20. S. *pricka* 'dot, prick' : *pracka* 'barter, foist off.'

D. *prikke* 'dot, prick' : *prakke* 'put; foist off; inflict, vex,' dial. 'wander about.'

Zaan. *prikken* 'prick, sting' : *prakken* 'mash food with the fork or spoon.'

OF. *prikken* 'stechen, stecken' : *prakken* 'quetschen, kneten, rühren.'

Westf. *priekeln* 'stechen, kitzeln, aufreizen' : *prokeln* 'stochern, wählen, heimlich hetzen.'

21. D. dial. *prigle*, *pregle* 'knit,' dial. *pregle* 'stick, poke, tingle' : dial. *pragle* 'botch, bungle.'

22. E. *prink* 'sich kleinlich putzen' : *prank* 'display or adorn showily.'

23. S. *babbla* 'babble' : *bubbla* 'bubble.'

D. dial. *bible* 'drip, leak, flow,' dial. *bibbre* 'tremble' : *bævre* 'tremble' : *bable* 'babble' : *boble* 'bubble.'

J. *bible* 'drip, run' : *bable*, *bavle* 'babble, stammer' : *boble* 'bubble, boil.'

E. dial. *bibber* 'tremble,' dial. *bibbles* 'nonsense,' dial. *bibble* 'tipple, eat, like a duck, liquid and solid at once' : *babble*

'prattle' : *bubble* 'throw up bubbles, purl,' dial. 'snivel, weep; discharge mucus from the nose.'

F. *bibberje* 'shiver, tremble' : *babbel-bek* 'garrulous' : *bobbetje* 'bubble, boil.'

ZOVL. *Bibbere* m. 'trembling' : *babbelen* 'babble, prattle' : *bobbelen* 'go swarming and bustling.'

OF. *bibbern, bebbbern* 'zittern, mit den Zähnen schnattern' : *babbeln* 'plappern, klatschen' : *bubbeln* 'schäumen, wogen.'

Thur. *bappeln* 'kindisch schwatzen' : *bupfern* 'unruhig sich bewegen.'

Stieg. *paweln* 'schwatzen' : *puweln* 'leise kochen u. blasen werfen.'

Els. *bippele* 'kränkeln; grauen (vom Tage),' *bippere* 'coire' : *beppere* 'hart anklopfen,' *bepperle* 'leise klopfen' : *bappere* 'gern plaudern' : *bopple* 'rasch u. anhaltend klopfen, pochen (besonders von Empfindungen im Körper), fallen' : *bupple* 'auf dem Arm wiegen.'

Schw. *bippere* 'beben,' *bipele* 'leise klopfen,' *püppere* 'auf einem Kuhhorn blasen' : *pappere* 'gackern, plaudern' : *boppele* 'stottern,' *poppere* 'wiederholt klopfen, pochen, einen stotternden Laut von sich geben.'

24. S. dial. *baff* m. 'fool, prater' : dial. *buffa* 'strike, push.'

E. dial. *biff* 'strike' : dial. *baff* 'strike, bark gently, cough,' *baffle* 'frustrate' : dial. *buff* 'knock with any soft substance, make no impression; muffle (a bell); bark gently, burst out laughing, boast; stammer,' *buffet* 'beat, push,' *buffer* 'pusher, butt.'

ZOVL. *baffen* 'strike, beat, eat much' : *boffen* 'boast, brag.'

Wald. *bäfen* 'knallen, poltern' : *bufbaf* 'grober, polternder Mensch.'

Pr. *bifsen* : *bafsen* : *bufsen* 'schlagen, stossen, stampfen : die Stärke der Resonanz des Schalles bringt der Vokal der Stammsilbe zum Ausdrucke.'

Lux. *baffen* 'gut essen' : *boffen* 'unwillig antworten, knurren, unbeholfen laufen.'

Els. *bäffe* 'keifen, zanken' : *bafe* 'viel u. rasch essen' : *buffe* 'puffen, stossen.'

Schw. *biffle* 'zänkeln, keifen' : *bēfere* 'wehe rufen, seufzen,' *beffe* 'schwach bellen, klaffen' : *baffe* 'ungereimtes Zeug schwatzen,' *baffle* 'plappern' : *boffe* 'schmollen, aus Zorn nicht reden; schnarchen' : *buffe* 'stossen, das Haar kräuseln.'

Bav. *beffen* 'bellen wie der Fuchs; keifen, zanken' : *buffen* 'mit der Faust stossen, das Haar kräuseln.'

Tir. *bāf'n* 'geifern' : *buffen* 'stossen, schlagen.'

25. D. dial. *bimre* in "det er saa fuldt, at det bimrer," of a vessel full to overflowing : *bomre* 'blunder, thunder at' : *bumre*, *bumle* 'carouse.'

J. *bimre* 'move gently, stir' : *bomre* 'fail, miscarry; bang at; carouse.'

E. dial. *bam* 'beat, bully, cheat,' dial. *bamble* 'shamble, walk unsteadily' : dial. *bome* 'swing about, swagger' : dial. *bum* 'hum, drone; knock, boom; swell up; throw away carelessly,' dial. *bumble* 'rumble; splash; burgle; muffle.'

Westf. *bimmeln* 'öfter eine Stelle schütteln' : *bämmel* m. 'Klöpfel der Glocke' : *bommeln* 'müssig umherlaufen' : *bummeln* 'baumeln' : *bombam* 'eine gewisse Weise des Lautens; etwas, das hin u. her schwingt.'

Wald. *bimelen* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten' : *bamelen* 'hängen, schweben' : *bumelen* 'baumeln, müssig umhergehen' : *bimbam* 'von der Glocke' : *bumbam* 'baumelndes Spielzeug.'

Pr. *bimmeln* 'die Glocke, besonders die kleine helltönende Schelle läuten' : *bammeln* 'baumeln' : *bommeln* 'baumeln, müssiggeben.'

Thur. *bimbeln* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten' : *bambeln* 'hängend sich hin und her bewegen' : *bumben* 'dumpf klopfen, dröhnen.'

Stieg. *pimeln* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten' : *pameln* 'schwebend hängen, lässig sein' : dasselbe drückt noch stärker aus *pumeln* 'nachlässig sich dem Müssiggang übergeben' : *paumeln* 'im Hängen sich hin u. her bewegen.'

NHG. *bimmeln* : *bammeln* : *bummeln* : *baumeln* : *bim bam bum*.

Els. *bimple* 'bimmeln, hin u. her bewegen, werfen' : *bemmere* 'hämmern, prügeln, schiessen' : *bample* 'bameln; schlecht läuten; langsam etwas tun' : *bumple* 'fallen,' *bummere* 'mit Geschützen donnern, prügeln.'

Bav. *pimpern* : *pempfern* : *pampfern* : *pumpfern* 'drücken den durch Stossen, Klopfen, Fallen etc. verursachten Schall aus, je nachdem er heller oder dumpfer, stärker oder schwächer klingt.'

26. E. *beat* : *bat*, *batter* 'strike, beat' : *but(t)* 'push, ram with the head.'

Hess. *bīzen* 'verstohlen nach etwas schauen,' *bīzeln* 'jucken' : *batzeln* 'streiten, zanken' : *butzen*, *butzeln* 'verhüllen,' *butzen* *būzen* 'sich stossen.'

Bav. *patzen*, *patschen* 'schlagen' : *putzen* 'putzen, rein reiben,' *putschen* in an *einen putschen* 'in einen hineinrennen.'

27. N. *bysa* 'strew' : *bisa*, *besa* 'trifle, chatter' : *bæsa* 'blow gently' : *basa* 'smear on, drudge, chatter' : *bosa* 'throw roughly into a heap; rush ahead' : *busa* 'rush blindly on; throw carelessly and roughly' : *bøysa* 'storm ahead' : *bausa* 'rush ahead; exert oneself greatly; talk loudly, rapidly, and heedlessly.'

S. dial. *bisa* m. 'lightning which strikes' : dial. *basa* 'beat, run' : dial. *busa* 'push violently, run ahead blindly; blow heavily.'

D. dial. *bise* 'rock in a cradle' : *base* 'toil, tumble, make a noise' : *buse* 'blurt out,' *buse* 'pitch, toss (of a ship),' dial. 'stuff, thatch; push, knock.'

J. *bysse* 'sing over a child and rock it' : *bese* 'gad, run much on errands' : *base* 'crack, resound,' *basse* 'wallow, be dissipated' : *bosse* 'miss, fail' : *buse* 'run into, ram, fall, punch.'

E. dial. *bizz* 'buzz, fuss about with a disturbing noise' : dial. *bazz* 'throw with force, rush, dart, beat' : *buzz* 'hum,' dial. 'fuss about, throw with violence, whisper, gossip.'

Westf. *bissen* 'vom Laute der aus dem Euter strömenden Milch' : *bussen* 'in den Schlaf wiegen.'

Wald. *bisen* 'rennen (von Kühen)' : *bāselen* 'blind drauf losrennen' : *busen*, *buselen* 'wählen.'

Els. *bise* 'wie toll umherrennen, lustige Sprünge machen' : *Busel* m. 'Person, die man zum besten hält' : *bausen* 'stehlen, naschen.'

28. N. *balla* 'wrap up, bundle; botch, boggle' : *bullla* 'bubble.'

29. N. *baldra* 'bang, make noise; botch' : *buldra* 'rattle, thunder; bubble up.'

S. dial. *billra* 'tear to bits' : dial. *ballra* 'make noise, prattle.'

J. *baldre* 'beat, bang': *buldre* 'roar, scold, bluster.'

OF. *ballern* 'knallen, toben, lärmern': *bullern* 'brodeln, dumpf rollen, schelten': *det ballern un bullern*.

Westf. *ballern* 'mit lärmender Hast sprechen oder handeln': *bollern* 'poltern': *bullern* 'poltern, brausen, sausen, ungestüm arbeiten.'

Pr. *ballern* 'poltern, polternd sprechen': *bullern* 'poltern; kochend aufwallen, brodeln.'

30. E. dial. *birr* 'make a whirring noise, bustle': dial. *burr* 'speak uvular R.'

31. E. *bicker* 'wrangle over trifles,' dial. 'move quickly, ripple': dial. *bucker* 'rustle, move or work fussily.'

Els. *bicke* 'mit dem Schnabel hacken, picken': *bocke* 'stossen, fallen.'

32. WVl. *beggelen* 'schreien, kreischen': *buggelen* 'röcheln, husten'.

33. N. *banka* 'beat, strike': *bunka* 'thump or knock with a single or several distinct strokes; row standing and "backing water" with a large oar.'

E. dial. *bing* 'strike': *bang* 'beat, strike': dial. *bung* 'stop up, cram.'

34. E. *blab, blabber* 'prate, tell tales': dial. *blub* 'blubber, snivel,' *blubber* 'snivel, weep.'

35. Dutch *blaffen* 'bark, yelp, clamor': *bluffen* 'brag, boast, humbug.'

OF. *blaffen* 'bellen, prahlen': *bluffen* 'dumpf und laut bellen, anfahren.'

Hess. *bleffen* 'abschrecken, verblüffen': *blaffen* 'feige bellen, zänkisch reden': *bluffen* 'dumpf, halbunterdrückt bellen.'

36. Els. *plample* 'baumeln, läuten; träge arbeiten': *plumpe* 'mit dumpfem Geräusch fallen; buttern (wohl wegen des Geräusches).'

37. Hess. *blatzen* 'plaudern, plappern': *blutzen* 'hart auffallen, Tabak rauchen.'

Bav. *pletzen* 'flicken': *platzen* 'platzen': *plotzen* 'Butter ausrühren.'

38. N. *blidra* 'quiver so as to give small, changing light-

impressions': *bledra* 'trifle, loll with the tongue': *bladra* 'splash, dabble, let the mouth run, jabber, gabble.'

Tir. *plattern* 'mit etwas Flachem schlagen': *bluttern* 'im Wasser platschern, brodeln.'

39. N. *bliskra* 'blow gently': *blaskra* 'splash, dabble; blow gently': *bluskra* 'blow gently; rake, shake.'

E. *blast* 'blow up,' sb. 'strong puff': *bluster* 'make a roaring noise,' sb. 'boisterous speech or conduct.'

Bav. *bliseln* 'leise sprechen': *blasen* 'blasen, schnauben, zornig sein.'

40. N. *blarra* 'talk gurglingly or with food in one's mouth': *blurra* 'sleep lightly, doze.'

E. dial. *blirt* 'shoot aimlessly, flick, strike lightly': *blear* 'becloud, bedim': *blare* 'sound loudly': dial. *blart* 'bleat, bellow, cry, roar, scold': *blur* 'blot, dim': dial. *blurt* 'sputter, jerk out, speak hastily; burst out crying.'

Els. *blerre* 'weinen, blöken, brüllen': *blarre* 'starren, glotzen.'

41. N. *blika* 'look pale or white; glint, blink': *Blik* f. 'calm with smooth water': *blikra*, *blikta* 'glimmer, blink, show slight motion, have a light in one's eye': *bleka* 'tremble': *blaka* 'flutter, flap, make splashing movements, rattle, clamor,' *blak* m. n. 'bang, splash, uproar; twaddle,' *blakra* 'flutter, tremble; glimmer; make noise': *bloka* = *blaka*.

D. *blinke* 'gleam, twinkle, blink': *blænke* 'blaze': *blunke* 'wink, finch.'

E. *blink* 'twinkle,' dial. 'shine, gleam': *blank* adj. 'open, unmarked, empty': dial. *blunk* 'to scowl.'

Els. *blinkle* 'mit den Augen winken': *plankle* 'langsam arbeiten, nachlässig dreschen': *plunke* 'Butter stossen, coire.'

42. ZOVL. *bribbelen* 'babble, prattle': *brabbelen* 'write illegibly': *brobbelen*, *broebelen* 'bubble.'

WVL. *bribbelen* 'stammer, jabber': *brobbelen* 'bubble.'

43. D. dial. *brim*, *brīm* 'shouting, roaring from a distant storm or breakers': *bramme* 'boast, make display,' dial. 'talk much, talk loudly': *brumme* 'grumble, growl, hum.'

Westf. *brammen* 'brausen': *brummen* 'brummen.'

Pr. *bramsen* 'knurren, murren, schelten' : *brummen, brommen* 'murren, tadeln; sich hüten; im Kerker sitzen.'

Stieg. *prameln* 'in den Bart brummend reden' : *prumeln* 'etwas leise brummen.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *brimmich* 'brünstig (von Schweinen)' : Moselfr. *brommen*, Siebenb. *brammeln* 'brummen.'

Tir. *brimmen* 'surren, leise rauschen' : *brummeln* 'brummen, murren.'

44. Hess. *brüzeln, britzeln, bretzeln* 'Bezeichnung des Tones, welchen bratendes Fett von sich gibt; krachen wie neue Schuhe' : *brözeln, brotzeln, brutzeln* 'im Kochen langsam aufwallen (vom Brei).'

45. N. *brisa* 'shine, flash, flare up,' *brisa* 'light a fire, shine' : *brasa* 'be in heat, run about, be unruly.'

S. *bris* m. 'breeze' : *brus* n. 'roar; murmur.'

J. *brase* 'roast; of the spattering sound of a fat roast in the pan; fall with a splash' : *bruse* 'of the roaring of wind or sea; scold; strut.'

E. dial. *bristle* 'be lively, freshen up (of a breeze); crackle in cooking or burning,' *breeze* 'wind, gale' : dial. *brustle* 'bustle about, make a great fuss; dry, parch, scorch; crackle in cooking or burning' : *bruise*.

OF. *brīs, brīse* 'kühler Seewind' : *brūs, brūse* 'Braus, Geräusch, die Sinne betäubendes Gewühl.'

Westf. *bräschen* 'schreien' : *brūsen* 'brausen.'

Pr. *brīschen* 'sausen, rauschen' : *brāschen* 'schreiend und lärmend durcheinander reden; wiehern.'

46. D. *brøle* 'roar, bellow' : *bralle* 'rattle away, talk big.'

J. *brøle* 'roar, bellow; cry, weep' : *bralre op* 'talk loud; glitter, look gaudy.'

Dutch *brillen* 'tease, vex, disappoint' : *brallen* 'brag, boast' : *brullen* 'roar, low, bellow.'

47. N. *brigla* 'seem to shine with small tremblings and flashes' : *bragla* 'blaze; be resplendent, bright.'

48. N. *fibla* 'pick, pluck, grab' : *fubla* 'make powerless grabs after; stutter.'

S. dial. *febbla, fabbla* 'totter, stagger, tremble' : *fubbla* 'act unsteadily, clumsily; handle undecidedly.'

49. N. *fīma* 'stroke caressingly, talk sweetly,' *fīma* 'hasten, hurry,' *fīmla* 'grab with small, repeated grasps,' *fīmpa* 'bustle, whisk about' : *fāmpa* 'dress out, deck' : *fūma* 'botch, make awkward attempts, talk clumsily;' *fūmla* 'fumble, grab around,' *fūmpa* 'make big, slow, heavy movements up and down, as in walking through snow, laborious articulation; move slowly at work, botch.'

S. *fāmla* 'grope, feel one's way' : *fūmla* 'fumble.'

D. *fīmre* 'vibrate, quiver,' dial. *fīmmer* adj. 'fidgety, hasty' : *fāmlē* 'fumble, stammer,' dial. *fāmmel* 'confused, disconcerted, abashed' : *fūmlē* 'fumble.'

J. *fīmre* 'loosen with a pull, move violently,' *fīmlē* 'grope, claw with the fingers,' *fīmpē* 'ride slowly; dawdle' : *fāmlē* 'grope, falter, hesitate; stutter' : *fūmpē* 'give way elastically to a push or blow.'

E. dial. *fīmble* 'touch lightly' : dial. *fāmble* 'stutter, gabble' : *fūmble* 'grope clumsily.'

Westf. *fāmmeln* 'manipulieren' : *fūmmeln* 'tappen, tasten, streicheln; pfuschen.'

Pr. *fīmmeln*, *fēmmeln*, *fōmmeln* 'hin u. her fahren, flattern' : *fūmmeln* 'hin u. her fahren, reiben, betasten; coire.'

Lux. *fīmlen* 'den männlichen Hanf ausraufen; durchbläuen' : *fūmmelen* 'nachlässig arbeiten.'

Thur. *fāmmeln* 'tastend greifen' : *fūmmeln* 'sich an etwas zu schaffen machen, tappen, rupfen, reiben.'

Hess. *fāmlen* 'unsicher nach etwas herumtasten, -irre reden' : *fūmmeln* 'unsicher nach etwas herumtasten ungenaue Arbeit machen.'

Els. *fīmmele* 'die männlichen Hanfstengel ausziehen; einem Mädchen die Ehre nehmen,' *fīmmē* 'eine Ohrfeige geben' : *fūmmele* 'hin u. her schieben, reiben, putzen,' *Fūmmeler* 'Schwindler.'

50. S. dial. *fītlla* 'be slow' : *fūtlla* 'fumble with the fingers, work poorly.'

Els. *fītze* 'einen mit der Gerte schlagen, dass man ihn nur mit der Spitze derselben trifft' : obsolete *fātzen* 'necken, quälen' : *fōtze* 'am Saume zerreißen; sich aus dem Staube machen,' *Fōtze* 'Fetzen, Lappen.'

Bav. *fītsheln* 'hin u. her plaudern' : *sich fētshen* 'sich fort-

packen' : *futschen* 'mit dem Hintern auf dem Boden rutschen' : *fitschelfätscheln* 'hin u. her plaudern.'

51. E. *fiddle* 'play the violin; fidget,' dial. 'dawdle, waste time' : dial. *faddle* 'make much of; trifle; walk slowly' : dial. *fuddle* 'get drunk; stupefy with drink' : *fiddle-faddle* 'trifle, dawdle.'

Els. *abfittere* 'fortlaufen' : *futtere* 'polternd schimpfen, murren, brummen.'

52. Thur. *finzen* 'verschmitzt lachen' : *fanzen* 'Possen treiben, spielen.'

53. N. *fisa* 'fizz, pedere, blow, smoke, burn in an instant with a puff of smoke,' *fisa* 'flash with a puff; talk or chatter with a puffing sound, as in whispering' : *fesa* 'talk mysteriously, whisper' : *fjasa* 'rise up, burn with a puff (of gases = *fisa* but with a stronger, blowing sound); be in a hurry; gossip' : *fjasla* 'whisk, bustle about; fawn, smirk; gossip, prate' : *fjosa* 'talk empty or loose talk' : *fusa* 'rush, gush, stream forth violently and rushing,' *fjusa* 'of a rushing, puffing gas-escape; talk in a puffing or sputtering hurry.'

D. *fise* 'fizzle, fizz, pedere' : *fuse* 'rush, gush.'

J. *fise* 'pedere,' *fisle* 'tattle; talk falsely and insinuatingly' : *fase* 'jump, shudder, push,' *fasle* 'talk in low tones, whisper' : *fuse* 'stream forth violently (of water),' *fusle* 'walk gently, rustle; walk with dragging feet, in stockings.'

Westf. *fisseln* 'fein regnen oder schneien, fein spalten' : *fäseln* 'nicht recht voran können.'

Pr. *fiseln* 'unruhig, unstät umherlaufen,' *fisseln* 'kleine Bewegungen hin u. her machen; kitzeln' : *fasen* 'rasen, laufen.'

Thur. *fisseln* 'fein regnen' : *faseln* 'irre sein, albern sein' : *fusseln* 'eifertig u. geräuschvoll an etwas beschäftigt sein, reiben, feilen; fein regnen.'

Rappenau. *faasle* 'irre reden' : *fuusle* 'rasch laufen.'

Els. *fisle* 'ungern hergeben, genau berechnen' : *fasle* 'ungereimtes Zeug schwatzen; arretieren' : *fussele* 'betasten.'

Schw. *fisele* 'mit einem dünnen, länglichen Körper (einer Gerte, etc.) hin u. her fahren; zu sehr mit kleinlichen Sachen umgehen; fein u. undeutlich schreiben; kitzeln,' *fiserle* 'fein regnen; kleine Zierereien machen' : *fasle* 'ungereimtes Zeug

schwätzen, plaudern, straucheln, umherstreifen': *fosele* 'possierlich watscheln: *fusele* 'unordentlich und unehrlich arbeiten, handeln': *fausele* 'leicht schneien.'

54. N. *fikta* 'fence, beat about one, make quick and violent movements': *fakta* 'conduct oneself, behave.'

D. dial. *fige* 'hurry, hasten': *fagle* 'be inconsistent, especially in one's talk.'

J. *figne* 'flatter, wheedle': *fagle* 'waver, be inconsistent in one's talk.'

E. dial. *fick*, *feck* 'fidget, kick, struggle, vex, trifle with a woman,' dial. *fickle* 'puzzle, entangle; do something that others cannot do,' dial. *figgle* 'fidget about, wriggle': *fag* 'grow weary, labor,' dial. 'struggle, pursue': dial. *foggle* 'shake,' dial. *fogger* 'middleman, huckster': *fuck* 'coire.'

Westf. *fiks* adj. 'schnell, gewandt': *facken* 'sich müßig herumtreiben,' *fackeln* 'umherlaufen, zögern': *fucken* 'rasch zu Stande kommen, *fuckeln* 'rasch etwas tun,' *verfucken* 'verwirren': *fickfacker* 'unzuverlässiger Mensch.'

Thur. *ficken* 'coire': *facken* 'spielen': *fuckeln* 'betrügerisch verstecken oder durcheinanderstecken (die Karten, etc.).'

Hess. *ficken* 'mit Ruten hauen; futuere': *fackeln* 'hin u. her fahren, sich unsicher bewegen': *fuckeln* 'betrügen; nachlässig arbeiten': *Fickfacker* 'Aufschneider, Betrüger.'

Rappena. *fike* 'reiben, futuere': *fakle* 'mit etwas hin u. her fahren': *fukere* 'schachern.'

Els. *ficke* 'reiben, jucken, coire; mit einer Peitsche kurz und energisch treffen': *fackle* 'ein Licht unvorsichtig hin u. her bewegen; in hellen Flammen brennen; Lügen aufschneiden': *fukere* 'Tauschhandel treiben (besonders von Kindern).'

Schw. *ficken* 'Kleinigkeiten entwenden,' *figge* 'reiben, unruhig sein, schlecht fiedeln,' *fieggen* 'reiben, im Finstern tappen, schlecht geigen': *fecken* 'sich anstrengen': *föcke* 'stehlen, entwenden': *facken* 'unnützer Weise hin u. her laufen,' *fäggen* 'leise herumtappen; wiederholt über einen Gegenstand hin oder daran herumstreichen (der lange Vokal malt die langsam an einer Fläche gleitende Bewegung)': *Focke* 'Flock, Büschel': *fuckeren* 'geringe Diebsgriffe versuchen.'

55. E. *flip* 'strike lightly, fillip': *flap* 'strike with a sudden blow with any soft, light article; fall suddenly, close or shut with violence': *flop* 'flap, move clumsily and heavily, fall with a sudden bump, knock, slap.'

F. *flippe* 'beat with the flat hand': *flappe* 'clap, shut, knock, slam.'

OF. *flippen, flipsen* 'springen, fliegen; schnellen': *flappen* 'schlagen, klatschen, klappen': *fluppen, flupsen* 'schnellen, springen, fliegen.'

55a. J. *flibbe* 'whine, whimper': *flabe* 'roar, call loudly, talk big.'

Els. *flappe* 'anführen, betrügen': *fluppe* 'beohrfeigen, verge-waltigen.'

56. D. *flimre* 'glimmer,' dial. *flimske* 'trifle, toy': *flamme* 'flame,' dial. *flamske* 'kick the hoofs hither and thither.'

Westf. *flimern* 'schimmern': *flammen* 'flammen.'

Wald. *flimeren* 'flimmern, glitzern': *flame* 'Flamme.'

NHD. *flimmern*: *flammen*.

57. Moselfr. *flatschen*, Siebenb. *flatschn* 'mit der Hand schlagen, dass es platscht': Moselfr. Siebenb. *flutschen* 'spülen, waschen.'

Hess. *flitschen, flitzen* 'mit Pfeilen schießen': *flutschen* 'schluchzend weinen.'

57a. Schw. *flittere* 'flüstern': *flattere* 'sehr heftig regnen; prügeln; flattern': *fluttere* 'flattern.'

57b. Bav. *fledern* 'flattern, mit den Flügeln schlagen': *flo-der* 'flattern; flackern, lodern'; *fludern, pfludern* 'mühsam fliegen.'

58. Dan. dial. *fline* 'smile, laugh, grin sillily': *flane* 'gasp, stare, have the wheels awry.'

Bav. *flindern* 'flattern, flimmern, funkeln': *flandern, fländern* 'hin u. her bewegen, wehen, ziehen.'

59. Schw. *flirzen* 'weinen, halblaut mit erstickter Stimme; schluchzen': *flarze* 'in Wasser, Kot, Schlamm herumtreten, kleben, schmieren': *flurzen* 'mit erstickter Stimme weinen.'

60. N. *flika* 'cut slices; wag tail or body; fawn, pet, caress; smirk,' *flikra* 'flatter; tremble; laugh suppressedly,' *flikja* 'gape,

come open' : *fleka* 'become striped or spotted (of the earth after snow)' : *flaka* 'go with open clothes, go carelessly dressed; gape open and swing out,' *flakra* 'blow, waft back and forth.'

S. dial. *flika* 'undress hastily' : dial. *flaka* 'stretch out; go with neck or chest exposed.'

E. *flicker* 'flutter,' dial. 'flirt, giggle, titter, blush' : dial. *flacker* 'flutter, palpitate, throb.'

Westf. *flickern* 'flimmern, schimmern' : *flackern* 'flackern.'

61. S. dial. *flinka* 'hurry' : *flanka* 'be unsteady, travel about.'

62. E. *fling* 'throw with violence,' dial. 'kick' : dial. *flang* 'kick, strike out, slap.'

Bav. *flinken, flinkern* 'blinken, glänzen, schimmern' : *flanken, flankeln* 'die Flügel, die Arme schwingen.'

63. N. *frøsa* 'spurt out with a rushing sound' : *fræsa* 'spout, spurt with a hiss' : *frasa* 'gush up, bubble, crackle' : *frusa* 'spout, squirt, foam, boil over; grow up in lumps or bulbs.'

S. *frasa* 'rustle, fizzle' : *frusa* 'gush, spurt.'

E. dial. *frizzle* 'fry, make a hissing, sputtering sound in frying; curl; cajole' : dial. *frazzle* 'unravel, fray, untangle' : dial. *fruzz* 'rub the hair the wrong way; entangle; waste, throw away.'

64. E. dial. *frig* 'wiggle, struggle, kick with the feet' : dial. *frag* 'cram, fill to overflowing' : dial. *frog* 'crawl on all fours.'

66. E. dial. *miff* 'offend; whimper' : dial. *maffle* 'stammer, hesitate, speak indistinctly' : dial. *muff* 'make the least sound; miss; oppress with the heat,' *muffle* 'deadens sound, wrap up.'

Pr. *mifen* 'winseln, verhalten heulen,' *miffen* 'den Wind lassen' : *muffeln, müffeln* 'mühsam u. langsam kauen, besonders mit den Vorderzähnen.'

Schw. *mäffelen* 'still grollend widerreden; keifen' : *mafflen* 'durcheinander plaudern' : *mofflen* 'langsam kauen' : *mufflen* 'schmollen, mürrisch widerreden.'

67. N. *mimra* 'make soundless involuntary motions of the lips' : *mumra* 'snuffle, mumble, murmur.'

E. dial. *mimp* 'speak daintily and affectedly' : dial. *mump* 'mumble, speak indistinctly; munch.'

68. E. *meddle* 'tamper with, interfere' : *muddle* 'botch, bungle.'

69. N. *mȳsla* 'walk silently and quietly alone': *masla* 'rake clumsily, hack': *musla* 'work slowly; dabble; walk silently and alone.'

69a. N. *miska* 'coax, wheedle': *maska* 'rush ahead, make noise, work zealously, tumble about': *muska* 'hunt, rush; work hard; drizzle.'

E. *mash* 'smash': dial. *mush* 'crush, crumble; waste slowly.'

70. D. dial. *milde* 'smile': dial. *mule* 'pout.'

71. Pr. *mirkxen* 'in Absätzen aufseufzen u. wimmern': *murksen* 'murrende Töne hören lassen; heimlich brummen.'

71a. Bav. *merren* 'verwirren, übermässig anstrengen': *murren* 'murren.'

72. S. dial. *makka* 'work slowly, botch': dial. *mukka* 'beat.'

F. *mikke* 'aim at; make the slightest sound': *mokke* 'sulk, be sullen, mope.'

Dutch *mikken* 'aim at,' *niet durven kikken of mikken* 'nicht mucksen dürfen': *mokkelen* 'hug, embrace, kiss; bind together': *mikmak* m. 'failing; slight trick.'

Zaan. *mikken* 'make the slightest sound,' *hij mikt et zoo nauw niet* 'he doesn't take it so exactly': *mokken* 'pout, grumble.'

WVl. *mikken* 'hesitate, make the slightest sound,' *niet mikken* 'nicht mucksen': *mokkelen* 'eat with guests': *mijken* 'feast; go out of the way for': *mikmak* 'secret doings.'

OF. *mikken* 'scharf nach etwas sehen oder spähen': *ofmukken* 'mucken, einen Ton von sich geben; murren, knurren, brummen; heimlich beseitigen.'

Westf. *mæken* 'von Schrei des Hasen': *mūke, mōke, murke* f. 'Versteck für Obst im Stroh.'

Wald. *mīksen* 'weinen,' *mīksech* 'weinerlich': *nīt muksen* 'keinen Laut von sich geben,' *muksech* 'launisch.'

Pr. *mickern, miggern, mucken* 'kränkeln, verkümmern; wimmern, stöhnen': *mucken* 'in halblauten, vereinzelt Tönen able Laune zeigen; trotzig, nickisch sich gebärden,' *mucksen* 'fast = mucken doch nähern sich die Töne mehr dem Schluchzen.'

Thur. *mickern* 'kitzeln; meckern': *mockeln* 'auf allen Vieren kriechen.'

Stieg. *mickern* 'klein und unleserlich schreiben, meckern': *muckern* 'halblaute Töne von sich geben; mucksen.'

73. E. dial. *maggie* 'worry, tease, tire' : dial. *muggle* 'muddle along, live in a shipshod way.'

F. *miggelje* 'drizzle, rain gently' : *moggel* f. 'fat woman or child.'

Groningen *miggeln* 'drizzle' : *maggeln* 'scrawl, write poorly' : *muggerg* adj. 'full of flies (of a room).'

Dutch *maggelen* 'write badly' : *moggel* m. f. 'fat, clumsy child; clumsy woman.'

Zaan. *miegelen* 'drizzle' : *muggen* 'rest, nap.'

Schw. *meggeln* 'meckern, kreischen' : *maggeln* 'heimlich klagen' : *mugglen* 'einen dumpfen Laut von sich geben.'

73a. Schw. *mänggele* 'so reden, dass man den wahren Sachverhalt nicht lernen soll' : *munggel* adj. 'düster.'

74. E. *tip* 'extreme point' : *tap* 'gentle blow or touch' : *top* 'upper part, cover' : *tup* 'ram.'

Dutch *tippen* 'take off the tip, cut the hair' : *tappen* 'draw, tap, drain' : *toppen* 'take off the top (of trees); agree.'

OF. *tippen* 'leicht u. leise stossen,' *tipeln* 'mit den Spitzen berühren' : *tepen*, *teppen*, *täpen*, *täpen* 'zupfen' : *tappen* 'tappen, tasten' : *toppen* 'die Spitze abschneiden.'

Westf. *tipp* m. 'Spitze, Wipfel' : *töppen* 'den Wipfel aus-hauen' : *tappen* 'zapfen.'

Wald. *tipen* 'mit der Fingerspitze berühren; mit kleinen Flecken versehen' : *täpen* 'umhertappen.'

Pr. *tippeln* 'punktieren,' *tippen* 'tupfen, picken' : *tappeln* 'häufig gehen,' *Tapp-ön-de-Grött* 'Tapp-in-die Grütz, Einfaltspinsel.'

Lux. *tippen* 'berühren; umstürzen' : *tappen* 'schlagen; unsicher den Weg suchen' : *töpen* 'im Dunkeln herumtappen; schlagen' : *tuppen* 'klopfen, hauen, schlagen.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *tapschen* 'mit den Füßen stampfen' : *tuppen* 'mit dem Finger leicht berühren.'

Thur. *tippen* 'anrühren' : *tappen* 'unsicher der Weg suchen; hart oder unsicher auftreten; mit den Händen fassen' : *tappeln* 'trippeln; mit den Händen tasten.'

Stieg. *verzippeln* 'vor Schmerz oder Ungeduld vergehen wollen' : *zappeln* 'zappeln' : *zuppeln* 'zupfen.'

Els. *zipperen* 'prickeln' : *zuppere, zuppele* 'schlecht, oberflächlich nähern.'

74a. Pr. *tibbern* 'anreizen, ermuntern' : *tobbern, tubbern* 'anregen zu reden; aufstörend stossen; zurückhalten, aufhalten.'

75. N. *titra* 'tremble, shudder; titter, give trembling sounds; trickle forth; spin finely' : *tatla* 'munch; prattle hackingly and monotonously; gossip' : *tutra* 'shake; give forth monotonous, trembling sounds; whine in a low tone,' *tutla* 'cram, squeeze, press in one's hands.'

E. *titter* 'snicker, laugh sharply and suppressedly,' dial. 'shake; quiver; stammer; work weakly and triflingly' : *tattle* 'prate, talk,' *tatter* 'tear, rend,' dial. 'chatter, chide; hurry' : *totter* 'sway, shake' : dial. *tutter* 'complain, find fault; stammer.'

75a. Moselfr. Siebenb. *tatschelen* 'zärtlich befühlen' : *tutsche-len, tuschelen* 'flüstern, leise reden.'

76. Lux. *taddelen* 'schwätzen' : *tuddelen* 'unverständlich schwätzen.'

Els. *zittere* 'zittern' : *zottere* 'verstreuen, verschütten,' *zottle* 'langsam geben, schlendern, watscheln.'

77. N. *tindra* 'sparkle, shine; of flashing pains' : *tandra* 'scold, insult, yap at, set fire to; sputter, crackle.'

78. N. *tira* 'stare; sparkle, shine, beam; run in a thin but continuous stream' : *tara* 'make helpless attempts, botch' : *tora* 'burn weakly' : *tura* 'crash, make a continuous, uniform noise.'

79. N. *tikka* 'touch lightly,' *tikla* 'sound faint and thin' : *tokku* 'push, move, shove,' *tokla* 'work about without results, dabble, walk about senselessly' : *tukka* 'shake, dislocate, move,' *tukla* 'handle much and clumsily; bungle, botch.'

E. dial. *tick* 'touch lightly, caress,' *tickle* 'kitzeln,' dial. 'stir gently, rouse; beat, whip; perplex' : dial. *tack* 'slap, beat; clap,' *tackle* 'attack, punish, accost' : dial. *tuck* 'eat greedily, touch, pull, jerk; blow in gusts; throb,' *tuck in* 'push in clothes or bedding.'

Dutch *tikken* 'pat, touch; tick (of a watch)' : *takken* 'get branches; lop off' : *tokkelen* 'touch, play an instrument' : *tik-tak* 'backgammon.'

WVl. *tikken* 'clink glasses; touch on a subject' : *takken* 'touch,

tag (in games)' : *tokken* 'stossen, klopfen' : *tikke-takken* 'qualen, plagen' : *tiktak* 'sound of a watch, of the heart.'

OF. *tikken* 'ticken, picken, leise anstossen' : *takken* 'mit Zacken versehen,' *taken* 'fassen, greifen' : *tokken* 'ziehen, locken' : *tuken, tūken* 'ziehen, locken; zerren, reißen,' *tukken* 'ziehen, zucken; zappeln; stossen, pochen' : *tik-tak-tuk* 'ein Spiel' : *tik-tak* 'Geräusch der Uhr.'

Westf. *ticken* 'von der Uhr' : *tackeln* 'trippelnd gehen' : *sich tacken* 'zanken' : *tocken* 'locken.'

Wald. *tiken* 'von der Uhr; leise berühren' : *token* 'zupfen' : *tuken* 'zucken, klopfen (vom Pulse)'; *tiktak* 'Geräusch der Uhr.'

Lux. *tik* m. 'Gewohnheits-muskelzucken' : *ticker* m. 'Stösser' : *teken* 'anstossen, mit Trinkgläsern, Ostereiern, etc.' : *tucken* 'an einen Gegenstand anstossen; durch Stossen zerkleinern.'

80. E. dial. *ting* 'sting; ring, jingle,' *tingle* 'prickle, burn' : dial. *tang* 'sting; toll a bell, sound loudly, clearly and with measured sound, especially of a harsh bell; make noise,' *tangle* 'enmesh.'

81. N. *trippa* 'trot, run lightly' : *trappa* 'tramp, stamp the feet.'

Dutch *trippen* 'skip, trip, mince' : *trappen* 'tread, trample, kick.'

OF. *trippeln* 'trippeln, wiederholt auftreten, mit kleinen raschen Schritten gehen' : *trappeln* 'treten u. stampfen' : *trip-trap* 'zur Bezeichnung des wechselnden Niederschlagens der Füße.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *tripsen* 'tropfeln' : *trappen* 'den Fuss stampfend aufsetzen.'

Thür. *trippeln* 'leise u. schnell auftreten' : *trappen* 'laut, hart u. schwer auftreten.'

Stieg. *trippeln* 'leise u. schnell auftreten; tröpfeln' : *trappeln* 'wiederholt u. schnell mit den Füßen auftreten.'

Els. *tripple* 'stampfen' : *trepple* 'stark auftreten, poltern' : *trappe* 'traben, eilig laufen, hart, fest u. dröhnend auftreten, besonders in Holzschuhen' : *tropple* 'mit Geräusch in Menge herunterfallen (vom reifen Obst).'

82. N. *tramla* 'drag laboriously and noisily after one; drag the feet, walk stumbly' : *trumla* 'walk heavily and stumbly; stumble.'

S. *trampa* 'tramp, trample' : *trumpna* 'grow sullen.'

E. dial. *trimple* 'limp, tread gingerly' : *trample* 'stamp.'

Pr. *trimpeln, trömpeln* 'trippelnd gehen' : *trampeln* 'trampeln, mit den Füßen stampfen.'

83. Siebenb. *tratschn* 'in Wasser oder Kot herumpatschen; klatschen' : *Trutschkn* 'molliges, dralles Mädchen.'

Thur. *tritschen* 'klatschend niederfallen (vom Regen)': *tratschen* 'derb, schwerfällig auftreten; schwatzen.'

84. E. dial. *trill* 'trundle a hoop; twirl' : dial. *tröll* 'turn, sprain,' dial. *tröll, troll* 'scold; tire of walking.'

OF. *trillen, trillern* 'zittern, beben, klirren' : *trullen, trullen* 'rollen, wälzen.'

85. E. *trickle* 'drip, seep,' dial. 'bowl, roll' : *truckle* 'yield meanly,' dial. 'trundle, roll, move on.'

86. OF. *twikken* 'zwicken; reissen' : *twakken* 'zwacken, klemmen.'

Pr. *zwicken* 'kneipen, einklemmen; mit kleingeschlagenen Steinen ausfüllen' : *zwacken* 'im Preise drücken.'

NhD. *zwicken* : *zwacken*.

Els. *zwicke* 'mit dem Peitschenende schlagen; stehen; kneifen; blinzeln' : *zwacke* 'wegnehmen, besonders im Spasse; armlich leben; schlagen.'

87. E. *twinge* 'twist suddenly, dart (of a pain)' : *twang* 'snap, resound.'

88. N. *dibba* 'nod repeatedly, mince one's steps with swaying movements of the body, walk unsurely with short steps' : *dabba* 'give repeated slaps or blows; walk with short quick steps but on the whole foot, neither mincingly nor stampingly' : *dabla* 'splash gently, dabble' : *dubba* 'bend, stoop, nod,' *dubla* 'destroy, botch.'

S. dial. *dibb* 'touch lightly' : dial. *dabba* 'dirty, bedabble,' *dabba sej* 'be unhandy, be awkward.'

E. dial. *dib, dibble* 'pierce small holes in the ground' : *dab* 'jab with something soft or wet,' dial. 'give a slight blow, throw down carelessly,' *dabble* 'play in the water, perform triflingly,' dial. *dabber* 'jar, wrangle, confound by talking rapidly' : dial. *dob* 'put down clumsily, throw down; fall upon roughly; strike,' dial.

dobble 'daub, mess, dig ineffectually,' *daub* 'smear' : *dub* 'cut off trimmings; pelt; pull down; walk heavily; blunt.'

WVl. *dibberen* 'hesitate, delay; tremble' : *debbelen* 'betasten' : *dobberen, dubberen* 'hesitate, delay.'

OF. *dibbern* '(jüdisch-deutsch) eifrig schwatzen' : *dubbern* 'wiederholt schlagen, klopfen; ein starkes und dumpfes Geräusch machen.'

Westf. *dabbeln, dabbeln* 'schwatzen' : *duppen* 'klopfen, gelinde auf etwas Hartes stossen.'

Lux. *dabberen, dabberen* 'eilig trippeln' : *dubberen* 'poltern.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *debeln* 'schwatzen' : *dubbern* 'dumpf tönen.'

Hess. *dibbern* 'ahnen; verstohlen einen Treff geben' : *dabberigh* adj. 'faulicht-weich,' *bedappeln* 'begreifen, verstehen (meist scherzhaft)' : *duppern* 'wankend und stolpernd gehen.'

Els. *tippele* 'leise trippeln, schleichen,' *tippere* 'schnell laufen, kleine kurze Schritte machen' : *tappe* 'tappen, tastend u. unsicher geben; ertappen, fangen' : *tupple* 'einfaltig tun; langsam gehen.'

Bav. *tappeln* 'von wiederholten kleinen Bewegungen der Hände u. Füße gesagt' : *toppen* 'klopfen, schlagen, sich schnell bewegen (vom Herz, von einem Geschwür).'

89. E. dial. *daffy* 'crazy, mad' : dial. *duffer* 'bungler, idiot.'

OF. *dafen* 'klopfen, schelten, dröhnen,' *daferen, dafern* 'klopfen, hämmern, dröhnen' : *dofen* 'taub machen, dämpfen, löschen' : *dufen* 'stossen, drücken, pressen.'

90. N. *demla* 'splash; drink much; press down by weight (a vessel in the water, or gases, steam); press, bend' : *damla* 'splash; hold a boat still by slight use of the oars' : *dumla* 'become heavy and still (of the air), grow moist, dark, and sultry.'

D. dial. *dimle* 'whisper, mutter' : *dumle* 'roar, rattle,' *dumse* 'slumber, take a nap.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *dämern* 'mit den Füßen herumtreten, stampfen' : *dummeln* 'schlummern.'

91. N. *dampa* 'walk heavily, slowly, lazily; be slow; soil' : *dumpa* 'go heavily, unevenly, joltingly; be bundled up (the word involves something indecent, as also in the D. and S. dialects).'

S. *dimpa* 'fall quickly, helplessly' : dial. *dompa* 'fall down

heavily, knock, walk heavily with a dull sound' : *dumpa* 'dip,' dial. 'thunder; dance clumsily and indecently.'

92. N. *daska* 'walk heavily and slouchingly; walk slowly and with dignity' : *duska* 'fall down, fall suddenly, give a sound as of a heavy fall; box the ears.'

D. dial. *daske* 'talk, gossip' : dial. *duske* 'be slow, be lazy; bend down the head.'

J. *daske* 'beat, swing back and forth; walk lazily and drift; gossip, chatter' : *duske* 'beat, thrash.'

Hess. *datscheln* 'plump angreifen, plump und oft mit den Händen betasten' : *dutscheln* 'heimlich etwas tun, etwas verbergen.'

Stieg. *titschen* 'mit Finger, Stock u. dergleichen auf etwas schlagen' : *tâtschen* 'mit der flachen Hand auf etwas schlagen; mit dem Fusse treten.'

Els. *datsche* 'schlagen, dass es knallt, mit der Peitsche knallen; glatt oder flach schlagen; liebkosen; durcheinander reden' : *dutsche* 'schlagen, prügeln.'

Tir. *dâtschen* 'mit der Hand auf weiche Dinge schlagen' : *dutschen* 'schlummern.'

93. N. *didra* 'tremble, quiver; weaker vibrations and lesser swings than in *dadra*' : *dadra* 'shake, quiver' : *dudra* 'shake hard and repeatedly with a dull sound at every greater movement.'

E. dial. *diddle* 'swindle; busy oneself with trifles; waste time' : dial. *daddle* 'walk or work slowly, saunter; trifle; fondle; trouble, bother, annoy' : *dawdle* 'linger, hesitate, waste time' : dial. *doddle* 'walk feebly or slowly, saunter, idle.'

Lux. *dadder* m. 'Angst, Zittern; Falte;' *dâdern* 'viel u. laut sprechen' : *duddern* 'murren, knistern (vom Feuer).'

Hess. *daddeln* 'unsicher, schwankend sich bewegen,' *daddern* 'schnattern, schwatzen; stottern' : *doddern* 'aus Unruhe ängstlich sein.'

Stieg. *tâttern* 'schnell sprechen, schwatzen' : *tuttern* 'erschreckt, verlegen sein; zögern; in der Verlegenheit stammeln.'

Els. *dattere* 'Mist fest schlagen; eintönig und rasch schwatzen' : *dottle* 'langsam gehen' : *duttere* 'frieren, vor Kälte zittern; bange sein (unpers.).'

Bav. *tattern* 'zittern vor Frost, vor Furcht; erschrecken, verblüfft werden; schwatzen' : *tutern* 'stottern.'

94. E. dial. *dindle*, 'shake, vibrate; stagger; tingle' : *dandle* 'play with; fondle; toss' : dial. *dunder* 'thunder, rumble, give a thundering blow.'

95. Thur. *danschen* 'mit den Händen rühren, kneten; schwatzen' : *dunschen* 'wischen.'

96. N. *dīsa* 'stare wonderingly,' *dissa* 'tremble, rock (especially of masses, as a morass underfoot), shake,' *disa* 'wander about, loiter, idle,' *dysa* 'go on a large scale, be generous; make noise at play,' *dyssa* 'cause to tremble, or push with a single shake or push' : *dassa* 'run about without accomplishing anything; do small work; sully, soil' : *dōsa*, *dosa* 'pause; stack up; toss into a heap; stir up; drizzle,' *dossa* 'put a thing into disorder so as to roll oneself in it (of hay, beds, etc.),' *daassa* 'bustle about without effect, do odd services about the house' : *dusa* 'wait, sit still sleepily; quiet down; fall, stagger; ponder over,' *dussa* 'be busy round the house' : *deisa* 'topple, fall, tumble; bungle, go ahead carelessly; squander, strike heavy blows' : *døysa* 'heap up, roll up; press down by rolling on; smoulder.'

S. dial. *dasa* 'lie and stretch, lie idle; fall; live loosely; wheedle' : dial. *dusa* 'sleep gently, slumber; sleep unquietly; rest, lie down.'

E. *dizzy* 'schwindlig, taumlig' : *daze* 'betäuben' : *dazzle* 'daze with strong light' : *doze* 'sleep lightly,' dial. *dozzle* 'confuse, stupefy.'

96a. N. *desta* 'revive, raise the spirits, restore' : *dasta* 'walk slowly; follow after; rustle' : *dusta* 'scatter, strew out; scent, hunt, drive; tumble, roll; make a noise, be sufficient.'

97. N. *dila* 'swing slowly back and forth, go back and forth between small pieces of work; bustle, run about, dabble in,' *dilla* 'dangle, hang and swing; tremble, shake, run after,' *dilka* 'run, run mincingly, trot, bustle about, bungle' : *døla* 'act foolishly, work planlessly, loiter, linger' : *dæla* 'blow gently, blow a breeze; drivel, slobber,' *dælka* 'rummage, dabble in, stir up' : *dala* 'sink down, come down; pass over (of storm clouds),' *dalla* 'run, trot, swing back and forth gently, dangle, walk loiteringly,

slouch a bit, bustle about,' *dalka* 'dangle, hang from, run after, botch, bungle; disorder, stir up, crumple; spot with moist dirt; give a light blow, walk slouchingly': *dola* 'burn weakly; calm down (of wind),' *dolka* 'work at unnecessarily': *dula* 'walk lazily and in an imbecile manner, straggle,' *dulla* 'run, trot, bustle; finger, crumple; meander, slouch, come straggling after,' *dulka* 'puff, punch, push.'

Els. *talke* 'in Schlamm oder Gemüse herumrühren': *dolke* 'unsauber schreiben, klecksen, unrein fließen, fettig sein.'

98. N. *dirra* 'shake, tremble, quiver,' *dirla* = *darla*; also: 'shake backward and forward in small jerks, hang and dangle, stand trembling': *derla* 'move quickly and rockingly backward and forward': *darra* 'tremble violently, swing with repeated small bobs up and down, of greater oscillations than *dirra*,' *darla* 'rock, stand loosely, swing to and fro, walk with much swinging and slouching': *durra* 'whirr hummingly away; lull,' *durla* 'roll up; work without energy or progress, botch.'

99. N. *dika* 'run, flutter, waver between several small occupations, rush about flurriedly': *daka* 'walk slowly and swingingly, walk lazily and in slipshod fashion': *daakaa* 'bustle,' *daakka* 'soil.'

J. *dikle* 'tickle': *dakle* 'thrash, beat.'

100. J. *dinke* 'hit with small blows so as to evoke a clinking sound': *danke* 'drive, impel; gambol, caper; run on thin ice so that it trembles and cracks': *dunke* 'swell up.'

101. N. *dingla* 'dangle, swing to and fro, loiter between several pieces of work': *dangla* 'strike with weak, unsure blows; work clumsily, botch; be careless': *dungla* 'stream on (of clouds or water).'

E. dial. *dingle* 'dangle; vibrate, tremble, tingle, thrill, tinkle, strike so as to produce a sound': *dangle* 'hang swayingly and bobbingly': dial. *dungle* 'pelt.'

102. E. *drip* 'fall in drops': *drop* 'fall, let fall': *droop* 'hang over, bend weakly over.'

102a. N. *drivla* 'rain gently; loiter about, dabble': *dravla* 'make small uncertain movements back and forth, splash; dabble with work.'

E. *dribble*, *drivel* 'slaver, let fall in small drops, fall in small drops': dial. *drabble* 'trail in the mud, besmear.'

102b. N. *dribba* 'hit against': *drabba* 'hit against, hit heavily; strike (of wind); drag, toil; walk laboriously; impede, hinder by friction': *drubba* 'walk stoopedly, become infirm.'

E. dial. *drib* 'beat, scold, punish': *drab* dial. 'spot, stain, splash with dirt': dial. *drub* 'beat the ground, stamp, trudge.'

103. N. *drisla*, *drysla* 'drop, splash, sprinkle': *drasla* 'drag, pull': *drusla* 'rain in small drops; walk slowly.'

104. J. *drilre* 'flow slowly; let run': *dralre* 'be slow in one's work, proceed unhandily.'

OF. *drillen* 'drillen, drehend hin u. her bewegen, Löcher in Metall bohren; quälen, plagen': *drallen* 'drehen, rollen.'

Wald. *drælen* 'ein Gespräch führen': *drålen* 'langsam und langweilig schwatzen.'

Pr. *drillen* 'kreisend drehen, dreheln; exerzieren; quälen, necken': *drellen*, *drallen* 'drehen, wenden, sich unmanierlich aufführen': *drullen* 'drehen; die Räder des Wagens oder des Spinnrockens in Bewegung setzen,' *gedrull* n. 'das langsame Fahren, das Spinnen.'

105. Bav. *träckeln*, *trackeln* 'herumziehen, nicht fertig werden': *trucken* 'ziehen, rücken; im Reden anstossen, mit Mühe seine Gedanken aussprechen; allzu bedächtig verfahren; karg sein.'

106. Wald. *dringen* (st. *i-u-u*) 'dringen': *drengen* 'drücken, schieben.'

NHD. *dringen*: *drängen*.

107. N. *nyfsa* 'puff, hit': *nefsa* 'scold, sneer at, threaten, anger, irritate; snap about one': *nafsa* 'snap at, gnaw, chew, eat with a smacking noise': *nufsa* 'give a light push or blow.'

S. dial. *nippra* 'nip at, nibble at': *nappa* 'seize quickly, grasp, pluck.'

D. *nippe* 'twitch, tweak': *nappe* 'snatch, nab, filch': *noppe* 'friz, fray': *nuppe* 'pluck.'

E. *nip* 'pinch, cut off the edge or end,' dial. 'taste sharp, eat daintily, move quickly or nimbly, slip away,' dial. *gnip* 'taunt; complain constantly': dial. *nep* 'kiss,' dial. *knep* 'bite, graze, crop; pick flowers': *nap* 'catch, lay hold of, seize, steal, tap,

hammer sharply,' dial. *knap* 'hammer sharply or lightly, tick, snap, split; speak affectedly,' dial. *gnap* 'gnaw, bite, nibble at' : dial. *nop* 'pick cloth, crop, snuff a candle,' dial. *knop* 'bud, shoot, pick gooseberries' : dial. *nipe*, *knipe*, *gnipe* 'crop or nip off in short lengths.'

Groningen. *nippen* 'bother, vex by means of pushing, pinching, etc.' : *noppen* 'gooseskin.'

Dutch *nippen* 'sip, lap; scuffle,' *nippelen* 'handle, paw obscenely' : *noppen* 'nop, pick' : *nijpen* 'pinch, nip, teak, twinge.'

Zaan. *nippen* 'pinch, come to a pinch' : *noppen* 'bite; win, catch.'

WVl. *nippen* 'fall suddenly, jump, strike' : *noppen*, *nuppen* n. 'knot in the flax or cloth.'

OF. *nīpen*, *nēpen* 'kneifen, klemmen, zwacken,' *nippen* 'nippen, in kleinen Zügen trinken' : *noppe*, *nop* 'Zotte, Wollflocke, Knötchen,' *noppen* 'die Noppen entfernen' : *nuppen* 'knuffen, stossen, schlagen.'

Westf. *nappen* 'vom Gewehrfeuer' : *sik noppen* 'sich stossen, sich schlagen.'

Bav. *nifeln* 'reiben, wetzen; durch die Nase reden, schnaufen' : *naffezen* 'schlummern,' *sich vernaffen* 'sich mit etwas beschäftigen, dass man alles andere vergisst' : *neifeln* 'dunn regnen.'

107a. N. *nibba* 'meet with points or edges; reach exactly as far as is needed' : *nebba* 'pluck, bustle; ornament, correct' : *nabba* 'eat up rapidly; geld (smaller animals)' : *nubba* 'nail an iron nail (*nubb*) to; make dull, round off.'

D. dial. *nibbre*, *nebbre* 'nibble, peck, pick' : *nabre* 'pluck, pull off, gnaw off' : *nubbes* 'rub noses, snap at one another (of horses).'

E. dial. *nib* 'nibble, graze, nip, *nibble* 'gnaw a little' : dial. *nab*, *knab* 'take, catch, seize, steal; peck at, strike, punish,' dial. *nabble* 'gnaw, nibble—a stronger word than *nibble*' : dial. *nob*, *knob* 'strike, especially the head; form buds,' dial. *nobble*, *knobble* = *nob*, *knob*, also: 'steal, cheat; hobble about' : dial. *nub*, *knub* 'nudge, jog, shake, beckon; thump, pummel.'

OF. *nibbe*, *nib* 'Schnabel, Mund' : *nubbe*, *nub* 'Knuff, Stoss, Schlag.'

Westf. *nibbeln*, *nippeln* 'das Äusserste abbeissen (von Ziegen);

Kleinigkeiten entwenden': *näbbeln* 'nagen, Kleinigkeiten entwenden': *nubbeln* 'knupfern.'

Els. *nippere* 'zu viel trinken': *nuppele* 'verknoten,' *nuppe* 'trotzen; mit einer Zange die Kletten aus dem Tuch entfernen.'

Schw. *näppere* 'an etwas herumstochern, erfolglos mit mehr oder weniger Geräusch an etwas arbeiten': *noppere* 'an etwas zupfen, rupfen; sich mit unbedeutender Arbeit zu schaffen machen': *nuppere* 'stochern (besonders die Zähne).'

Bav. *nappen*, *noppen*, *noppeln* 'kurze, wiederholte Bewegungen auf und nieder machen, hüpfen,' *noppen* 'stossen, mit der Faust stossen': *nuppeln* 'die Lippen bewegen, wie beim Saugen.'

108. E. dial. *nitter* 'grumble constantly; titter, giggle involuntarily and with an effort at suppression; grin like a dog, make grimaces': dial. *natter* 'work continuously with slight noise; clatter; work a person hard, drive; be busy in a trifling manner,' dial. *gnatter* 'gnaw, bite at anything hard, nibble; grumble, fret,' dial. *nattle* 'nibble, chew with difficulty; be busy at trifles': dial. *nutter* 'whinny softly, as mare and colt to one another,' dial. *knutter* 'neigh.'

109. N. *nasla* 'eat slowly with a nasal sound, eat like a cat; chew quietly; pilfer,' *naska* 'eat, chew, smack; snap, pilfer; put in order in a hurry; eat often and little at a time': *nusla* 'seek food; dabble, bustle, work on a small scale; eat with a sound = *nasla*, but an even more dampened sound,' *nuska* 'look for something (of animals); walk softly about by oneself; eat very slowly; steal on a small scale.'

Bav. *niseln* 'sachte, dünn regnen; langsam mit den Zähnen nagen': *nuseln* 'durch die Nase oder sonst unverständlich reden; herumsuchen; affektiert langsam und wählerisch essen.'

110. N. *naltra* 'hew, beat unsurely, hack': *nultra* 'knock pressingly with the fist.'

Els. *nille*, *nelle* 'plagen, quälen, foppen, betrügen': *nolle* 'unbeholfen, schleppend gehen': *nulle* 'saugen, naschen, lecken.'

Bav. *nüllen* 'wählen': *Nellen* f. 'lebhaftes, schnippisches Mädchen': *nollen*, *nullen* 'saugen, schnullen, trinken, auf u. nieder bewegen, coire.'

111. Zaan. *narren* 'cry, wail constantly, grumble': *noeren*

'make a complaining, half-groaning noise (of cows in the stable in winter).'

112. N. *nikka* 'nod,' *nikra* 'whimper, whine,' *nykkja* 'push or pull quickly and suddenly; bend, make crooked; stick out': *nekka* (strong verb, pret. *nakk*) 'start, jump, get a start,' *nekkja* 'tease, incite with pointed words; set aback, hinder; stop and turn back (of the sea in tides),' *nøkka*, *nøkkja* 'push, sting (of sudden pains)': *nukka* 'chip off the edges, make even; go over with a small plow; beat, thrash': *nokka* 'put a hook into, rock, push ahead a little,' *nokra* 'give out a series of monotonous, trembling sounds to attract attention; grunt, bray, whinny caressingly': *nukka* 'push gently, move ahead by jerks.'

D. dial. *nykke*, *nøkke* 'do a thing little by little; push at lightly': *nokke* 'push, shove, move roughly.'

E. *nick* 'cut notches into,' dial. 'crack, bite, make a clicking sound, hit smartly; steal; seize,' dial. *knick* 'click, crack; cheat, steal': dial. *neck* 'beat or tick like a clock': dial. *nack* 'strike with a missile,' dial. *knack* 'make a sharp clicking sound, crack, snap, gnash the teeth, chat, answer wittily; do cleverly': dial. *nock* 'notch; exhaust, tire out,' *knock* 'strike with something hard, rap,' dial. 'strike (of a clock); beat': dial. *nuck* 'notch, hack.'

Dutch *nikken* 'beckon, nod, doze': *nekken* 'kill; break; vex': *nokken* 'sob.'

WVl. *nikken* 'nod, bend': *nekken* 'kill,' *neuken* 'give a hard punch or blow': *naken* 'touch': *nokken* 'knot, crochet': *nukken* 'crouch, sit on one's heels.'

Bav. *nickeln* 'einen am Genick, an den Ohren fassen; quälen,' *necken* 'necken': *nackeln*, *nockeln* 'sich hin und her bewegen, wackeln, locker sein': *naucken* 'schlummern.'

112a. E. dial. *niggle* 'gnaw, nibble, hack, notch; trifle, dawdle, fret, worry': *nag* 'vex, annoy,' dial. *naggle* 'pain continuously; walk tossing the head affectedly,' dial. *gnaggle* 'gnaw, bite hard, grumble, scold, dispute': dial. *noggle* 'manage with difficulty, walk with difficulty,' dial. *knog* 'knock the knuckles.'

Schw. *niggele* 'nörgeln, kritteln, zänkeln, necken, ärgern, jucken, reizen': *nöggele* 'langsam, ungeschickt an etwas arbeiten;

wackeln; oberflächlich zusammennähen,' *näggele* 'tänzelnd sich mit etwas beschäftigen, leicht rütteln, schnitzeln, klappern; plagen, necken, schlagen': *nogge* 'sich hin u. her bewegen, wackeln': *nögge* 'saugen, lutschen': *nuggele* 'lutschen.'

112b. Thur. *ningern* 'heulen': *nängern* 'in halblautem, näselndem Tone weinen.'

113. N. *sīpa* 'cry, weep,' *sīpla* 'lap up, drink; run quickly by drops with a weak sound; suck by little quantities but audibly': *supa* (strong verb -u-au-o) 'suck, draw into the mouth; eat with a spoon; drink little by little, take sips; bibble, tipple.'

S. Dial. *sīpa* 'trickle, drip': dial. *soppa* 'sop bread in soup': dial. *supa* 'eat with a spoon (liquids), drink.'

E. *seep* 'trickle, ooze, percolate,' *sip* 'drink in small quantities': *sop* 'soak in a liquid': *sup* 'drink slowly': dial. *sipe* 'seep.'

OF. *sīpen*, *sipen* 'schlürfen, schlürfend trinken': *sūpen*, *supen* 'saufen, trinken.'

Westf. *sipen* (st.) 'triefen, sickern': *sappken* 'vom Laute des getretenen Wassers,' *sappe* f. 'Brühe': *soppe* f. 'Suppe': *supen* (st.) 'saufen.'

Pr. *sipen*, *sūpen* 'weinen': *sappen* 'plump und schwerfällig im Kote gehen; quatschen (von den Schuhen); Suppe essen': *suppen* 'stark triefen.'

Bav. *süffeln* 'gleiten, mit den Füßen anstreifen': *sauffen* 'saufen; schlürfen.'

113a. Pr. *sibbern*, *sübbarn*, 'sickern; in kleinen Zügen trinken; bei Nebel sachte regnen': *sabbern* 'geifern, viel u. unnütz reden.'

Lux. *sabbelen* 'Speichel u. Getränk aus dem Munde laufen lassen, geifern': *subbelen* 'sudeln.'

114. N. *simla* 'gather small and scattered objects': *samna*, *samla* 'gather, collect': *sumla* 'gather carelessly and hastily; grab together.'

115. N. *sisla* 'trickle, run gently': *susla* 'dabble, paddle in.'

S. dial. *sissa* 'mingere (of children)': *sussa* 'sleep soundly (of children); hum to sleep.'

Dutch. *sissen* 'hiss, whizz, sizzle': *sussen* 'appease, hush, smother.'

OF. *sissen* 'zischen': *sūsen*, *susen* 'sausen, brausen, schwirren.'

Westf. *sisen* 'zischen (von angezündetem Schiesspulver)' : *susen* 'sausen, schlafen, summen.'

Hess. *sisen* 'zischend siedend oder brennen' : *sich sösen* 'sich beruhigen; nachlassen (vom Schmerze)' : *sūsen* 'in vollem Sieden sein' : *sausen* 'durch Wiegen einschlāfern.'

116. N. *sirra* 'drip at small intervals; whimper; whine' : *surra*, 'hum, buzz, murmur, whisper, put to sleep.'

117. N. *siga* 'trickle, run slowly, ooze, sag, crawl on' : *suga* 'suck.'

S. *sickla* 'scrape' : *sucka* 'sigh deeply.'

E. *sicker* 'seep' : *suck* 'draw in with the lips.'

Thur. *sickern* 'fein regnen' : *sucken* 'saugen.'

Els. *sickre* 'sickern' : *suckle* 'langsam saugen.'

Bav. *sickern* 'sintern, abrinnen' : *suckeln* 'saugen.'

118. E. *spit* 'spucken,' dial. *spitter* 'rain or snow slightly; sputter' : *spat* 'give a light resounding blow; quarrel slightly,' *spatter* 'splash, especially with mud' : *sputter* 'spit in small drops, throw out small drops with crackling noise,' dial. 'run quickly and cause a commotion.'

118a. E. dial. *spaddle* 'make dirt, make a litter; shuffle in walking' : dial. *spuddle* 'dig lightly and ineffectively, rake about, muddle, be uselessly busy, stir a liquid, make a mess.'

119. E. dial. *splitter* 'make a spluttering noise' : dial. *splatter* 'splash, bedaub, wade noisily in water or mud; walk or run with a rattling noise; scatter abroad; knock down' : *splutter* 'sputter,' dial. 'splash, slaver, spit, gush out with a sharp noise, spill in an awkward, dirty manner; make a great fuss about a trifle.'

120. N. *sprita* 'spirt, squirt in a fine stream' : *spruta* (strong verb -u-au-o) 'spout, gush.'

S. *spritta* 'jerk, jump, start, thrill, sparkle,' *spritsa* 'scintillate' : *sprätta* 'rip up; shoot; scatter; splutter; flaunt' : *spruta* 'squirt, spout.'

121. Hess. *schmattern* 'auseinanderspritzen (von weichem Kot)' : *schmuttern* 'faulig riechen.'

Els. *schmatze* 'schmatzen, schnalzen, schmauchen' : *schmutze* 'Fett an die Speisen tun.'

Bav. *schmatzen* 'schmatzen, schmatzend küssen, schmatzend

auf die Erde fallen lassen' : *schmätzen* 'schwätzen, reden,' *schmetzeln* 'lächeln' : *schmotzen*, *schmutzeln*, 'lächeln.'

122. Westf. *smiederig* 'dünn, schwach' : *smadderig* 'schmierig' : *smuederig* 'drückend warm.'

123. E. *smash* 'hurl with a crash, crush, beat severely' : dial. *smush* 'mash, crush to powder, eat bit by bit and secretly anything got in an improper manner; waste or decay slowly,' dial. *smushle* 'eat slowly in secrecy; waste slowly; drizzle.'

124. E. dial. *smicker* 'smile, grin, smirk' : *smack* 'make a noise with the tongue or lips,' dial. 'sound, give forth a loud report.'

Dutch *smakken* 'hurl, fling, fall, knock; smack' : *smokken* 'kiss,' *smokkelen* 'smuggle, cheat, filch.'

WVl. *smakken* 'slap on the water (of fish)' : *smokken* 'smack, kiss,' *smokkelen* 'eat with pleasure and smackingly.'

OF. *smikke*. *smik* 'klatschendes Ende der Peitsche, Schmiss, Hieb, Wunde' : *smēken* 'streicheln, liebkosen' : *smakken* 'schmatzen' : *smōken* 'schmauchen, rauchen, qualmen' : *smukken* 'drücken, küssen, kosen,' *smukkeln* 'schmuggeln, schleichen, Schleichwege gehen.'

Westf. *smicken* 'mit einer Rute schlagen' : *smacken* 'hörbar essen' : *smucken* 'klatschen,' *smuckeln* 'anhaltend küssen.'

Els. *schmicke* 'einen Schlag mit der Peitsche versetzen, mit fliegender Angel fischen' : *schmacke* 'schmecken, riechen, ausstehen' : *schmucke* 'schmuggeln, sich einhüllen, heucheln.'

Bav. *schmecken* 'riechn, schmecken' : *schmuckeln* 'übel riechn.'

125. S. *stappla* 'totter, stagger, stutter' : *stupa* 'stumble, tumble.'

Dutch *stippen* 'point, steep, speckle' : *stappen* 'step, tread, walk' : *stoppen* 'fill, stuff, cram, block up.'

OF. *stippen* 'oberflächlich in etwas hineinstossen' : *stappen* 'den Fuss auf etwas niedersetzen, treten.'

Westf. *stippen* 'mit der Spitze hineintunken; mit der Nadel in etwas stechen' : *stuppeln* 'unsicher gehen.'

Pr. *stippen* 'tippen, täpfen, tunken, eintauchen' : *stappen* 'stapfen, schreiten, gehen.'

Stieg. *schtippen* 'tupfen, mit der Fingerspitze berühren, tunken' : *schtuppel* f. 'Stoppel, Halmstumpf.'

125a. *stibba* 'walk with short, stiff, small steps like a little child' : *stabba* 'walk slowly, swayingly; walk with short stiff steps like an old man' : *stubba* 'walk with short stiff steps, = *stabba*; fall down, pull oneself firmly back; wear out; dissolve part by part.'

126. E. *stamp* : *stump*.

Bav. *stimpfen* 'sticheln, kritteln, schmähen' : *stampfen*, 'stampfen; stempeln.'

127. S. dial. *stirna på* 'stiffen with cold' : dial. *stara* 'stare' : dial. *stura* 'be downcast; do nothing,' dial. *sturna* 'start, be suddenly frightened.'

128. D. *stikke* (c.) 'small slender cane' : *stok* 'stick, cane.'

OF. *stikke*, *stik* 'kleiner, dünner Stock, Stift' : *stok* 'Stock.'

Pr. *Staks* m. 'Stich' : *Stucks* m. 'Stoss.'

129. N. *stigla* 'walk haltingly or slowly, with careful steps, blunder, stutter' : *stagla* 'walk stiffly and stumblingly.'

130. N. *stripla* 'let drip slowly; drip slowly, milk dropwise; strip off' : *strupla* 'wade in mire or mud; prattle, jabber.'

Dutch *stribbelen* 'cavil, wrangle, carp' : *strobbeelen* 'stumble, make a false step; be scandalized at.'

Els. *strable* 'zappeln' : *verstruble* 'zerzausen.'

131. E. dial. *stram* 'bang, beat, walk noisily' : dial. *strom*e 'stride, walk with long steps, roam about' : dial. *straum* 'stride, swagger, stretch out' : *strum* 'strum, strike the chords,' dial. 'be pettish' : dial. *strime* 'stride, pace.'

132. OF. *strampeln* 'heftig mit den Füßen schlagen, stossen, zappelnd bewegen' : *strumpeln* 'gebrechlich, steif, stockend, lahmend, hinkend gehen; humpeln, stolpern.'

Pr. *strampeln* 'die Füße lebhaft tretend bewegen; kurze Tritte machen' : *strompeln*, *strumpeln* 'straucheln, hinfallen überhaupt.'

133. S. dial. *stritta* (strong verb-a-u) 'spirt out suddenly and violently' : dial. *strätta* 'splash, spill, squirt quickly from a hole; paulatim mingere; have diarrhoea (of small children)' : *strutta* 'walk with a stooping, hobbling walk; hop about; jolt.'

D. dial. *stritte*, *strette* 'walk with short steps, affectedly' : *stratte* 'go about for amusement only, without purpose.'

134. N. *snafsa* 'smack, eat greedily, snap after' : *snufsa* 'draw the breath audibly up through the nose, snuff; watch, scent out; spy.'

D. *snip* (c.) 'tip, end' : *snappe* 'snatch, snap' : *snuppe* 'hook, nab.'

E. *snip* 'cut quickly with scissors' : *snap* 'break short or at once; bite at, catch at' : dial. *snop* 'strike sharply and smartly; slap, chip, break; snap, be snappish.'

Groningen *snippeln* 'Bohnen in sehr dünne Scheiben schneiden' : *snappen* 'fassen, begreifen, verstehen.'

Dutch *snippen*, *snipperen* 'chip, clip, snip' : *snappen* 'snatch, catch; tattle' : *snoepen* 'eat in secret, buy in secret; have venial commerce.'

WVL. *afsnippen* 'snip off, cut off in small pieces' : *snappen* 'seize hastily,' *afsnappen* 'take off hastily.'

OF. *snippen* 'schnippen, knipsen, schnellen' : *snappen* 'schnappen, springen, schnellen, fliegen' : *snopen*, *snōpen* 'naschen' : *snip-snap-snaven* 'kleinere Naschereien.'

Westf. *snippeln* 'schnitzen' : *snappen* 'fangen, zu beißen suchen; nach Luft schnappen' : *snuppen* 'naschen.'

Pr. *schnippen* 'schnippen,' *schnippeln* 'in kleine Stückchen schneiden' : *schnepieren* 'schnappend schliessen (die Tür)' : *schnappen* 'schnappen,' *schnappeln* 'die Spitze der Gänsekielfeder abknipsen, abschnappen' : *schnuppen* 'schnupfen.'

Moselfr. *schnäppich*, Siebenb. *geschnapperich* 'vorlaut' : Moselfr. Siebenb. *geschupperich* 'naschhaft.'

Hess. *schnippen* 'sich schneuzen' : *schnappen* 'unversehens von einem Rande hinabfallen; hinken.'

Thur. *schnippen* 'schnellen, zappelnd in die Höhe springen; rasch schleudern; kleine Stücke schneiden' : *schnappen* 'mit der Peitsche knallen, fangen' : *schnuppen* 'naschen.'

Stieg. *schnippen* 'in kleinen Stücken abschneiden' : *schnäp'n* 'weit ausholend schlagen, dass es klatscht' : *schnäppen* 'schnappen, fangen, erhaschen.'

NHD. *schnippen* : *schnappen* : *schnuppern*, *schnupfen*.

Els. *schnippere* 'mit dem Finger fortschnellen' : *schnappe* 'schnappen; gähnen; gierig essen; wanken,' *schnappere* 'schneiden, viel reden' : *schnuppe* 'nach etwas, das andern gehört, heimlich suchen; herumwühlen und suchen,' *schnuppere* 'schnuppern; schnellen, rash fliegen.'

Bav. *schnipfen* 'mit leichter, flinker Bewegung nehmen, eine Kleinigkeit entwenden; kleine Stückchen von etwas schneiden; in kurzen Zügen trinken; schluchzen,' *schnippfezen* 'schluchzen,' *schnippeln* 'kleine Stücke von etwas schneiden' : *schnuppen* 'eine kurze Bewegung machen; schnappen,' *schnepfern* 'schwätzen, plaudern' : *schnappen* 'schnappen' : *schnopfen*, *schnopfezen* 'schnupfen, schnüffeln,' *schnoppfern*, *schnuppfern* 'herumriechen.'

134a. S. *snabba sig* 'hurry, rush' : *snubbla* 'stumble,' dial. *snubba* 'cut to make shorter, stub.' Cf. perhaps also No. 134 Els. and Bav.

134b. E. *sniff* 'snuff sharply,' dial. 'court, woo, whimper,' dial. *sniffle* 'sniff; cry, whimper; be slow in motion or action, trifle,' *snivel* 'run at the nose, weep sniffingly' : dial. *snaff* 'sniff in a noisy, surly, or derisive manner, find fault in a surly manner,' dial. *snaffle* 'speak through the nose, talk nonsense; saunter; steal; entangle, ruffle' : dial. *snuffle* 'snuffle, breathe heavily through the nose, talk through the nose' : *snuff* 'draw into the nose, smell,' *snuffle* 'breathe hard through the nose,' dial. 'snub, disappoint.' Cf. perhaps also No. 134N.

135. N. *snatra* 'puff, spout; crackle' *snutra* 'sniff after, pry, rummage for.'

E. dial. *snitter* 'laugh in a suppressed manner; titter, sneer' : dial. *snutter* 'snigger, snore.'

Dutch *snateren* 'chatter, prattle' : *snoteren* 'snivel; cry; wean' : *snuiten* 'snuff a candle; blow the nose; cheat.'

OF. *snittern* 'mit fein u. scharf tönendem Geräusch oder schwirrendem Ton rasch durchschneiden, sich bewegen oder fliegen' : *snetern*, *snätern* 'rasseln, klirren, schmettern' : *snatern* 'schnattern, plappern,' *snattern* 'klappern, rasseln.'

135a. Lux. *schnadderen* 'schnattern, vor Kälte; viel u. schnell reden' : *schnuddelen* 'Nasenschleim triefen; kritisieren.'

136. E. *sneeze* 'niessen' : dial. *snooze* 'doze.'

137. Bav. *schnallen* 'knallen,' *schnalzen* 'schnalzen' : *schnullen* 'saugen.'

138. E. *sneer* 'show contempt, deride' : *snore* 'schnarchen.'

Groningen *snirten* 'backen, braten' : *snarren* 'prahlen, aufschneiden.'

Dutch *snerken* 'fry, rattle in the pan' : *snorken* 'snore, snort, boast,' *snorren* 'whiz, rattle, hum; drive a stage-coach.'

Wvl. *snerken* 'hurt,' *snerten* 'of a sharp, grating, unpleasant sound' : *snarren* 'schnurren,' *snaren* 'move quickly and hurriedly' : *snorren* : 'grunt.'

OF. *snîren*, *sniren*, *snirren* 'ein feines, zischendes oder scharfes, helles und durchdringendes Geräusch machen; braten, prasseln; mit scharfem, schrillum Tone sprechen' : *snarren* 'schnarren; rasch und hart tönen; mit schnarrender Stimme sprechen; lärmern; pochen, prahlen' : *snoren*, *snören* 'bummeln, faulenzern' : *snûren*, *snuren*, *snurren* 'ein dumpf tönendes u. schwirrendes Geräusch machen; schnurren, surren, sausen; strolchend herumvagieren.'

Westf. *snarren* 'beissen wollen, um sich schnappen,' *ansnarren* 'anschnauben, anschnauzen, anfahren' : *snurren* 'schnurren (von der Katze); erbetteln.'

Wald. *šnaren* 'schnarren; Gaumen-statt Zungen-*R* sprechen' : *šnuren* 'schnurren (von Spinnrade oder der Katze); dahinsausen.'

Pr. *schnirkzen*, *schnirzen* 'Wasser durch die Zähne schnellen' : *schnarken* 'schnarchen, schwatzen,' *schnarren* 'eine Knarre in lärmende Bewegung setzen; laut u. viel reden; lärmern; ohne Verständniss reden' : *schnorren* 'schnurren, umherziehend betteln' : *schnurr schnurz* interj. 'schallnachahmend zur Bezeichnung des Tones, den das Zerreißen eines gewebten Zeuges verursacht.'

Stieg. *schnârñ* 'schnarren' : *schnurn* 'schnurren, zitternd tönen; lügen, fabeln; bettelnd umherziehen; sich zusammenziehend kleiner werden.'

NHD. *schnarren*, *schnarchen* : *schnurren*.

Els. *schnarre* 'schnellen; sich, besonders im Kreise, schnell bewegen; sausen; schlagen; sich irren' : *schnurre* 'schnurren sausen (von Maschinen, Wassar, etc.); schnell laufen, eilen; brummend schelten; betteln.'

Bav. *schnerreren* 'schnarren, plappern; schreien wie gewisse Vögel' : *schnarren* 'schnarren, plappern' : *schnurren* 'schnurren, zornig reden, schlendern, bettelnd u. musizierend umhergehen.'

Tir. *schnarren* 'schnarren, essen' : *schnurren* 'brummen, sich laut u. unwillig äussern.'

[To be continued]

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PIERS PLOWMAN, THE WORK OF ONE OR OF FIVE A REPLY

I ought perhaps to apologize for offering today a refutation of Professor Manly's refutation of my refutation of his refutation of the usually accepted ideas concerning *Piers Plowman*. In the new article published by him in *Modern Philology*, July, 1909, he announces further statements for the time when he shall have "found a method for presenting some of his results that satisfies him;" and he also complains that in my own article of January, 1909, the "arrangement of parts is skilfully devised to break such force as the arguments of the adversary may have when properly massed and valued."¹ To avoid censure, it would apparently be better to wait till he had himself massed all his arguments.

But, without forestalling what may pertain to the future, it is, I hope, not amiss to answer now what has been propounded up to now, and to state the reasons why, after having studied Professor Manly's new essay, I persist in my former belief. I shall content myself, for the time being, with making one general statement, and offering a series of remarks which I noted down as I read the attempted refutation.

I

My general statement is to the effect that, in the maze of all those denyings and contestings, and those recurring assertions that

¹ Pp. 41 and 2.

the disputant has not understood or not quite understood his opponent, that his "new 'connecting link' is too weak to sustain even its own weight," that he has missed the point, etc., the reader may well miss the point too and forget what question is at stake and what Professor Manly has undertaken to prove.

As I recalled at the beginning of my first article, from the fourteenth century to the twentieth, *Piers Plowman*—a very characteristic poem, none truly like it—has been considered the work of one man; such testimonies as we possess are unanimous; there is not one to the contrary. Professor Manly does his best to diminish their value: not improbably, however, he would be glad if he had a tenth of it on his side, but it is a fact that he has none.

Such being the case, he comes forth with a theory of his own, which he must make good, and according to which *Piers Plowman* is not the work of any Langland at all, but was written by four different men; he even says five, but I persist in not counting John But and his few lines. These four men, having the same interest in the same problems, the same modesty, the same taste for anonymity, being all of them "men of notable intellectual power, and of ideas and aims of the same general tendency (notwithstanding individual differences)," being all of them "sincere men, interested primarily in the influence of their satire and finding themselves in hearty sympathy, despite minor differences, with the poem as it reached them" (pp. 2, 17), took up, we are told, the work in turn, remodeled it, each according to his own will, spoiling, in spite of their "notable intellectual power," many passages, and failing to understand others—the spoilings and failures being moreover of such grievous nature that a difference of authorship is thereby evidenced. Hence, of course, the necessity of admitting the remarkable phenomenon that each of those sincere men, of notable intellectual power, with a fondness for political and religious allegory, was careful to die, mothlike, as I said, just as he had "laid" his poem. Else, how would the sincere and clever predecessor have allowed his work to go about the world garbled, as we hear, mangled, and tagged with continuations not his own?—especially when a continuation had been contemplated from the first, and had even, as I have shown¹ been

¹ P. 7 of my article in *Modern Philology*, January, 1909.

foreshadowed in the part allotted by Professor Manly to the earliest of his supposed four poets.

If the garblings and failures to understand are so deep, great, and grievous as to denote a difference of authors, the surviving authors, one or two of them at least, would have given his own continuation, but none did. Professor Manly cannot say both that those faults and differences are so great as to demonstrate a difference of authorship, and that they are not so great as to have tempted any of his authors 1, 2, and 3 to protest and to set right the misdeeds of his authors 2, 3, and 4.

When Jean de Meun wrote his conclusion for the *Roman de la Rose*, Guillaume de Lorris was dead; when Sir W. Alexander wrote his for Sidney's *Arcadia*, Sidney was dead, and there could not be any protests. When Marti, on the contrary, gave his continuation of *Guzman de Alfarache*, Mateo Aleman was not dead, and he hastened to write and publish his own continuation. When the so-called Avellaneda issued, nine years after the first part of *Don Quixote*, a second one of his own making, Cervantes dropped the trifling works with which he had been busy, wrote with all speed his own continuation, expressed the bitterest indignation at the audacity of the intruder, and took care to kill *Don Quixote* outright in that second part, so as to be safe in the future.

All the chances are that, in order to have existed at all, Professor Manly's modest, sincere, and clever men must have died, with due punctuality, each after he had written, so as to make room for a successor and garbler: no small wonder.¹

Given this self-assumed task, and the fact that there is not a trace of external evidence to support the theory of a quadruple authorship, the only sort of proof Mr. Manly can adduce is that resulting precisely from those mistakes, failures to notice or understand, spoilings of passages, differences in thoughts, meter, language and literary value. And he must, first, carefully separate what may be due to scribes and what to his several authors. I have pointed out how much, in the matter of dialect for example, may be due to scribes; the important article of Mr. R. W. Chambers and Mr. J. H. G.

¹ I again say nothing of John But about whom Professor Manly writes, "We hear of no protest" (p. 18). No one protested against him because no one heard of him. He could well in any case be let alone.

Grattan in the *Modern Language Review* of April, 1909, much better shows, not only that version B approximates more closely than was usually believed version A, but that, on the other hand, we are much further removed from the author's original text than was commonly supposed, several *layers* of MSS intervening between that text and those we possess: so that it is no easy matter to guess, in difficult passages, in questions of meter, dialect, etc., what is his and what may be due to what they rightly call an "editing scribe."

Professor Manly has to show, besides, that whenever, in the history of literature, such differences and mistakes as he thinks he detects, such spoilings or discardings of fine passages, have been found in the various versions or editions of a work, then, surely and invariably, a difference of author is the cause. If it can be pointed out that discrepancies as great exist between revisions or continuations of poems certainly due to the same author, his system falls through, for the discrepancies pointed out by him will be then no proof at all, and he has not two orders of proofs, he has only that one. This I consider the main point at stake, the keystone of the whole discussion.

It is not a little strange that, in his essays on the authorship of *Piers Plowman*, Mr. Manly entirely neglected this side of the question. He collected in the various versions of the poem as many mistakes and differences as he could, and without comparing them with any similar cases, drew outright from them his own conclusions, which are, as we know, of a very large order. I called attention, in my sections III and VIII, to some such parallel cases, showing how considerable differences in style, ideas, ways of thinking, meter, merit, etc., how grievous mistakes and lapsuses may be discovered in revisions or continuations certainly not due to a second, third, or fourth author, but to the original one.

I cannot help thinking that it is an inadequate answer for Professor Manly to say that, as for Ronsard, "he has not examined the revisions he made in his text" (p. 50), and that, as for *Robinson Crusoe*, he can speak only from a somewhat distant recollection, not having read it "since about 1891."

I had, to the same effect, quoted Tasso's two *Gerusalemme*, and these Mr. Manly has "examined with some care," but he has found

that, except for "the exclusion of many episodes and the systematic assimilation of the heroes to antique models," the second *Gerusalemme* is, if anything, better than the first, "usually richer and more powerful in style, more concise and more packed with meaning" (p. 52).

I shall not express any opinion of my own on the question of literary merit; my ways of thinking might differ somewhat widely from those of Professor Manly, for I see that the line added in version C of *Piers Plowman* and praised by me, in which Langland pictures himself as beholding, at the opening of his poem,

Al the welthe of this worlde and the woo bothe,

must have been, according to Mr. Manly, the work "fundamentally," not of a poet but of a "topographer" (p. 49). I certainly fail to detect the topographer. In the Tasso question, the best is, maybe, to abide by the judgment of critics who had no chance of being biased and auto-suggested by the present discussion, as they wrote before it: their verdict is not doubtful. Perhaps, however, it might be enough to recall that Mr. Manly himself recognizes, at least, that remarkable differences exist between the two *Gerusalemme*, and that there is in the second "a systematic assimilation of the heroes to antique models." When we remember the importance he attaches to a (quite imaginary, as I think) difference of merit in B's description of Wrath as compared to the other sins in A, there is nothing rash in surmising that he would have drawn a not insignificant argument in favor of a multiple authorship had he been so lucky as to find that the portraits of "Pernel proud herte" and Glotoun in version A, had been replaced by portraits of Juno and Bacchus in version B.

I may also add that, in this all-important question of comparisons,¹ I quoted just a few examples, but it would be easy to quote more: this is a ground which has as much to be cleared before we arrive at a conclusion, as the question of the "tabular presentation of statistics" which we are promised (p. 41), concerning sentence structure, versification, etc.—which presentation will have to be accompanied by a careful discrimination between what may be due to an "editing scribe" and to the author; and also and necessarily by a minute comparison with the remodelings by other writers of their own

¹ Cf. below, remark 16.

works, or by their publishing various works of their own at various periods and under different circumstances.

Such men as Rabelais, for example, will have to be remembered. His first editions are full of local and dialectal peculiarities of which no trace remains in his later revisions: "Rabelais," writes Mr. Baur, "issues in 1535 his *Gargantua*, the first edition of which seems to appeal to a public especially Lyonnese, being full of Lyonnese words and local allusions that he erased when his books reached universal fame."¹

From the point of view of changes in political or philosophical ideals, such men will have to be discussed, too, as the one concerning whose *Odes* Sainte Beuve wrote: "At each page, a violent hatred against the Revolution, a frantic adoration of monarchical souvenirs, a frenzied faith more anxious for the martyr's palm than the poet's laurel." Victor Hugo must surely have been several men, since it is that staunch supporter of democracy whom Sainte Beuve could thus describe once in an article in the *Globe*.

Concerning the more or less suitable changes a poet may introduce in his work—plot, style, aim, etc.—when he writes three versions of it, account will have to be taken of authors whom we can speak of with certainty, because they are modern, and that we know exactly what occurred in their case, and whether they were one each or several.

A conspicuous example of a treble version has been recently studied by Mr. Christian Maréchal, who certainly never heard of the present controversy, and who writes of those three versions in words strangely similar to those used by Professor Manly with regard to *Piers Plowman*, except that he notices greater and more striking differences in the case of Lamartine and the various texts of his *Jocelyn*.

Three versions of this poem,² the two first left unfinished, have come down to us in manuscript. As first conceived, and as appears from the text of version I, the poem was to be short, with well-defined aims, no wanderings, imagination being held in check, a sense of measure governing the whole. Lamartine calls it at that time

¹ A. Baur, *Maurice Scève*, 1906, p. 60.

² *Jocelyn inédit de Lamartine, d'après les manuscrits originaux* (the name of the hero is written thus in all the MSS), Paris, 1909, Introd. chap. II, "Les trois Poèmes."

a *poemetto*, and says: "cela aura quatre chants," of which we have two, but we possess the plan of the two others. His firm intention to continue it in the same style, and the pleasure he took in that style, are shown by a letter to his best friend, Count de Virieu, in which he writes: "This is my masterpiece; nothing of this sort will have been read before."¹ A strong argument this, in favour of a multiple authorship in case changes were to occur; and they did.

In version II, grave alterations are noticeable; the poet, writes Mr. Maréchal, "is carried away by an inspiration, generous no doubt, but perhaps too rich, and of which, in any case, he is no longer the master." The third canto now contains what was to be the conclusion of the second. He adds "fine episodic digressions for which there was no room in the first plan." In this state, "the poem differs as much from the first version as from the last. It differs from the first by the abundance of descriptions . . . by the lack of equilibrium," etc. It differs even more from the third, where the very groundwork of the poem, its religious and philosophical aim, are deeply altered. While the hero of the second version "reached religious resignation through his trials," in the third he becomes "the man of nature . . . indomitably standing against religious and social order, to which he opposes his rights and whose victim he thinks he is." The goal we thus reach is the antipodes of that for which we had started: the poet had begun with the intention of offering us a kind of soul's tonic, and he leaves us "languid and weakened."

Literary differences are no less glaring between the three versions. In the first text, the "sense of measure and proportion" is remarkable; indeed, far more so than in Langland's version A. "The action," says Mr. Maréchal, "proceeds and develops with a regularity which is reassuring and shows the poet ever the master of his inspiration. On the contrary, after the first part of the second epoch," a word Lamartine chose, on second thoughts, instead of canto, as Langland chose *passus*, "description assumes disquieting proportions, and, from the fourth epoch especially, one feels that facility takes command and that discipline is silenced." Far from checking himself, the author's way of writing and composing becomes, as he

¹ Dec. 11, 1831, *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

proceeds, more and more loose. "This defect is especially perceptible in the truly extraordinary manner in which the ninth epoch is formed around a fragment originally written for the sixth, and under conditions such that Lamartine, while he wrote the several parts thereof, not only ignored the places those fragments would occupy with regard to each other, but even, as evidenced by the state of the manuscript, did not know whether they would end by forming a ninth epoch at all when put together." Version III is, to sum up, remarkable for "le relâchement de la forme."

I cannot but recommend a study of these newly published documents to anyone who may be tempted to find proofs of a multiple authorship in Langland's changes of mood, style, merit, or thoughts. He will find that the changes are greater in Lamartine; and, as they occurred in the space of four years,¹ while it took Langland nine times longer to change much less, he will reach the conclusion that, if one of the two was several men instead of only one, it must have been Lamartine, not Langland.

II

The remarks which I now beg to offer are the following ones:

1.—On the unique characteristics of Langland, I cannot but maintain word for word what I said, namely that "alone in Europe, and what is more remarkable, alone in his country, he gives us a true impression of the grandeur of the internal reform that had been going on in England during the century: the establishment on a firm basis of that institution unique then . . . the Westminster Parliament." I pointed out, in a previous work, that most of the aspirations of Langland can be paralleled by petitions of the Commons, and that no other poem offers anything of the kind, Chaucer having not even an allusion to the phenomenon, though having been himself a member of Parliament, and describing his Knight as having been one too.

This fact remains a fact. It will change nothing to show, as Mr. Manly says he will another day, that Alain Chartier gave (in the following century) "reasons for not admitting political discussion to his poetry but reserving it for prose" (p. 3). The example of

¹ Pp. xxviii, xxxiii, xlii, xlii.

² First version begun, November, 1831, third version finished, November, 1835.

Langland, and especially of Gower, who did admit political discussion in their poetry, was surely the one to have influenced Chaucer if he was to be influenced at all, but he was not. No "discussion," moreover, would have been needed for Chaucer to show that he had been impressed in some way by the colossal change that had occurred in his country, and in his country alone, in his days, before his very eyes: a word would have been enough, such a word as we find in Froissart, but he has it not. I stated this because it is so, and because it shows, with the rest, how Langland stands apart. The "implied criticism" of Chaucer which Mr. Manly thinks he detects in my words is quite out of the question.

2.—I persist in thinking that Langland was, as nearly as can be, uninfluenced and unbiased by foreign ideas, principles, and sentiments. By which I do not mean that no reminiscences of "French and Latin literature" (p. 3) can be found in his work: I pointed out myself a number of such reminiscences in my *Piers Plowman*, 1894.

3.—To ask (p. 3) whether I require the reader to "believe that Parliament had some esoteric doctrine, some high ideals of government kept secret from the people," is to lend me a hypothetical absurdity which I certainly never propounded. My plea has not only nothing to do with it but is the very reverse of it: the parliamentary changes were great and notorious; yet they found no echo in literature except in *Piers Plowman*, which by this stands alone.

How Marsiglio of Padua, the bold theorician of the first part of the fourteenth century, can be quoted (p. 4) to gainsay my statement, I fail to see. The question reflected in *Piers Plowman* is not one of theory, but one of actual and real practice, not of the first half of the fourteenth century (when that practice had not yet fully developed) but of the second; not of nations in general, but of England in particular. I say: Langland alone gives us a true impression of that English internal reform and of its grandeur—I am answered: do not forget Marsiglio of Padua who had abroad noteworthy theories before any such reform had been realized anywhere.

An argument is drawn (p. 4) from the fact that the fine line "might of the communes" etc. is spoiled in C. So it is, at least in such texts as have come down to us, but what of it? Langland, while writing in his old age the last revision of his work, sometimes

improved and sometimes spoiled it, just as was the case with Ronsard, Tasso, and others.

Professor Manly is afraid that I read into the passage "might of the communes" "very modern ideas" (p. 5), which would certainly be a grievous fault. But, without pleading that I have made for many years some study of the period and might perhaps be entitled to venture an opinion, I beg to point out that what Langland describes in these words, and what I say that he describes, is what actually took place in his days; and we have Professor Manly's own assurance that the doctrines thus condensed "were commonly and widely held among the people of England" (p. 3). I did not read anything either modern or otherwise into those lines, and scarcely did more than quote them.

Wonder is expressed thereupon (p. 5) at Langland having said nothing of the Peasants' revolt "in the poems" attributed to him: by which poems must doubtless be understood his last revision, written, as I think I showed, about 1398, that is seventeen years after the revolt, while the two other versions were written years before it. Professor Manly considers somehow that such a neglect points to a multiple authorship; this omission would be extraordinary if the three versions are by one author and quite natural if by four or five. It seems difficult to agree, especially when we remember that, according to the same critic, those four men had "ideas and aims of the same general tendency." If yet the question were maintained and we were asked to say why Langland did not mention the revolt, the answer would be: for the same cause that Shakespeare neglected to speak of "Magna Charta" in his account of a reign of which it was the most important event. Professor Manly merrily asks if Langland was "alone in England ignorant of [these things];" let him put the same question to Shakespeare.

4.—I had spoken of Langland as having his work "for his life's companion and confidant." Professor Manly answers (p. 6) that then his "carelessness and indifference concerning the condition in which his poem was published . . . is, to say the least, remarkable."—But it has nothing out of the common. Care for the work and care for the copies (and in our days for the proofs) of the work do not necessarily go together. Examples are not hard to find of people

who put their soul in their writings and who neglected to see that the copies going about were correct; the names of Shakespeare and Sidney will, I suppose, occur to everybody. Mr. Manly insists on the fact that I spoke of the Visions as being Langland's "continuous occupation," the subject of his "constant occupation," he being "constantly occupied with his text" (pp. 5, 7, 19). I never said that he was constantly occupied with the copies of his text—and besides I did not use at all, to any such intent, the words "constant," "constantly," "continuous."¹

5.—Concerning scribes and what I had said of their possible mistakes, Professor Manly has recourse throughout his article to much irony and banter in order to persuade his readers that I attributed more than their due to "those careless professional scribes" to the "persistent carelessness of the scribes . . . [which] must have sorely irritated the professional soul of W. Langland" to that scribe who "is surely a most troublesome person."² This sort of *leit-motiv* recurs from place to place.

I have only to point out that, in their independent work, and after the most minute inspection of the *Piers Plowman* MSS that was ever made, Messrs. Chambers and Grattan lay to the door of "the careless scribe," much more than I ever did. "What Dr. Moore has," they say, "remarked of the early MSS of the *Divine Comedy*, is equally true of the MSS of *Piers Plowman*: their writers are not exact copyists, but editors, although working without an editor's sense of responsibility."³ They show, moreover, that the best texts we possess have sometimes undergone twice in succession the revision of an editing scribe, so that we are necessarily, at times, rather far from the original composition. The two best MSS of A are the Vernon and the Harleian ones, of which our authors say that, not only they were edited by their scribes, but that "their common ancestor was also an edited MS." The same critics detect "sophistication" in certain texts of the Visions, and they do not refer it to the author or to several authors with a mangling disposition, but only to scribes.⁴

¹ The only place where I find, in my article, the word "constantly" used with reference to this is at p. 17, where it comes in only to be qualified in the remark that Langland had "more or less constantly" beside him a text of his poem.

² Pp. 7, 18, 35.

³ *Modern Language Review*, April, 1909, p. 368.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

Professor Manly finds it "somewhat difficult to understand the relations [of these careless professional scribes] to Langland" (p. 7). He is very lucky if he finds it only somewhat difficult. Such relations, about which he has many jokes, are one of the hardest problems of mediaeval literature. The best authority in such matters pronounces it "insoluble." We can only make suppositions, but we can make more probable ones than those Professor Manly playfully recommends to our acceptance; either that in which he gives to the author's wife and daughter a part to play, or that according to which "the admiration and interest of [amateur copyists] would have led them to ask the author where these loose slips and fly-leaves belonged" (p. 7).—They would in fact never have asked, because they would never have noticed. In such an irregular work, discrepancies are not very striking: and they struck no one, in fact, neither scribe, printer, nor literary critic, for five centuries, until Professor Manly himself pointed out two or three (and I one more).

Some of the reasoning in the same paragraph is difficult to follow, more difficult to accept. "Were the scribes," Professor Manly asks, p. 7, "paid by other men who had read or heard of the poem and wished copies for themselves? If [this] be assumed, what becomes of the mystery in which the author enveloped his identity?"—As if it were an extraordinary phenomenon, an unheard-of thing, that an anonymous poem, or one whose author is but doubtfully known, may have become famous and the copies sought for.

In the same paragraph again we are referred to C, XIV, 117 ff., with the intent of showing that Langland evinces there his aversion for the scribe who copies carelessly, and that he would therefore have keenly resented the misdeeds of any such when his own work was at stake—just as if he had been another Chaucer. But in that passage, Langland simply enumerates what defects make a "chartre chal-angable" before the courts;¹ it is a very special case, as far removed as can be from the copying of poetical MSS, and it is very bold to deduce from it conclusions as to the poet's personal views about

¹A charter is chalangable · by-for a chief Justice,
Yf fals Latyn be in that lettere · the lawe hit enpugneth,
Other peynted par-entrelgnarie · parcels over-skipped;
The gome that so gloseth chartres · a goky is yholden.
So is he a goky by god · that in the godspel failleth.

scribes in general, and about the trouble he must have taken to personally correct the copies made of his own work.

Such an attitude as Langland's has nothing wonderful. Cervantes knew of the criticisms made as to the strange way in which the stealing of Sancho's ass is narrated in the first part of *Don Quixote*; he wrote a kind of defense nine years later, but does not seem to have troubled himself in the interval to verify how the text stood that had been so criticised, and it is very difficult to make his reply fit (as shown below, remark 16) either those criticisms, or the passages doubtfully his, or even those certainly written by himself. Yet he was not indifferent to his work; far from it, as his indignation against the author of a sham continuation sufficiently shows.

Referring, p. 8, to MSS Univ. Coll. Oxford, and Rawlinson Poet. 137 which contain a "jumble of incoherent facts" (read patches; Mr. Manly's own scribe must have betrayed him), Professor Manly objects, that "the confusion was not in the author's MS, but in a later copy." I quite agree and ever did, and do not see how my words can be taken to mean that I believed the scribes to have had, in this case, Langland's autograph in their hands. My words were to the effect that the two MSS in question were copied "from the same original which offered a good text," though the leaves had been disarranged, and this certainly does not point to the author's autograph. I had quoted this example in a note,¹ simply to recall to what extent scribes *could* carry carelessness and indifference to sense: there were, as the event shows, scribes negligent enough to issue such copies without noticing their absurdity; any text given men of their stamp with leaves or slips in a wrong order would be copied by them unflinchingly wrong. Such accidental misplacings as might happen in Langland's own MS (and it so turns out that, judging by the result, they were neither numerous nor glaring and easy to detect) would pass unnoticed by scribes like these, and by many of their betters.

6.—There is, in Professor Manly's article, a good deal of discussion (pp. 9 ff.) concerning what I said of Langland's allowing copyists to transcribe his work at various moments when it was in the making. I am quite willing to wait till Messrs. Chambers and Grattan have finished their inspection of the MSS. But whatever may be thought

¹ Note 3, p. 4 of my article. Cf. Chambers and Grattan, *ut supra*, p. 376.

or discovered with respect to each of the separate examples I quoted, the author did, at all events, to a notable extent, what I said, as his poem was indeed ever in the making, and as, when text A was allowed to be copied, the poem was not finished; when B was made public it was not finished either, and when C appeared the work was left definitively incomplete.

I continue firmly convinced that, from the first, the author had in his mind, as the subject of his work, the three episodes that are in it (the last being left unfinished), namely the episodes of Meed, of Piers, and of Dowel-Dobet-Dobest; and that, contrary to what Professor Manly alleges (p. 12), the A text was not, in the poet's thought, a complete whole. Various mentions in A of Dobet and Dobest are quoted by Professor Manly to sustain his theory, but we find nothing there save a preparation for what was to follow at a later period, and it is only of Dowel that we really hear in that version. The rubrics in MSS seem to me to give a correct idea of what was planned by the author as early as version A. At the end of *passus viii*, where we had first become acquainted with Dowel, we read: "*Incipit Vita de Do-wel, Do-bet et Do-best*," and it cannot be pretended that A gives us thereupon anything more than the "*Vita de Do-wel*." In other words, three so-called lives were contemplated, but people, when A was copied and made public, got only one. There was, for the author, a continuation to write, and he wrote it later.

7.—I had said that the Visions exist: "That they were written by someone cannot be considered a rash surmise. Of that one we know little, but that little is considerably better than nothing, better than in the case of more than one mediaeval work of value."¹ Mr. Manly asks thereupon: "What of the logical process by which we pass to the assumption that someone is some *one*?" (p. 13). There is in my sentence no such trickery as Mr. Manly thinks he has discovered: the meaning is, I believe, clear and justifiable enough; and that meaning is, as made evident by the text, that those Visions did not write themselves; and that we know something—not much but yet something—of one, and only one, who is one indeed and not five, judging by all the notes, allusions and references that we possess about him, and which I thereupon enumerate—of one who actually did write the Visions.

¹P. 7 of my article.

8.—Continuing, Professor Manly writes:

But, says Mr. Jusserand, for the unity of authorship of these poems and for the name of the author, we have abundant evidence. In the first place, "without exception, all those titles" . . . (etc.). But here, as often, Mr. Jusserand insists upon arguing concerning B and C, when the question at issue concerns the A text. The old habit of regarding A, B, and C as inseparable, even for the purposes of study, is too strong (p. 13).

Rash assertions, lack of method, persistency in following a wrong course: many faults are thus laid at my door. What is there in all these accusations?—Exactly nothing. First, I did not use at all the word "abundant," but I maintain that what we have is much better than nothing, especially as, in my judgment, no evidence of any weight has been, up to now, produced against it. As for the misdeed of arguing about one version when the question at issue concerned another, the inaccuracy of such a statement is easily demonstrable. In that part of my essay, I had been explaining that the complete poem, with the three episodes of Meed, Piers, and Dowel-Dobet-Dobest had been in the author's mind from the first, from the time indeed when he wrote version A, even from the time when he wrote what Professor Manly considers as the first part of A, that is the first eight passus. These three episodes had, from the earliest moment and ever after, formed, I believe, one whole. To show this I *first* examined, quite apart, p. 7 of my essay, what an inspection of the text of version A had to tell us on this side of the problem; *secondly* I passed on, p. 8, to a different consideration, viz., to an examination of what bearing the titles, colophons, and marginal notes in whatsoever MSS of the poem, might have on this question and on the question of authorship. The two examinations, the two demonstrations, are quite apart. Professor Manly ignores the first, and coming to the second (about which he says, "In the first place"), declares that I "insist" upon mixing irrelevant questions, "as often," led astray by "the old habit," etc. This way of reasoning is not, I consider, to be commended.

9.—Professor Manly contests (p. 15) that the line:

I have lyved in londe, quod I· my name is longe Wille,

—B, XV, 148.

gives us, as a note in MS Laud 581 asserts, "the name of thauctour" (if there was any note of this sort alluding to several authors,

it would not perhaps be treated so lightly, but there is none). He alleges that it might be analogous to the American saying: "I'm from Missouri, you'll have to show me." It is troublesome for him that the same author, as I persist in considering him, who says here, "My name is longe Wille," says elsewhere that he was really and actually "long" of stature: "to long . . . lowe for to stoupe" (C, VI, 24), which connects him again with the words "longe Wille," used as a surname or nickname to designate him. Mr. Manly has, in any case, to confess that he knows of no "other" example where the words Long Will are taken with the ironical sense he suggests: it is a great pity, because just a second example would have helped us so much to believe in the first.

10.—The value of John Bale's notice concerning Langland is, of course, reduced to a minimum by Professor Manly (p. 16). I know very well that Bale is not infallible; he brings, however, in favour of the system I adhere to, the weight, such as it is, of a learning and love of English letters which were not of the lowest order; and I suppose again, as in the case of the notes in MSS, that if he had made even a vague allusion to the possibility of a multiple authorship, Professor Manly would not have disdained making good use of his statement.

11.—Coming to John But, Professor Manly writes: "John But's continuation, slight as it is, is of importance, because it shows that men did not hesitate to continue or modify a text that came into their hands" (p. 17). One might write just as well: John But's continuation, slight as it is, is of importance because it shows that "men" who wrote a continuation did not hesitate to give their name. Mr. Manly says that But signed "out of vanity;" his four other authors had no vanity and did not sign: they were indeed, in this too, the perfect image of one another.

12.—Concerning the Seven Deadly Sins, I consider that what I said in my section III still holds good. In his desire to show in A certain merits not to be found elsewhere, so that he might conclude the authors of the rest must have been different, Professor Manly had written of the description of the Deadly Sins in A: "Each is sketched with inimitable vividness and brevity."¹ Without insisting

¹*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 15.

on the question of the brevity of "each" (one of the sins has 76 lines, another 5), I had pointed out that such a statement was quite unfounded, the "inimitably vivid" portrait of Lechery in A being as follows:

Lechour seide 'allas!' and to ur ladi criede
 To maken him han merci' for his misdede,
 Bitwene god almihti' and his pore soule,
 With-that he schulde the Seterday' seven yer after
 Drinken bote with the doke' and dynen but ones.

—A, V, 54.

While now gainsaying his first statement and admitting that one "may feel regret that we have no such portraits of [Lechour and Sloth] as we have of Envy, Coveitise and Glotoun" (p. 20), Professor Manly maintains that this passage, in which Lechour contents himself with promising, in fact, not to be Glotoun, is not so unsatisfactory after all: "The only other remedies mentioned in the *Parson's Tale* are continence itself and eschewing the company of the tempter." It cannot but strike Professor Manly himself that, in forgetting this, the author of A, described by him as having such a "capacity for artistic and orderly development" (p. 2) has forgotten the main point, for, if I dare risk an opinion, continence is a better "remedy" for lechery than to drink water on Saturdays. As for the query (p. 20) whether the difference of treatment of the sins, some getting such a masterful portrait as Coveitise or Glotoun, and others receiving such a one as Lechour, is not due to "an artistic purpose" on the part of the author of A, I shall take the liberty of answering nothing.

13.—On the question of the names of the wife and children of Piers, I also adhere to what I formerly said. Mr. Manly objects (p. 22, and cf. p. 10) to my having lightly mentioned those lines in a footnote. I did so because that note was devoted to other examples of the same sort. But I solemnly promise that, if I ever reprint my article, I shall put what I have to say thereon in the text. I shall even show, by at least one more example, how manipulations of an author's manuscript may pass unnoticed by him, without his being two authors. I shall show and confess how this may happen even in our own modern days, even to one who has no less a task

before him than to carry on polemics with Mr. Manly. When the MS of my previous article on the *Piers Plowman* problem was returned to me with proofs, I found that my text had been submitted to a reader or corrector who had taken with it not a few liberties. As his corrections had been made in red ink in my autograph manuscript, it should have been very easy to re-correct what I did not approve of. But what gave me a shudder and made me think of old Langland, who did not have the same reasons as I to be attentive, is that in one place, the reader had, for reasons known only to himself, carried part of a sentence of mine into a quotation from *Piers Plowman*. That bit of plain prose had accordingly been printed as verse: it did not alliterate; the red mark of the corrector was very visible in the MS; yet I read my set of proofs twice without noticing the absurdity. On a last reading, I perceived and corrected it. I have preserved the MS, and the sheet is an interesting proof of what not only a "careless scribe" of the middle ages, but an attentive reader of modern times may do, and the interested author twice overlook.

14.—In the discussion concerning the misplaced Robert the Robber passage, I had mentioned that, in order to make it fit somehow the (wrong) place where he put it, the early copyist of A, to whom we owe the mistake, changed the words, "He highte zyuan," which were apparently in the original, into, "And zit I-chulle." Professor Manly does not think the scribe can have done any such thing: "Was Adam [Scrivener] then," he asks, "so sleepy that he could not see that lines 236-41 could not possibly be attached to Sloth, and yet so wide awake that he rewrote the first line?" My answer is that, for changing those three words (not the whole line), the scribe needed not be so very wide awake; while he would have been prodigiously so if he had noticed a misplacing of the whole passage, which escaped the notice of critics for centuries. It may also be recalled that, as Middleton observed, "Fools are not at all hours foolish—no more than wise men wise."

If to move the Robert the Robber passage to its proper place would have been a wonder in a scribe, it would have been, of course, more than natural in the author, when he had once noticed the mistake. Langland noticed it when he wrote his version C and corrected it. Professor Manly does not want him to have done so, and

he alleges (p. 22) that it is, in any case, very extraordinary that he did not do it before, as he had "five" occasions to correct the error—"five I say, and I emphasize it."—Mr. Manly pictures to himself a Langland who must have been (an idea all his own) full of care for the copies of his text; he believes apparently that each time the poet allowed one to be made, he must have carefully re-read his original, and doubtless compared the copy with it, in order to correct any mistake that might have crept into either. In this way would he have lost those five occasions emphasized as before said. But this is, on the part of Mr. Manly, a mere supposition, and the probabilities are quite the other way. The writer who left, in *each* of his three versions, at least one incorrect list of the Seven Deadly Sins, was not likely to take so much trouble. That he was not the man to read and revise the copies made of his text, is shown besides, not only by the state of the B version, with Robert the Robber left at the wrong place, but by that of the A version too. Mr. Manly recognizes in the author of that version (and he wants to differentiate him thereby from his supposed two or three successors, more addicted to vagaries), a man of "unerring hand," who "never himself forgets for a moment the relations of any incident to his whole plan," etc.¹ This should be the man, if any, to read and revise the copies made of his work. Yet he did not, as in each and all of the numerous MSS we have of A, the Robert the Robber passage is uniformly where it should not be.

If, on the other hand, as noted before, the author had remodeled the Robert the Robber passage when writing version B, as he remodeled innumerable others, and yet, in spite of his having worked at it, had left it at the wrong place, this would have been a strong presumption in favor of the multiple authorship theory. But it so happens that he did nothing of the sort, and the few verbal differences pointed out by Mr. Manly, these "*minutiae*" as he calls them himself (p. 23), are of the insignificant kind which can be safely referred to the scribe.

15.—I had quoted some examples to show that what had happened to Langland had also happened to others who were unquestionably one man each and not five, and who, besides, were no dreamers and

¹ *Cambridge History*, II, p. 5.

writers of allegories. Professor Manly makes light of the Roosevelt example. The former President, owing to his use of slips and to his having had two on the same subject, printed twice the same thing on the same page, read several proofs and gave several editions of his work before noticing at last the mistake, unobserved till then by all critics. Professor Manly finds this sort of thing quite intelligible on Mr. Roosevelt's part (p. 23) and quite unbelievable on the part of Langland; a judgment, the reverse of what one would have expected. He points out that, in the case of the *American Hunter*, there was nothing but a repetition of the same statement—on the same page it may be recalled, so that it should have caught the eye—but yet only a repetition. If Mr. Roosevelt or his printer had allowed, in the second of his parallel statements, "a rhinoceros to stroll into the village of the prairie dogs," he would have noticed the error. According to Mr. Manly, the mistake, uncorrected by Langland in version B of his text (but noticed and corrected in C), is of the rhinoceros kind.

But most obviously it is not, since it remained, as we know, unobserved by printers, critics, and historians for 500 years. If it had been of the rhinoceros type, somebody or other would have noticed it. This increases Mr. Manly's merit in having discovered the mistake, but does not diminish, far from it, the force, value, and appropriateness of the example I quoted.

16.—Another was mentioned by me, Cervantes being the subject thereof. Professor Manly does not accept the interpretation I had given (not on my own authority, but on that of many) of Cervantes' afterthought concerning the theft of Sancho's ass, of how a leaf or slip of his text apparently went astray, and how he failed, though he also had many "occasions" to do so, to set matters straight, and give a plausible text. Mr. Manly prefers the interpretation of the problem given by Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. He is most welcome; I have myself no reason not to prefer it too.

This high authority's account of Cervantes' temper and peculiarities as an author, peculiarities bringing about consequences strangely similar to what we notice in Langland's case, shows that I ought to have insisted rather more than less on this example—

The construction is, of necessity, loose, the proportions unsymmetrical, the incident a farrago of hazard and whim. Written by fits and

starts, in snatches stolen from less congenial work, it has too often an effect of patchiness; over-elaboration and insufficiency of outline are flaunted side by side. The supplementary stories, not all triumphs in themselves, are worked in at random, with no special relevancy. . . . Chronology, method, accuracy were no hobgoblins of . . .

—thus does Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly write, not of Langland, but of Cervantes.¹ Of the latter he says also, with respect to certain inconsistencies in his text, that, “no doubt, his memory was sometimes at fault,” which may well have been the case with Langland, too. Cervantes’ intention had first been “to write a short comic story, but the subject mastered him and forced him to enlarge the scope of his original design”—a not unfrequent happening, as shown by Lamartine and his *Jocelyn* and, as we think, Langland and his *Piers Plowman*. “It is curious to reflect,” Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly continues, “that Sancho Panza is himself an afterthought. . . . So late as the ninth chapter we read of a Sancho with ‘long shanks’—a squire inconceivable!” If Sancho was an afterthought, and one imperfectly worked into the text, well may the case have been the same with Robert the Robber too. Though one author and not several, Cervantes offers, here and there, remarkable differences in merit and style: “At his best . . . he is a perfect, unsurpassable master. . . . When his attention flags, he sinks at moments into an almost slovenly obscurity.”²

Dealing with the incident of the stealing by Gines de Pasamonte of the ass which Sancho is nevertheless found riding immediately after,³ Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly’s interpretation is as follows:

It is plain that Cervantes’ MS must have contained an account of Gines de Pasamonte’s rascality. How this account came to be omitted from the first edition can only be conjectured. . . . The conception was an afterthought and may well have been written down on a loose sheet of paper which was accidentally lost.⁴

For such things will happen.

¹*The Historie of Don Quixote . . . translated by T. Shelton, with Introduction by Fitzmaurice-Kelly*, London, 1896, Vol. I, p. xxviii.

²*Complete Works of Cervantes—Don Quixote—ed. by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, translated by J. Ormsby*, Glasgow, 1901, Vol. I, pp. xvi, xxxiii.

³In the first edition there is no account of the stealing of the ass, but we suddenly find Sancho making mournful allusions to his loss of it, as if we knew how it had happened. In the second and following editions figures the passage under discussion, telling of the theft

⁴*Ibid.*, p. xv.

Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly thinks that, owing to some mishap of this sort, the first edition appeared, as it did, with two unintelligible allusions to the theft as having taken place, whereas no account of the actual deed had been given. This discrepancy being noticed by the publisher, he caused the gap to be filled by someone who was not Cervantes, and the filling was inserted by mistake at the wrong place, so that Sancho still rides, for some time, the stolen ass (other commentators are of a different opinion and even consider that the addition, which they attribute to the author himself, is of "extraordinary value").

Contemporary critics made fun of the mistake and derided the author. Cervantes was aware of it; he was also proud of his work and of its success (five editions in less than seven months); he had circulated in it MS before it was printed, and we know that he keenly resented the intrusion of a continuator. Yet he let things go, and he cared no more for the copies of his work than Langland did for those of his own; he never gave the right text, he never asked his printer to put at least the interpolation (supposing it to be one) at the right place; and the curious discrepancies in his text were allowed to stay.

Stranger still, when, nine years after the first, he gave his second part, he showed in chapters 3, 4, and 27, that he was aware something was wrong in the first part, and that it had been made fun of by certain people. He offered, by the mouth of Sancho in chapter 4, a half serious, half jocose answer—a very curious answer which shows that, even then, well aware he had been criticised, proud as he was of his work and of its success, ready, as he proved further on, to resent an intruder's tamperings, he had not taken the trouble to ascertain how the passage of his own text which he had to discuss, really stood. His apologetic remarks do not exactly fit any of the versions of the same. The objection he gives himself to answer is that he had forgotten "to say who the thief was who stole Sancho's Dapple, for it is not stated there, but only to be inferred from what is set down, that he was stolen; and a little farther we see Sancho mounted on the same ass without its having turned up."¹

This cannot apply to the second edition nor to the following ones,

¹ Part II, chap. 3.

since the passage, said to be interpolated, had been added into them with full explanations as to the stealing of the ass by Gines de Pasamonte mentioned by name. It does not apply any better to the first edition where we gather only, by two passing allusions of Sancho's, that his ass must have been stolen; where there is no account, either of the stealing or the recovery of the animal; and where it is not "a little farther," but much later in the story, that Sancho is actually seen with his ass again. The words "a little farther" fit, on the contrary, very well all the other editions where, ten lines after the account of the theft, we find Sancho "seated sideways, woman fashion, on his ass."¹

Carelessness, inattention, forgetfulness when his great work was in question; over-elaboration and insufficiency of outline appearing side by side; afterthoughts insufficiently worked into the text; parts that are masterful and others of "an almost slovenly obscurity;" indifference as to the copies or editions of his own text, a misplaced leaf remaining definitively misplaced in spite of all the occasions to correct the error (a publisher who took the trouble of having the gap filled by a third party would have welcomed, at any time, the author's own rectification)—all this and more we find in the case of Cervantes who, in spite of it all, was one single author and not several.

17.—Professor Manly objects (p. 24) to my suggestion that the lines C, IX, 84-91 are one more example of a misplaced passage. I expressed the opinion that this added speech of Piers must have, in reality, made part of his address to the Knight. Professor Manly thinks that it should stay where it is, and must be directed to Piers's own son. But Piers's son is not supposed to be present at all, only his name being given in the sort of parenthesis inserted into the Plowman's speech. As for the "unlikelihood that," as Mr. Manly says, "the peasant Piers would assume this tone with the Knight and call him 'dere sone'" (p. 25), it is scarcely necessary to recall that Piers, far from appearing there as a "peasant" pure and simple, had been given by the poet the part of leader, and had undertaken to show to all classes of society the way to truth, the Knight having personally acknowledged the old man's leadership.

¹Part I, chap. 23.

18.—“Furthermore,” Professor Manly continues, “if Mr. Jusseband accepts Professor Skeat’s view that MS Laud 581 was corrected by the author himself, or perhaps indeed his own autograph, it is worth observing ” (p. 26). No conclusion whatever should be drawn from such a surmise, restated more than once; I certainly never said a word in my article implying that I adhered to a hypothesis which, I believe, Professor Skeat does not himself adhere to any more.

19.—What I said on the Robert the Robber passage,¹ on its being rightly put, in C, at the place where it belonged from the first, on the “much lauded Welshman” (why “much lauded,” and what does that mean?), I strictly maintain; let the reader weigh the evidence. I certainly fail to see that C, as Professor Manly contends, far from improving the text, changed, at the beginning of the passage, a simple and grammatical sentence into a monster “neither the flesh of a name nor the fish of a promise, a ghastly amphibian,” etc., (p. 27). C, we are asked to believe, removed the Robber passage from a place where it made nonsense, only to put it at another where it does not fit, just what could be expected from one who was not the original author and knew no better. C, moreover, introduced in the first description of the sins (B, V; C, vii) a number of passages borrowed from other parts of text B, “And it seems clear that C had no better reason for his transfer of the Robber passage than for his transfer of the others” (p. 28). In other words, he had no good reason for either, he acted arbitrarily (not to say nonsensically): what else could be expected, since he was not the original author?—But he *was*, and acted quite sensibly, having excellent reasons in both cases for doing what he did, namely, putting the Robber passage at a place which is, I maintain, the only one for which it can have been written, and for suppressing, by the other changes, one of the descriptions of the Deadly Sins (the one in B, XIII, spots on the coat of Haukyn), two of them being fused into one. Langland felt, when writing C, and this is a not unique proof of good taste given by him when making this revision, that those descriptions were too numerous and that one could disappear with advantage.

20.—Speaking of the “much lauded Welshman,” *zyvan želd-ažeyn*,

¹Section III of my previous article, pp. 14 ff.

otherwise Reddite, Professor Manly contests the identification which I proposed of the two, though the text itself makes it plain. I had pointed out that this peculiar device (an abstract Latin word figuring also in the poem as a live being) was not used by Langland in this place only, and that what we find here in C, we had found before in A, even in what Professor Manly considers as the first part of A, the work of the earliest of his four authors.¹ On this he offers no remark.

21.—Professor Manly having, like many before him, noticed the absence of Wrath in the description of the Seven Deadly Sins in A, V, drew from this conclusions of considerable magnitude. It seemed to him that to forget one of the sins was an impossibility; the author of the first part of A especially, that precise mind who has, he thinks, “definiteness” for his characteristic and is described as so different from B, who is incapable of “consecutive thinking,” cannot possibly have made such an omission. He must have written a description of Wrath, but it must have been lost, and the lost half-leaf must have been the counterpart of another half-leaf where the poet must have written a long passage (long indeed it must have been) to properly connect the confession of Sloth with that of a thief.

Langland himself supplies the answer, for he did not omit Wrath in one list of the Seven Sins in A, but in two; so that, whatever may be the case with others, such omissions were certainly possible to him, and this is enough to seriously shake our belief in the lost half-leaf; for the poet really *could* forget a sin.

More than that, as I pointed out, what took place in the B and C revisions is, so far as it goes, evidence of a single and not a multiple authorship. This omission of one of the sins, by an author giving a description of them, “incredible” says Professor Manly (p. 31), nearly impossible as it is, is yet made in his turn by the author of B just as by the author of A, and by that of C just as by that of B; which reveals a strange similarity in the foibles of Professor Manly’s “several men of notable intellectual power.” This neither he, nor anyone, I believe, had ever observed. Yet it is a fact that B, while he notices the absence of Wrath and adds him in the two places where he was missing in A, when he has to draw up one more list himself, draws

¹ P. 23 of my article.

it wrong, forgetting Envy. C leaves this same list incomplete, with Envy still lacking. The more "incredible" such doings, the more symptomatic of a unique authorship.

Let the reader value as he may think fit the explanation now offered by Professor Manly. His explanation is that such omissions, so extraordinary in A as to justify, he considers, the belief in a hypothetical lost leaf, are very natural when B is in question. Better still, they were purposely made, they were made for "some particular reason," for a reason "not hard to discover" (p. 30), and that reason is one of art and logic: an unexpected reason, to say the least, when we remember Mr. Manly's denunciation of B's "incapacity for organized and consecutive thinking," and his "tendency to rambling and vagueness," especially "in the third vision," the one presently under consideration. Anyhow, Professor Manly's reason "not hard to discover" is to the effect that the author there enumerates the Deadly Sins, just to show that Poverty is not liable to them, and that Envy is appropriately omitted because Poverty cannot be considered as immune from it. But, if the reason imagined by Professor Manly were accepted (to the great credit of B's capacity for "organized and consecutive thinking"), Wrath should have been omitted as well as Envy, for Poverty is as liable to the one as to the other. For what cause, besides, just before they draw up their incomplete list, B as well as C is careful to point out that they are presently dealing with the 'sevene synnes that there ben" (B, XIV, 201), and to repeat once more that the "sevene synnes" are their theme (B, XIV, 218), Mr. Manly no less carefully abstains from explaining.

My own explanation, if I may venture one, is that Langland *could* omit sins in his lists, and that the three versions are by him.

22.—On the respective merits of the portrait of Wrath added by B (so unsatisfactory, according to Professor Manly, as to denote a different author) and of the portraits of the sins in A, I cannot but repeat what I said, and what I said was to the effect that, when Professor Manly stated that, in A, each sin was sketched "with inimitable vividness," he misstated the case. Let anyone who doubts read again, for example, the sketch of Lechour quoted above (remark 12). Wrath is certainly not more unsatisfactory in B than some

¹ *Cambridge History*, pp. 23, 24.

others in A, and it is difficult to understand how Professor Manly can allege that, in A, "Lechour is the lecherous man," while, in B, Wrath (represented "with two whyte eyen, and nyvelyng with the nose, and his nekke hangynge") is "in no sense the wrathful man" (p. 33). Both descriptions should be read together, without forgetting that I have shown that those attributes of Wrath in B, which Professor Manly had chosen to consider so very irrelevant, are, on the contrary, the usual, commonplace, classical ones, given to that sin by the mediaeval manuals of greatest authority. Professor Manly pretends that I "tried to answer his charge" by saying "that Envy and Wrath are so much alike that B cannot justly be criticized for giving us a portrait of Envy and labeling it Wrath" (p. 32). Yet, in spite of what Mr. Manly writes there, and repeats, p. 33, I never committed myself in such grave matters; I never presumed to say that Envy and Wrath are either alike or different; I only did what I supposed was right: I quoted contemporary texts giving what was then the accepted opinion, of more importance on those questions than mine or that of Professor Manly. I quoted some lines from the *Parson's Tale*, and might have quoted many more to the same effect, those, for example, where the Parson declares that there are three sources for "Ira," namely Pride, Envy, "and thanne stant the sinne of contumelie or stryf and cheeste," on which precisely B insists. Chaucer's Ira "stryveth eek alday agayn trouthe"—"lesynges I ymped," says Langland's Wrath in B (V, 138).

23.—Professor Manly's remark that, if there is a great difference of style between the Parson's tale and the Miller's (the author being nevertheless only one man), the cause must be that Chaucer was influenced by his original (p. 34), does not destroy my argument. It shows that, under certain influences, an author may use very different styles, and yet continue to be one and not several; those influences may come, not only from a difference of original, but a difference of time, disposition, and subject.

24.—The question of the supposed mistakes or failures to understand their supposed predecessors, attributed by Professor Manly to his several authors, is by him studied again. I persevere in my views, and referring the reader to the article in which I have developed them, I shall only offer the following observations:

In B, Professor Manly had said, "Lewte is introduced as the leman of the Lady Holy Church and spoken of as feminine." My answer, I deem, holds good: Leman meaning a "tenderly loved being of either sex," I do not see why Mrs. Lewte would not be for Lady Holy Church, just as well as Mr. Lewte would have been, a leman, or tenderly loved being. I maintain also that the only proof of B having made of Lewte a feminine personage is that, at one place, we read "hire" instead of "him," and that this is in truth no proof at all. Professor Manly cannot reconcile himself to the thought that a scribe may have been guilty of such a blunder—consisting in the change of one letter (and corrected in C). Since the change creates, according to him, nonsense, he considers that it must necessarily come from the author! To "relieve" the author of the responsibility arbitrarily laid thus on his shoulders, Mr. Manly wants "something in the text to indicate that 'hire' is a scribe's error" (p. 35). I make bold to say that this is asking too much.

25.—Professor Manly had said also, in order so show that we had to do with several authors, that in B, "Fals instead of Wrong is father of Meed, but is made to marry [*i. e.* to prepare to marry] her later." I continue to think that, here too, B is not guilty, and that the passage was improved, not spoiled, by him. If Wrong was to be at all the father, he should have been made to play a more important part than he does in A, where, so long as the marriage is in question, he does nothing, but awakens from his torpor later in a completely different episode (IV, 47 ff.) in which he entirely ceases to be alluded to as the father of Meed, though Meed is present and plays also a part in the incident: all this, in that A text, the work, we are told, of a man of "unerring hand," who "never himself forgets for an instant the relation of any incident to his whole plan."¹ No less than B and C, A was fallible.

It may be observed, on the other hand, that, according to Professor Manly, Meed was such "a desirable bride" that her father did not need to do anything in order to secure a husband for her: hence, we are told, his inactivity; the same authority finds, however, quite natural that a portion be nevertheless provided for her, not by her father, but by a friend. It seems to me that B followed the

¹ *Cambridge History*, p. 5.

dictates of common sense in suppressing useless Wrong in this episode and in giving Favel for both a father and portion-provider to Meed.

As for Fals having been written at one place for Favel in B, I pointed out that similar slips of the pen occur at different places in the *three* texts. Mr. Manly ironically insists, as usual, on that "most troublesome person" the scribe, on that "careless or meddling scribe," so as to give the impression that I attribute too much to copyists. But such is not the case, and besides I do not do it to the extent he is pleased to say. In this case, in particular, I did not attribute the blunders in question specifically and exclusively to the scribe, and Mr. Manly might have remembered that what I wrote was: "Such slips of the pen would have been difficult for any copyist *and even for any author* to avoid, in such a passage as this, with so many lines alliterating in *f*, and Favel fair speech, and Fals fickle tongue constantly succeeding one another" (p. 34 of my article). The same might very well happen also to more than one of us, and I could quote as many examples as might be deemed necessary.

26.—I shall not continue further the discussion of the supposed misdeeds of B, but shall only state that I persist in pleading not guilty for him all along the line, being unable to understand how, for example, Professor Manly can seriously ask "whether any student of *Piers Plowman* ever clearly recognized that [the] feoffment (in B, II, 74 ff) is intended to cover 'precisely the provinces of the Seven Deadly Sins,' before acquaintance with the simpler form of the A text enabled him to perceive the plan overlaid by the elaborations of B and C" (p. 39). The so-called "elaborations" which "overlay" the original plan, fill, all told, *ten* lines more in B than in A; and B can even claim that he has a right to more room than was used before, as the "simpler form of the A text" was really too simple, one of the sins having been forgotten in that version.

27.—On questions of dialect and versification, Professor Manly asks us to wait; let us. It cannot be unfair, however to note, in the meanwhile, that Miss Mary Deakin's study of the *Alliteration in Piers Plowman* has led her to the conclusion that, to all appearances, "the alliteration gives no support to Professor Manly's theory."¹

¹ *Modern Language Review*, July, 1909, p. 483.

28.—On the difference in merit between A, B, and C, denoting four different authorships, Professor Manly protests (p. 44) that he never said that the "first part of A was the best in the whole work." If I mistook his meaning, I am sorry. I may, however, recall that, after having written the words just mentioned, I quoted the very expressions used by him, at different places, in praise of the first part of A, and which had given me, and may have given others, the impression he objects to.¹ The fact has, however, no importance, as the discussion bore only on those specific qualities recognized by Professor Manly in A and which he fails to find in the supposed authors of B and C, concluding that they must be different people. I think I have shown that those differences were not at all what Professor Manly wanted us to believe, and, in particular, that what he told us of A's "unity of structure and art of composition," of the author never forgetting "for a moment the relation of any incident to his whole plan," of his superiority in this respect to B, who is incapable of "consecutive thinking" and with whom "topics alien to the main theme intrude because of the use of a suggestive word," is entirely unacceptable. I have given, I consider, glaring examples of A's aptitude for vagaries; my judgment on this propensity of his being, if anything, too indulgent. Let anyone read the original passage which I summed up in my first example, and say whether the explanation, by Lady Holy Church, of the field full of folk is at all satisfactory and answers, in any way, our ideas of sound texture. I showed, I believe, that what the lady had to explain was not hard to make clear, and would have been made so but for A's disposition to wander. Professor Manly takes exception to my having quoted the MS of the Valenciennes Passion (p. 45). I quoted it because it is the best known and oftenest reproduced. I shall not go into a discussion of the similar arrangement of the mansions of a mediaeval stage in England and in France, and shall simply recall that the scene to be described was plain and familiar enough: if we have no English MS showing such a mystery-play in action, pictures of the same scenes, with God's tower and the devil's "dungun," were to be seen in a number of churches (Shakespeare could see one in his youth at Stratford, a certainly English town) and were familiar to the many.

¹P. 39 of my article.

Professor Manly asserts, it is true, that my account of the passage is inadequate and unsatisfactory. I do not think that his is perfect, either. But take the original, and you cannot fail to find that A does exactly what B is accused by Professor Manly of doing—and accused in view of proving that the author must have been a different man: a “suggestive word” makes him treat of a “topic alien to the main theme.” The main theme was the two castles and the field full of folk, and the topic on which A insists most is drunkenness.

I had quoted, pp. 41 and 42, n. 1, several other examples of incoherence, instead of “structural excellence”, in A; Professor Manly mentions only this one and says nothing of the others, so it is perhaps needless to add that I might have quoted, and that anyone may find, as many more as may be wanted. We had been told of differences between A and B, and we find similitudes.

29.—Wanting to show, from another point of view, more differences between A, B, and C, Professor Manly had said, after he had discussed the first vision: “Only once or twice does the author interrupt his narrative to express his own views and feelings.” I had thought, wrongly as it turns out, that the first part of A was meant, and I had pointed out five examples of such interruptions instead of “one or two.” But Professor Manly’s remark, of very moderate scope indeed, applied, I see (p. 46), only to the first half of the first half of A. It remains, however, that this device was resorted to in very appreciable fashion by the author of A—of the first part of A—and that the increase in the number of such cases in B and C is more apparent than real, since the bulk of the poem was considerably increased, too, in these versions: 7241 lines in B, against 2579 in A.

30.—Professor Manly cannot conceive that an author having written a fine line, or a fine passage, or a fine poem in his youth, may spoil it or leave it out in his later years. If such spoilings or discardings are discovered, then, he thinks, two different men must have been at work. He quotes two such examples from version C: one is the fine line in A and B, “Percen with a *pater noster*” (which he deems to be only a translation of *Brevis oratio penetrat caelum*: it is luckily much more); the line is certainly spoilt in C, and spoilt to such an extent as to be meaningless, so that we may well doubt we have the real text, whether it be by Langland or by somebody else. The

other is the splendid appeal to God: "Ac pore peple thi prisoneres," which C omits altogether; Mr. Manly exclaims thereupon: "Would you not expect the man who had written those lines to preserve them? . . . Would you not really?" (p. 48).

The fact is that men are not the simple, logical and *once-for-all* individuals Mr. Manly fancies them to be, and the expectation he so fervidly expresses is doomed to be defeated, not by Langland alone, but by a number of poets and prosators of all times and countries, one man each of them, not four. Would you not expect the poet who had written the beautiful sonnet:

Je veux lire en trois jours l'Iliade d'Homère,

to preserve it? Yet Ronsard left it out of his works and never reproduced it in any edition of his writings, after 1560.

Would you not expect the man who had become famous by his *strambotti*, and had rendered poems of that kind fashionable, to preserve his? Yet Chariteo, whose reputation rested on such writings, having printed them in 1506, suppressed them in his works after 1509.

Would you not expect the man who had written the splendid sentences on music, on the stairway of the Vatican, on the Tiber and the Roman campagna, just published by the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, to preserve them? Shakespeare did not, every day, write better. Yet Châteaubriand left them among discarded fragments of the *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, and they remained unprinted till now.¹

Mr. Christian Maréchal has pointed out, in his before-quoted work, a number of passages in which Lamartine replaced admirable lines to be found in the early versions of his *Jocelyn* by more commonplace ones, or discarded them altogether.² Yet again all those men were

¹ *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, two articles by A. Feugère, April and September, 1909, pp. 584, 585, 589. Here are two of those sentences: "Je vais saluer Léon XII après avoir traversé la magnifique place de Saint-Pierre; je monte avec une émotion toujours nouvelle le grand escalier désert du Vatican, foulé par tant de pas effacés et d'où descendirent tant de fois les destinées du monde."—"Je me perdais dans ces sentiments indécis que fait naître la musique, art qui tient le milieu entre la nature matérielle et la nature intellectuelle, qui peut dépouiller l'amour de son enveloppe terrestre ou donner un corps à l'ange du ciel. Selon les dispositions de celui qui les écoute, ces mélodies sont des pensées ou des caresses."

² *Jocelyn inédit*, 1909, pp. lvii, lxiii, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi ff. Some of those fine lines, Mr. Maréchal writes, "Lamartine les a sacrifiées sans regret, mais nous ne saurions accepter d'un cœur aussi léger un pareil sacrifice," p. xcvi.

essentially artists (while Langland was not), that is, men who, if any, would have preserved the artistic products of their pen. Time and again they did not: much more could Langland act likewise, without Professor Manly being justified in cutting him into pieces.

Add thereto, that when we come to think of the hypothesis Professor Manly wants us to accept, of a new author freely remodeling another's work, of a new author who is a "sincere man," who is a man of "notable intellectual power" (and no less can be said of the poet who wrote the touching melancholy addition at the beginning of *passus vi* in C, the picturesque and realistic portraits of the lollers and sham hermits, etc.), we are free to think that those spoilings or discardings are scarcely less surprising on the part of such a supposed reviser than on the part of the author, and we might say, in our turn: Would you not expect such a reviser, finding those lines, to preserve them? . . . Would you not really?

31.—I continue unable to agree with Professor Manly on the question of the pardon granted to Piers, the only sort of pardon to fit such a being, one with the grandest and noblest import, not one certainly to be torn to pieces by that high-souled leader. The tearing to pieces is suppressed in C, to the immense advantage of the scene and dismay of Professor Manly, whose system does not apparently allow him to permit the author of C to act so well. He considers, therefore (p. 48), that it is quite natural for Piers, in B, and also in A, to destroy, out of spite, or, as Mr. Manly prefers to say, "out of grief and disappointment," the scroll giving him and his followers their rule of life—out of grief and disappointment, because he is shown by a priest of the vulgar-minded sort, by a "lewede lorel,"¹ that his bill contains the noblest precept, and is not one of those pardons which despicable pardoners "gaf for pans." Piers to be "disappointed" at that!

In A and B the passage is absolutely unintelligible and inconsistent, to the point of being a serious blemish in those versions. C immensely improved it, and in more ways than one: in the A version the pardon was twice said to have been procured from the pope, which did not fit with what followed; B suppressed one of the irrelevant allusions to the pope, and C suppressed both.²

¹ A, VIII, 123.

² A, VIII, 8, 21; B, VII, 8, 19; C, X, 8, 23.

To further diminish C's merit, Professor Manly accuses the poet of having badly joined together what he left after he had suppressed the unacceptable tearing of the scroll and suppressed also the rambling speech delivered thereupon by Piers in A (for rambling speeches, sad to say, are to be found in A, too). Well may the fault be contested,¹ but it is of small consequence. Supposing the case to be as we are told, Langland's more or less clever joining together of the two rims of the gap left by his removal of the obnoxious passage is of very little import: of such sins he was certainly capable. The removal of the lines is, on the contrary, of great import, as it leaves to Piers his true character, and makes of the whole scene one of the grandest in the poem.

32.—Professor Manly would "also like to know the meaning of B, VII, 168 (C, X, 318) . . . B and C apparently thought 'preost' was the subject of 'divinede,' whereas the subject is, of course, 'I,' implied in 'me' of l. 152" (p. 49).

The truth is that the passage is not clear, logical or grammatical in either of the three texts, and we all wish it were the only one of that sort in Langland. The author of C, whether Langland, as I believe, or a reviser, as Mr. Manly thinks, cannot certainly have meant that, according to the priest, "Dowel indulgences passedde," since this was bound to be Piers's and not the priest's opinion; and the poet was as fully aware of it when writing C as when composing A and B, since, a few lines before, he had recalled, in this last version, the opposition of views between the two men, and how "the preest inpuigned" the "pardon Peers hadde" (C, X, 300), and since, moreover, C is the only text where the episode is given its full value.

Though I know how unwilling Professor Manly is to admit that the original copyist may have been so inordinately clumsy as to mistake two or three letters, I am tempted to suggest that very possibly, while the copies we have of C read: "And how the preest prevede," the

¹ All the reasoning is founded on the line,

The preest thus and Perkyn' of the pardon jangled (C, X, 292), "which is nonsense," says Mr. Manly, "after the suppression of the jangling" (p. 48). But the opposition between the views of the priest and those Piers must have entertained, may have been thought by the author to be sufficiently indicated by the priest's remark "Ich can no pardon fynde," and to justify the allusion to the jangling. Very possibly, however, the original text did not read *thus*, but *tho* (then), which gave the line a clear and unimpeachable meaning.

original read: "And how that peers prevede" (C, X, 318). If this is considered too bold, I would answer that it is not more so than to suppose, as Professor Manly does, that in A (whose logic must be saved at all costs, though it cannot be saved after the tearing of the "pardon" by Piers), "I" is "of course" implied by "me" of l. 152. The whole passage in A is as follows—and, as Langland would have said, let anyone who can "construe this on Englisch":

Al this maketh me· on metels to thenken
 Mony tyme at midniht· whon men schulde slepe,
 On Pers the plouh-mon· and which a pardoun he hedde,
 And hou the preost inpu gnede hit· al bi pure resoun,
 And divinede that Dowel· indulgence passede.

—A, VIII, 152.

33.—To Professor Manly's "great surprise" (p. 49), I refused to find any failure of C to understand B, when the former modified the passage about the belling of the cat.

At the risk of still increasing Professor Manly's surprise, I emphatically persist in my way of thinking, and deem that C deserves praise, not blame. I persist in considering that in B, the passage was unsatisfactory: in which passage the well-spoken rat describes certain "segges" or beings—by which he means dogs, I fully agree in this with Mr. Manly, everybody does, and the point is not under discussion—who are to be seen in "the cite of London," who bear about their necks bright collars of crafty work, and who go "uncoupled" in "wareine and in waste." If they bore a bell on their collars,

Men myzte wite where thei went· and awei renne.

—B, Prol., 166.

This is certainly a clumsy speech. The "segges" being dogs in B, and obviously sporting dogs, whom their masters uncouple to use them in warrens, how can we imagine that, if they had a bell on their necks, men would know where they go, and "away run!" In this part of his speech, B's rat seems to me, I confess, a very silly rat.

C's changes are quite sensible and to his credit. Far from showing a "failure to understand" the earlier version and helping us to believe in a quadruple authorship, they lead the other way. The author deliberately drops all the allusions to dogs, as they fitted

imperfectly his purpose; he suppresses the mention of the uncoupling, the warren, etc., and replaces the whole by a very clear and pointed allusion to actual men and to actual customs prevailing then in England. "But this is a beast fable," Professor Manly exclaims; "what have men to do in it, among the rats and mice? . . . And above all, why the warrens and the waste? Do men run uncoupled in rabbit warrens and waste fields?" But C does not say that they do, and is grievously misrepresented here by Professor Manly. As evidenced, on the other hand, by numberless examples, from the days of Æsop to those of Langland, in a "beast fable," men are not necessarily ignored; a rat is not bound to allude only to animals, and may just as well, like the swallow in Æsop's fine fable of the Swallow and Birds, allude to men, especially if the meaning is to be made clearer thereby. And such is the case here, C's rearrangement being as follows:

Ich have yseie grete syres· in citees and in tounes
 Bere byzes of bryzt gold· al aboute hure neckes,
 And colers of crafty werke· bothe knyghtes and squiers.
 Were ther a belle on hure byze· by Jesus, as me thynketh,
 Men myȝte wite wher thei wenten· and hure way roume.
 Ryzt so (etc.) —C, Prol., 177.

34.—Passing to the personal notes to be found in the Visions and which, I consider, point to a unity of authorship, Professor Manly, in order to minimize their importance, declares that they are, "in reality, singularly few" (p. 54). They are, in reality, singularly numerous: we must remember the period when *Piers Plowman* was written, and I should like to know what are the poems in comparison with which the personal notes in the Visions can be described as being, in reality, singularly few.

As to localities, Professor Manly says that "the Malvern hills are no doubt a locality with which A1 had special associations of some sort, but they have apparently no special significance for the other writers" (p. 53). It should be observed, in this respect, that C not only preserved all those allusions supposed to be for him without special significance, but increased their number by one. After the added passage at the beginning of passus vi, where the author considers his past life, thinks of his childhood, of his father, of his friends

of former days, the name of Malvern recurs to his mind and he tells us that he now resumes the dreams he had dreamed on those same hills:

Thenne mette me moche more· than ich by-fore tolde
Of the mater that ich mette fyrst· on Malverne hulles.

—C, VI, 109.

The counterpart of the first of these lines but not of the second is to be found in versions A and B.

35.—As to the author's sayings about himself, his youth, his disappointments, his way of living, Professor Manly persists in fancying that all this must be fancy: but that is, on his part, mere guessing. I have recalled how certain recent discoveries show that some prudence should be used in forming hypotheses of this sort, and that poets were, in such cases, guided by their memory and not by their imagination oftener than latter-day critics would have us to believe. To the examples I have given, more than one might be added, selected from various times and countries, for men will resemble men, poets will resemble poets.¹

36.—Professor Manly insists that, given their names, Kitte and Kalote must have been dissolute women (p. 55) in spite of my having pointed out that this interpretation of the words would be as untenable in the case of a reviser as in that of the original author, since the passage, very beautiful in itself, would thus become absurd if not repugnant. He answers nothing to what I have said and shown, that before such names become definitively opprobrious, there is a long period when they are used both ways.² Mr. Manly, who comes forth with a theory of his own, rejecting the usual ideas on the subject and replacing them by an interpretation which causes the passage to be, in spite of what he alleges, meaningless, has done nothing to show that, for those names, such a period was past, and that the meaning cannot but have been shameful.

37.—I never desired to hold Professor Manly "responsible for every phrase of Professor Jack's article" (p. 56). I simply quoted Mr. Manly himself, according to whom Mr. Jack had "conclusively proved"

¹ This example, for instance. Studying Lamartine's famous novel of *Raphael*, Mr. Léon Séché writes thus: "Chose remarquable et que les incrédules d'hier sont bien forcés de reconnaître aujourd'hui, Lamartine n'a rien inventé dans ce roman ou pas grand chose. C'est tout au plus si, par endroits, il a interverti l'ordre chronologique des faits et les quelques inexactitudes qu'on y relève sont plutôt attribuables à l'infidélité de sa mémoire."—*Revue Hebdomadaire*, Oct. 3, 1908, p. 31.

² "Péronnelle" is another example of a feminine name remaining, for a long time, an honorable one, and then coming, by degrees, to be used disparagingly.

that the "supposed autobiographical details" in the poem were merely part of the fiction. I showed that the latter had "conclusively proved" nothing of the kind, and given what he had to concede in the end, he could not himself pretend that he had. I continue to believe that, so long as no positive text or fact contradicts the plain statements in the poem (and no such has been adduced), we are entitled to take them for what they are given.

III

At certain places in his article, Professor Manly pays me some compliments which I should be most happy to merit, and some others which, I hope, I do not deserve. He attributes to me an "eloquence" and "dexterity" which, since he, for his part, repudiates all such, I hope I am not afflicted with: the success he looks forward to, he tells us, for his own argumentation is "not a success of dialectical dexterity, but of sound reasoning" (pp. 1, 2).

I hope some sound reasoning may be found in my article, too.

At the end of his reply, Professor Manly begs his reader not to forget that, on my road, "many of the bridges which are fairest in outward seeming are really unsafe structures with a crumbling keystone; that pitfalls lie concealed beneath some of the most attractive stretches . . ." etc., and that, if he allows himself to be carried away by my eloquence, he will have "to turn back and seek painfully the plain highway," regretting to have abandoned it "for the soft but dangerous by-paths" to which I had lured him.

I had no idea that I had thus played the part of a land siren, attracting unwary travelers to dangerous regions. I thought, in fact, that I had done nothing, from the first, but defend old, plain, commonly accepted ideas, and follow the trodden way and most people's road, having chosen the most inglorious and unfashionable task. I did so, not out of abnegation, but simply because those ideas, in my judgment, were the sounder, and had been attacked without just motives. And I beg, in my turn, the reader to be assured that it was not in "soft but dangerous by-paths" that I found cause for the belief in which I persist, that "William Langland made Pers Ploughman."

J. J. JUSSEKAND

SAINT HAON-LE-CHÂTEL
August, 1909

THE MISPLACED LINES, *PIERS PLOWMAN*
(A) V, 236-41

In the July number of *Modern Philology* (p. 61) Professor Manly dismisses rather summarily my suggestion (in the *Modern Language Review*, October, 1908, p. 1), repeated independently by Professor Brown, that the importunate passage belongs to the confession of Robert the Robber. "If Robert had not 'wherwith,'" he urges, "of what avail would be his conditional promise of restitution?"

It is true the language of the interpolated passage is not quite consistent with the original confession. In that, Robert is made to say that he had "noght wherof," and despaired of gaining the means of restitution. Here, he expresses his willingness to "yelde again," and seems confident of being able to do so. Nay more, he anticipates a "residue and a remnaunt," out of which he hopes to defray the expenses of a pilgrimage to Rome. All this would perhaps better fit Coveitise—whose ill-gotten gains form the main subject of that sinner's confession. But there is no place for it there. Is it not worth considering whether the lines in question may not be a kind of afterthought—prompted by a sense of the grave defect of penitence unaccompanied by works meet thereto? The Robber may learn to make an honest livelihood, and then not only "restitution" but even a pilgrimage may become possible. This is to some extent supported by what follows about his "leping over land" with his "polished pike."

Anyhow the lines in question are no more fitted to form part of the confession of Wrath than of that of Sloth. To what confession then do they belong? The rest of the Seven Deadly Sins have already been treated. Moreover they distinctly deal with the sin of dishonesty, the two main forms of which are (1) dishonest trading and (2) theft with violence or robbery. The former of these has been fully disposed of under Coveitise; there remains only the latter, exemplified in Robert, to whose confession I have suggested they may be regarded as an addition.

The supposition of a lost leaf is not perhaps in itself improbable. Unfortunately it leaves the lines in question still altogether unexplained. Each of the Sins has so far been represented by a single penitent; it is altogether improbable that the sin of dishonesty—a manifestation of the deadly inner principle of Coveitise—should have claimed two. This fag-end of a confession is thus left wholly without probable attachment!

Perhaps another solution of the problem is possible. If we accept the story of the early death of the author of the Vision, as told in Pass. xii (Skeat)—which Dr. Skeat, holding strongly the one-author theory, is led to regard as emblematical only—we may perhaps look upon the misplacement as simply due to unskilful editing. The author may have left the passage in a detached form, intending to incorporate it, with due adjustment, in the confession either of the Robber or of Coveitise, when he was suddenly struck down by “fever”—perhaps the plague. Supposing this to have been the case, it would be no matter for surprise if a perplexed editor should have dumped it down in a place where its irrelevance is not at once apparent.

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THE MEDIAEVAL MIMUS

PART I

Historians of literature generally assign the parentage of the mediaeval minstrel—spielmann, troubadour, and trouvère—to the Roman mimus. I do not. I propose to examine the literary records of the so-called Dark Ages in Europe, to show that the living poetry of this time did not derive from the Roman mimus either directly or indirectly, that it was rather the instinctive and native art of its own day. Before we move a foot, however, it is necessary to define the word mimus. As used by critics it means three things:

1. A dramatic performance popular in Rome until the fall of the empire.

2. Any sort of realistic imitation of life—skit, dance, poem, song, juggling, pantomime, acrobatic feat, trained animals—in short, Roman vaudeville.

3. A Roman vaudeville artist or entertainer.

It is absolutely useless to speak of mimus as the source of mediaeval minstrelsy unless we know at each step just what is meant by mimus. First then let us find out what we may about it.

1. *Mimus: Dramatic Performance*

There are three types of mimus which are sometimes considered dramatic: (a) Mimic Drama, the sole remnant of which is *perhaps* No. 413 in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus;¹ (b) Sung Mimus, the sole remnant of which is *perhaps* the "erotic fragment" of Grenfell, which Wilamowitz reconstructed and called the "Maid's Lament;"² (c) Recited Mimus, like those of Sophron, Herodas,³ and Theocritus (especially Nos. ii, xiv, xv).

¹ Edd. Grenfell-Hunt, Part III (1903); cf. Winter, *De mimis oxyrhynchis* (1906), dissertation.

² *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1896), pp. 209 ff.; cf. also Leo, "Die Plautinischen cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik," *Göttinger Abhandlungen* (1897); "Die Komposition der Chorlieder Senecas," *Rheinisches Museum* (1897), pp. 509 ff., and "Der Monolog im Drama," *Göttinger Abhandlungen* (1908), p. 117.

³ The mimes of Herodas [or Herondas] are now available in Sharpley's excellent verse-translation, *A Realist of the Aegean* (1906).

Of these three types of *mimus*, however, no one is necessarily or even presumably a dramatic performance.¹ There is no reason why the confused enthusiasm of Reich² or the fluent narrative of Chambers³ or any evidence which we as yet possess should lead us

¹ Wilamowitz says (*Hermes*, Vol. XXXIV [1899], pp. 207 f.): "What are the mimes? Surely no dramatic type. The narrator makes his appearance either in the market-place or in a private dwelling, later in the place which is called 'theater' [*schauplatz*], because everything an audience wants to see can be better viewed there. The narrator can be just as well compared with the *γελωτοποιοί* of the West as he can with the aristocratic rhapsodists of the East, who likewise recited pieces of Archilochos and Hipponax. He imitates with drastic comic effect various voices, as is demanded by the dramatic action of his narrative, but in antiquity it was never forgotten that the heroic epic itself belonged to the *γῆνος μεικτόν*, and the iambus offered the like alternation of voices. Theocritus' 'Adoniasusai' and 'Simaitha' were surely recited first by him. That is no book-poetry; of course he was not writing a book. And in the same way Herodas imitated him in the iambus. Whether a single speaker appears, as in his Keeper of the Brothel, or quite a number, as in his 'Asklepiasusai,' that is all one. God forgive those who believe this sort of thing was really played!"

Sudhaus is equally decided (*Hermes*, Vol. XLI, pp. 269 f.): "A pronounced conservative tendency and a clarity as to the requisites and aims of their art enabled the mimes to remain what they were, and prevented their merging with the higher drama. As numerous utterances prove, the mime was always conscious that his main task was character portrayal. Doubtless for the entertainment of audiences he did play comedy, produce spectacular pieces, and give such farces as the *Charition* of Oxyrhynchos, which might be termed a scurrilous *Iphigenia* but no longer a real mime. He never forgot, however, that *ἡθωρία* and the picture of life was his true field, and our piece (Oxyrhynchus 413) shows us how, despite a comprehensive action, the whole object of a mime could be made the sustaining of a single character-rôle. If one lays aside pure jugglery and the low types of mimesis, the mime is nothing but *ἡθωρία*. It is no drama, for how could a form be drama which can do quite without *δράματα*? Action which is everything for a drama is only incidental to the mime, the mime can even exclude action entirely."

² Reich invented the "great mimic drama" in his book *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903), although no example of it had descended to us. Later when Grenfell published Oxyrhynchus 413 Reich seized upon it as proof that his "drama" had existed and restated his position in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Vol. XXIV (1903), coll. 2679 ff., as follows: "From the time of Alexander the Great there arose in the larger Hellenic cities of the Orient the great mimic drama, growing out of the sung and the recited mimes. This so-called mimic hypothesis mingled prose and lyric parts, arias, and cantica. It soon won the stage of Rome and became Latinized. Philliston is the classic of the Greek hypothesis, Publius Syrus and Decimus Laberius are the great names in the Latin derivative. Throughout the Graeco-Roman empire, in Europe, Asia, and Africa people received the mimic drama with acclaim, rulers and emperors cherished it, and later even the church fathers could not drive it from popular favor."

Unfortunately, the facts in the case do not bear out Reich's contention. In a recent and detailed study of the "Mimus von Oxyrhynchos" Sudhaus remarks (*Hermes*, Vol. XLI [1906], pp. 274, 277): "Reich's invention of the great mimic hypothesis, which flourished as early as the third century B.C. but had then to wait three centuries to find its classic in Philliston, deserves no confutation. It is urgently important to point out that Reich's constructions for the most part do not withstand examination, and that his predecessors, whom he does not treat in very friendly fashion, judged in many things more rightly than he. I say this particularly with reference to several verdicts in Horowitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (1905)."

³ The opening chapter of Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage* is entitled "The Fall of the Theaters," and he employs therein without definition the words farce, mime, spectacle, performance, stage, theater, plot, and actor. But an examination of his sources shows

to believe it. Theorize about the matter we can, but proofs are lacking.

At first, perhaps, the dramatic mimes *were* low-comedy pieces and farces which shared their popularity with comedies of a higher sort, like those of Plautus and Terence; at first, perhaps, the sung and recited mimes *were* witty dialogues, satirical reflections, topical hits, dramatic portrayal of the life of the day, which alternated at entertainments of the great houses with author's readings, like that of the *Querolus* for example.¹ Both publicly and privately, that is, a definite and skilful dramatic art lent itself to the realistic reproduction of life. But even if this is true of the older character of the mime, when the decay of culture came a change ensued. The mime degenerated until it pandered to the worst instincts of humanity.

2. *Mimus: Roman Vaudeville*

Paegnion was the word for everything beneath the "legitimate" or dramatic type of *mimus*.² If anything mimic was fitted to endure across the fifth century into the European world of the Dark and Middle Ages, surely it was paegnion.

For one might be blind and yet enjoy himself. There was music both vocal and instrumental, there was the squealing and grunting as of pigs, there was the imitation of every animal's bleat, squawk, or bellow. One could be deaf and not miss overmuch, for there were sketches from all types of low-life and side-street, knockdown farces, take-offs, and acrobatic turns. One need not even understand the jargon of the players for an evening's fun, but could go like the

quickly that there is no evidence that any "mimic drama" was ever "acted" in any "play-house" in Rome. Nor will further study uncover such evidence. Cf. Jahn, *Prolegomena ad Persii satiras* (1843); Grysar, "Der römische Mimus," *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. XII (1854); Fähr, *De mimis Graecorum* (1860); Hörschelmann, "Der griechische Mimus," *Baltische Monatschrift* (1892); Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas* (1892); Hauler, "Der Mimus von Epicharm bis Sophron," *Xenia austriaca*, Vol. I (1893); Nairn, *The Mimes of Herodas* (1904); Glock, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. XVI (1905).

¹ The *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*) is announced by its author to be not for public presentation but for recitation in the circle of friends, for sociable entertainment, and for the amusement of a dinner party. Cf. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), p. 2.

² Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I, pp. 417 ff. Sudhaus (*loc. cit.*, p. 265) and Körte (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* [1903], p. 538) make paegnion the generic term for all representations of real mimes, and consider it the general rather than the subordinate title.

modern tourist to *tingeltangel* or *variété*, sure of his reward. Who would not laugh if his host Trimalchio blew out his cheeks like a bugler, if a slave made mimic music on an earthen lamp and ate fire? Whose face would not burn at the nakedness of person and pantomime and words, which, to quote Plutarch, "intoxicated and stupefied the spirit more than strong wines?"¹

3. *Mimus: Roman Entertainer*

The preceding paragraph on *paëgnion* has told us what to expect of these entertainers. Whatever they may have been in earlier times, in the fifth and sixth centuries the profession of *mimus* was not free from admixture of every kind. *Histrion*, *prestigiator*, *scaenicus*, *tragoedus*, *comoedus*, *thymelicus*, *scurra*, *saltator*, and *mimus* are so variously glossed by early commentators that we are at a total loss to separate the "*artes lubricae*" which they professed. Sidonius, who must be expected to know, says that the *histriones* boasted of doing the same thing as *Philistio*, but *falsely*. Cassiodorus specifically refers to a certain Sabinus as "*histrion*, *equorum moderator et auriga*," to a Thomas as "*auriga, maleficus et magus*." The mimes were dramatic performers of one sort and another, reciters of obscenest jokes, charioteers, high-jumpers, dancers, magicians, sleight-of-hand workers, and ill-doers generally. We are transported from the stage, from the realm of private theatricals, to the tent of the circus and to the lascivious pleasures of dinner tables. Let us be not misled to think the thing otherwise. The men appear in motley or harlequin dress, the women more or less naked. One indulges in *rodomontade* and the absurdest boasting, another gives imitations of human customs and characters, a third portrays lewd matters: to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals a man or woman enters and plays the rôle of prostitute, pander, adulterer, or drunkard. A fourth is conjurer. Any sort of coarse comedy, grimacing, imitation of the cries of animals is welcome.²

Such, then, is the Roman *mimus*, performance and performer, which the Germans knew from the fourth century on at least, and

¹ Cf. *Table-talks*, VII, vii, 4. The unspeakable lasciviousness of Theodora's pantomime which Procopius cites was probably nothing rare.

² Cf. Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert*, p. 12.

knew undoubtedly in three different ways: (1) from personal acquaintance in Italy whither a tribal migration had led them; (2) from hearsay and from the graphic description of returning wanderers; (3) from personal acquaintance in Germany, whither the mimus from the earliest historical times, sallying forth from Roman frontier garrisons, penetrating ever farther, followed the steps of the southern merchant. These things I believe, and I also believe that some Roman mimes outlasted the sixth century a while and continued their profession in Romance territory as late even as the age of Charles the Great, though by no means so long in strictly Germanic territory. Some European minstrels doubtless owed certain of their tricks and turns at first directly or indirectly to mimes. But that the two—minstrel and mime—were for long centuries largely identical, I do not believe, and nothing in the records makes such a creed imperative, or even appealing.

Germanic scop

We are often so occupied in trying to discover what the Germans learned from Italy, that we forget to wonder just what manner of things they brought to Italy with them. The early records concerning Germanic singers and Germanic poetry are too incomplete to give us much definite information. From epic sources like the Anglo-Saxon *Widsith*, *Beowulf*, and *Deor's Complaint* we hear, as we should expect, only of a scop or epic singer. And historical works such as the chronicles of Cassiodorus, Priscus, Paulus Diaconus, and Jordanes, tell us naturally enough of the scopas who sang songs celebrating the deeds of their national heroes, and tell us of no other sort of German poet or poetry. But silence upon a point of this kind means necessarily nothing.

However this be, early epic poetry may be divided into two classes in any of three ways: (1) its origin, (2) its form, (3) its content. That is, (1) whether it was communal [choric] or artistic [individual] in source and utterance; (2) whether it was a ballad [divided into stanzas of an irregular number of verses] or a rhapsodic poem [a continuous series of long-verses without stanzaic division]; (3) whether it was hymnic song in praise of the gods and legendary heroes, or a song celebrating the deeds of great and important his-

torical personages.¹ But, whichever of these three manners of division we adopt, the result is largely the same: two kinds of poetry are the result. The first kind is an old traditional type of epic expression, presumably a common Germanic heritage from the Aryan past; the second kind is, it may be, a gradual development within historic times, coming perhaps into full swing in the fifth and sixth centuries, and including even songs of compliment to members of a ruling dynasty.² The Germanic scop undoubtedly had in his repertory both kinds: "mythische heroendichtung" and "historische heldendichtung." Of the one he was certainly the coryphaeus, of the other, so far as we know, he was the creator.

Was there a professional Germanic jester?

We know about the scop: a distinguished epic singer, often the vassal of a king, honored, praised, and rewarded with the meed of hero.³ Was this the only class of professional entertainer the Germanic peoples knew before their association with the Romans in the fourth and fifth centuries? Did the Germans of their own initiative not go in for realistic comedy and low farce of any kind?

From the records that we now have we cannot argue either for or against the existence of German entertainers of the lighter sort (mountebanks and minstrels) among the Germanic races previous to and during the tribal migrations. Even such mention of satirical

¹ I am not sure that I think much of any of these three methods of classification. In a forthcoming article on Epic and Romance I shall try to deal with old Germanic epic poetry, not as it should be, but as it is.

² Such as those from which Cassiodorus got his list of the ancestors of Amalasuintha, daughter of Theodoric. Cf. *Variar. lib. xi*, cap. 1; Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, cap. 14, 17, 48; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XII, p. 253; Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 10 f.

We have no proof that a heroic poetry celebrating the deeds of historical personages did not exist among the earliest Germans, except for the silence of Tacitus regarding the matter, and this is not proof. If this type of poetry was comparatively late, it is interesting to remember that it was either sprung from, or given its greatest impulse by, the poetically gifted Goths. It was two Goths who sang before Attila of his victories, the *citharoedus* Theodoric sent Clodewech was perhaps a Gothic scop (and not an Italian mimus), the Lombard Alboin (Elfwine) is mentioned in *Widsith* (the Goths exerted strong influence upon the epic song of their neighbors the Lombards); and most important of all, most of the popular epic legendary material which has descended to us is of Gothic origin—Ermanrich, the Hariungs, Theodoric, Helme, Wittig, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, perhaps Walter of Aquitania; except for the Frankish myth of Siegfried, the Nibelungen story is a poetic work of the Burgundians, a race most closely associated with the Goths.

³ Cf. Köhler, "Ueber den Stand berufsmässiger Sönger im nationalen Epos germanischer Völkler," *Germania*, Vol. XV, pp. 27 ff.; Vogt, *Leben und Dichtung der deutschen Spielleute* (1876), pp. 4 f.; Anderson, *The Anglo-Saxon Scop* (1903).

songs as Ausonius makes in the *Mosella* is too vague to be of service,¹ and other references are either too confused or too late in date.² But while it is impossible to present evidence in proof that the early Germans had light entertainment and lyric song as well as heroic ballads, while speculation on this point often leads to purely dogmatic statement,³ it is always worth remembering that some of the comedy and realism, some of the lyrical forms of expression that we meet in Europe from the eighth century on, may be sprung from indigenous roots.⁴ That race which first of the modern cultural nations of Europe gives us merry stories, humorous songs, satires, and lyrics must have borrowed well, if they fetched this whole art from transalpine territory!

¹ For we do not know that the dwellers in the Moselle region during the fourth century were Germans. Cf. *Ausonii opuscula* (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores*, Vol. V, II), p. 87, and Kögel, *Paula Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 49.

² Laughter-smiths there were in England at the time when the *Exodus* was written (43 *wæron hleahoresmidum handa belocene*; a reference apparently to the magicians of Egypt; cf. Blackburn, *Exodus and Daniel* [1907], p. 37), but even if *hleahorsmið* denotes a certain class of entertainer, this profession is not necessarily of early date or of native origin. Little definite is known regarding the functions of the northern þulr [who Mollenhoff asserts was the continuator of the entire Northern poetic tradition; *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, p. 300], but certain passages (e. g., *Fafnismál* 34; *Hávamál* stanzas 110-37) indicate that Mr. C. N. Gould is justified in believing commentators have regarded him too seriously. The *Haraldskvaeði* (or *Hrafnsmál*, ca. 900) speaks of jesters and jugglers: *leikari, trúðr*. "Andaðr pets a dog without ears, plays foolish tricks and causes the king to laugh. There are also others who, it is said, bear a burning stick of wood through the fire, they have stuck blazing hate beneath their belts [!], these men who deserve a kick." *Trúðr* translates *scurra* in the Vulgate describing King David playing on the harp like a rough *trúðr*. The juggler was known to Ireland as early as the ninth century or earlier. Professor A. C. L. Brown calls my attention to *classamnach* in the "Sick Bed of Cuchulinn," an ancient story in the Dun Cow MS (Windisch, *Irish Texts*, Vol. I, p. 206: "sing and act the part of jugglers") and another saga "The Destruction of Da Derga's Palace" tells of the juggler Tulchuine and of the three jesters at the fire (Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 391 f.; Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, Vol. XXII [1901], pp. 286, 311).

³ Simply because such speculation is so apt to confuse poetic impulse and poetic achievement, because it assumes that since Germans *may* have had certain literary forms at a given time they actually *did* have them.—Kelle thus ascribes to the Germans of the first century sword-dance and drama (*schauspiel*), incantations, gnomic verses, and very possibly satires, love-songs, dance-ditties. Scherer accords even the old Aryans love-songs "in which a feeling for nature and the inner life were harmonized or contrasted;" cf. Scherer, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 697 and *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*¹⁰, p. 7; Heinzel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. X, p. 49. Kögel assigns them satirical songs (*Grundriss*, p. 49): "Satirical poetry must have been current at an early period among a people with whom gnomic verse was a favorite form. Common to both types of poetry is epigrammatic acumination, they are different in that satirical verse is made for singing."

⁴ I ponder at this juncture the words of Tacitus (*Annales*, Bk. I, chap. 65): "Nox per diversa inquires, quum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subjecta vallum ac resultantis saltus complerent" and (*Historiae*, Bk. V, chap. 15): "Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta."

Now critics have felt that the mediaeval jongleur and spielmann are children of the Roman mimus for three reasons:¹

1. They have thought mimus as a dramatic performance existed as late as the fifth century.

2. When they met the term mimus (and its synonyms jocolator, scurra, thymelicus, histrio) in records from the fifth to the tenth century, they believed this term to mean the same that it did in pre-Christian Rome.

3. No other ancestry for early mediaeval realistic art was visible to them, because of their preconceived idea that the Dark Ages could not bear such fruit unaided.

1. *Fifth-century drama*

If there had been a mimic drama in Rome when the empire fell there would indeed be ground for the assumption that it lived on into the Middle Ages, but all the records cited by Reich² furnish no weightier arguments for the existence of such a drama than Grysar was able to produce fifty years before.³ In fact these very records show clearly enough that such a drama did not exist, for they are in large part the observations of men who were in a position to know of what they spoke, and nowhere, as Glock shows convincingly step by step, do they speak of mimus as a dramatic performance.⁴ We may therefore once and for all dismiss the specious theory of Reich and Sathas⁵ that either in Europe or in Asia a definite mimic drama lived on into the Middle Ages.⁶

¹ A fourth "reason" given by Piper in his *Spielmannsdichtung* (1887), p. 3, I scarcely have the heart to cite; it sounds so absurd. He says: "That the unity of Roman scurra and German minstrel is an actual one is proven by the identity of their characteristic traits." Such reasoning, however, is not unique with Piper, as an examination of Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter* (1851), pp. 351 ff.; Köpke, *Ottomische Studien* (1869), Vol. II, p. 176, will show. If such argument count for aught, many a performer on the modern *Überbrett* is likewise "identical with the Roman scurra."

² In his book *Der Mimus* (1903).

³ *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. XII (1854), pp. 331 ff.

⁴ *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. XVI (1905), pp. 27 ff.

⁵ *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τῶν βυζαντινῶν* (1878), a view recently upheld by Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages* (1905), although sufficiently disproved by Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur 527-1423* (1897)², p. 644; see also Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, p. 17.

⁶ Therefore Chambers is in error when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 83): "The Roman mimus was essentially a player of farces; that and little else. It is of course open to any one to suppose that the mimus went down in the seventh century playing farces, and that his like appeared in the fifteenth century playing farces, and that not a farce was played

We may then disregard the words of Heinrich Morf and of any other historian who finds actors engaged in dramatic production in Europe during the Dark Ages,¹ for such words must for the present at least rest either on pure assumption or on the insecure and disingenuous combinations of Emil Reich.

2. *The term mimus and its synonyms in records of the Dark Ages*

More than thirty years ago Paul Meyer assigned to the mimi the beginnings of both Provençal and French literature² and Leon Gautier agreed with him.³ Gaston Paris, with what would appear a surer insight, believed the mediaeval minstrel represented a merging of the mimi with the Germanic scopas.⁴ Meyer says:

The point of departure for both [Provençal and French literature] is the same, and it is indeed humble. Testimonies which have been more than once collected, and which follow one another from the end of the Roman empire far into the Middle Ages, teach us of the existence of a class of individuals designated by the ancient names of *scurrae*, *thymelici*, later *joculatores*, public entertainers. They cross, without disappearing, the distress of the Merovingian and Carolingian eras. We meet them again in the eleventh century flourishing throughout Gaul.

Now let us see what Meyer has done. Without specifying in any case just what the work of these mimi was (*scurrae*, *thymelici*, *joculatores*) he makes this work of theirs the point of departure for

between. But is it not more probable on the whole that he preserved at least the rudiments of the art of acting, and that when the appointed time came the despised and forgotten farce blossomed forth once more as a vital and effective form of literature?"

¹ Morf says in his "Die romanischen Literaturen" pp. 144, 441 (*Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xi, 1 [1909]): "From the days of the church fathers on there was no lack of clerical invective against the mimus. When because of the political and social downfall of the Roman empire the wealthy class and the great centers of culture had vanished, the Roman theater likewise fell, the drama disappeared, and the dramatic troupes crumbled and scattered. The mimus who till now had lived in companies of actors journeyed alone or with his mima as a wandering player through a world which had become barbarian. He amused his audiences by the practice of every profane art—music, singing, joking and juggling. The soil that had fostered his expensive maintenance in companies was gone, and thereafter dramatic operations on a large scale gave way to individual performances of a precarious and petty sort. The name mimus yielded to the title *joculator* ("jongleur"). As *joculator scenicus* this person is the continuator of that comic theater which, although outside of written tradition, existed in Romania through all the centuries."

² *Romania*, Vol. V (1876), p. 260.

³ *Les épopées françaises*, Vol. II (1892)², pp. 4 ff.

⁴ *La littérature française au moyen-âge* (1890)², p. 36; cf. also Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 23 ff.

mediaeval Provençal and French literature.¹ Why does he do this? Because mimi in Rome furnished one sort of entertainment and mediaeval minstrels in central Europe furnished another sort of entertainment five hundred years later, and in the interval between the two the ancient names for entertainer, *scurra*, *thymelicus*, etc., are continued. Although I believe the looseness of this method is obvious I shall be at some pains to show how illogical I think Meyer's contention is.

Of course the ancient names for entertainer continue all through the Dark Ages, and deep into mediaeval times; we hear again and again of mimi, *joculatores*, *scurrae*, etc. Why should we not? *Mimus* had meant and long continued to mean entertainer, juggler, minstrel, poet. If a man of high or low degree chanced to be regarded by the common people of the seventh, eighth, or ninth centuries as an acceptable poet, that man was called *mimus*.

Of course the names continue. We hear of mime in sixteenth-century France²—in the farce *Maître Mimin*—and much has been made of the fact. Why not make much of the fact that we have mimes and minstrels and jugglers in the twentieth century? Could

¹ If we make one thing the literary source of another, if we make the work of Roman mimi the source of the work of mediaeval jongleurs, then we mean the first thing is the direct and ascertainable source of the second thing. We do not mean that vaguely and despite our utter lack of proof the first thing is in a general sort of way perhaps in its age what the second thing is in its later time.

If we find, that is, in the work of any mediaeval jongleur forms, phrases, types of expression or of character, themes, ideas which are identical with, or similar to, the manner of Roman mimi, then and only then can we make mime spiritual ancestor of the jongleur. But if all these matters with which the work of the jongleur has to do are referred back to fifth-century Roman mimi simply because the Latin words for entertainer are not done away with in the records which mark the interim between that time and the time of the jongleur, then we have no right to make Roman *mimus* spiritual ancestor to mediaeval jongleur.

For, if such a thing were permissible, we could trace back our mediaeval mimi to an antiquity more hoar than that indicated by the mimic dances to the phallic, fat-bellied spirits of fertility in the ninth century B. C. Schröder, proceeding from the theory of Silvain Lévi and Hertel that certain dialogue-songs in the *Rigveda* are texts of the oldest known dramatic-musical performances, has recently made it likely that these songs owe their inclusion in the canon of the book to their use as mysteries or cult-dramas. The hymns in burlesque manner he regards as mimes, one of which he calls "The Drunken Indra" (quoted from the review by E. H. in *Litterarisches Zentralblatt* (1909), col. 19, of von Schröder's *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (1908). It would, indeed, be a long line of honorable descent if we might thus trace our way from Gerhard Hauptmann (see Reich, Vol. I, p. 894) to dances which occurred centuries before the mimic poems in the *Rigveda*. But who would call the author of such a mimic poem from, say, 1500 B. C. a spiritual ancestor of Hauptmann!

² Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, pp. 849 ff., and Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen-âge* (1886), p. 156; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, p. 83.

the continuance of these names not be made to mean that we of today owe all our realistic portrayal in literature, all our magic of the theater directly to the Roman *saltimbanques* who set some Trimalchio's dinner table in a roar?

Names continue. All words do which symbolize general concepts. We hear of "comedy" and "tragedy" all the way from barbarian Rome to this very day; likewise of "epic" and "romance" and "lyric."¹ But who will claim that there is a constant tradition of any one of these great divisions of literature from then till now? They have come and gone, risen and faded and fallen—the pressure of a changing world has shaped them. Church and popular festival, old religion and new philosophy, time of reform and season of indulgence, ephemeral fads and enduring verities—these are all mirrored somewhat in the realistic prose and poetry of the period which separates us from the dead past. And this sort of thing we owe by direct tradition to Roman *saltimbanques*? I doubt it.²

¹ Comedy and tragedy during the Middle Ages were completely lost sight of except in name; cf. von Schack, *Gesch. d. dramatischen Lit. u. Kunst in Spanien*, Vol. I (1854)², p. 25; Piper, *Archiv. f. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. V (1875), p. 494; Cloetta, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 29. The epic is dead and yet the name is on the lips of all exactly as if it existed today; modern romances are very different things from mediaeval ones, etc. But who could read these things clearly from casual mention of the names of these literary types in widely separated records?

² In "a general way" everything reverts to something before it; in "a general way," then, modern jugglers and mimes are descended from ancient prototypes, just as modern stone-masons or cobblers are. (I choose cobblers because of the fine irony with which Winterfeld dismisses Herzog's contention that no connection existed between ancient and mediaeval mimes: "Also—Schuster gab es, bloss sie konnten keine Schuhe mehr machen?" Cf. *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV [1905], p. 49, and *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* [1904], No. 34.) Why try to make modern cobblers the children of the Roman shoemakers of the fifth century? The boots of barbarian Rome are not the boots of nowadays. They differ in shape, color, materials, size, cost, method of making, purpose, and appeal. Of what avail to build up a theory regarding them in Rome and the direct indebtedness of modern boots to them, on the basis of numerous references to boots, shoes, slippers, pumpe, and spats in chronicles and decretals of the Dark Ages, particularly if these references are unfallingly confused and indistinct?

The danger of misreading such records is obvious. A pamphlet of Kelle's is at hand to furnish a clever illustration (*Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. CLXI [1908], No. 2) of the absurdity to which the hunting of reminiscences of German paganism in mediaeval decretals may lead. "Chori saecularium," "cantica puellarum" we learn with a sigh are not the uproar of dance-rounds, not the immodest sport of girls' songs forcing their way to the ears of nuns in the cloister, as Wackernagel imagined; nor are they profane lays and ballads of maidens which early in the ninth century, according to good pagan custom, still crowded into the church and its vicinity and later were sung on holidays in the street and in houses, as Müllenhoff and Scherer asserted. They are just plain statements concerning the religious anthems of the laity and the hymnic songs of nuns. We can not even have longer, it seems, the heathen sacrificial meal in connection with "convivia in ecclesia."

3. *No other ancestry than Roman mimus visible?*

It is still difficult for us to regard the tenth century sanely. Our attitude, which should be simply one of historical understanding based upon an examination of the relevant facts, is apt to be one of either admiration or reproach. Adulation, if we are still under the spell of that nineteenth-century Romanticism which substitutes poetry for philology and gives us delicate analyses à la Simrock of the nature myths, the heroic legend, the theogony of northern antiquity.¹ Reproach, if we generalize from purely fortuitous or incidental sources of knowledge and hark back to the sermons, the satires, and the church-penitentials to show that in the tenth century intelligence was at a low ebb and moral integrity extremely rare.²

But if the critic of this time tries to free himself from preconception of it and proceeds toward a sympathetic insight into its life through careful study I cannot see how he will fail so to appreciate its achievements as to believe this tenth century incapable of producing fresh and realistic prose and poetry of its own initiative, and quite without the aid of any Roman vaudeville performer or his descendant. For the tenth century is in many ways a great age.

A thirst for knowledge is in it, as in the sixteenth century, even though both periods are in a sense times of preparation and of unfulfilled promises.³ The humanists Richer of St. Remy and Gerbert of Rheims are not more isolated phenomena than were Thomas Platter and Johannes Butzbach.⁴ A sheer delight in worldly literature penetrates every monastery.⁵ Monks cultivate profane themes,

¹ Cf. Uhl, *Winiliod* (1908), p. 1.

² Cf. Scherer's essay "Mittelalter und Gegenwart" in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1874), pp. 322 f.; also Charles Langlois, *La société française au XIII^e siècle* (1904)², pp. II-xvi.

³ See Scherer's interesting comparison of the two epochs in his *Gesch. d. deut. Dichtung*, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ Read of Richer's trip from Rheims to Chartres, that he might see the *Logic* of Hippocrates, *Richer's historiae*, ed. Waitz (1877), Bk. IV, chap. 50, and Ker's account of Gerbert, *Dark Ages*, pp. 198 ff. Nothing seems to warrant Egger's view (*L'hellénisme en France*, Vol. I, p. 51) that such figures as Richer and Gerbert in the tenth century, Scotus Erigena in the ninth, are exceptions and prodigies.

⁵ Notker Labeo, for example, was urged to translate into German not only the *Bucolics* of Vergil, but the *Andria* of Terence; cf. Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, pp. 233 f. We also recall how Godehard, on assuming his duties in a new cloister, had Horace and Cicero's *Letters* sent to him. For further reference to monastic study of "frivolous" literature cf. Scherer, *Geistliche Poeten der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (1874, 1875), 2 vols.

and minstrels themes from sacred story.¹ Scherer's division of the poets of this day into two parties: one guild the ecclesiastics, the pillars of Christianity and of all really Scriptural culture in literary form, the other guild the minstrels, the wandering folk-singers, the inheritors of paganism and its poetry, cannot be accepted.² Nor did these two guilds "fight each other tooth and nail."

Monks and minstrels get their material everywhere,³ wander far in search of it, incorporate it into chronicles and collections of exempla and stories and thus lay the foundations for the innumerable chapbooks and romances of future ages. A literary tradition is begun for the lighter forms of art, one that feeds and parallels oral transmission. We meet now not only the phrase "in cantilenis prisceis cantantur" but "in veteribus libris legitur."⁴ Particularly after the coronation of Otto I in 962 do clerks and minstrels journey indefatigably southward, to come back freighted with strange wares in the way of tales and entertaining poems; many a jovial monk and scholar sets this contraband of religion into Latin lines. Soldiers and peddlers back from Italy, eager to boast, eager to please, con-

¹ The *Gesta Karoli* has profane themes. Fableaux (schwänke) and mendacious songs (cantilenae mendosae) fairly sprout in the cloisters and grammar schools of the cathedrals. Many of these have their origin in definitely-known occurrences and in connection with the games and holiday pranks of the pupils. Such license as Fitz-Stephen tells of in the monastery schools of a later day existed at least as early as the ninth century, and no occasion was too trivial for its exercise. Witness how the youth "sang mocking songs of Notker when they had drunk wine," [so tuönt noh kenuöge, singent fone démo der in fro únreht uuéret] how Gunzo of Novara was lampooned in mischievous verses (lascivulis versibus) by a youngster of St. Gall because the famous grammarian had used an accusative for an ablative. For other records see Kelle, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 205 f.; Allen, *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI, pp. 21, 398. Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim (1022-38) proves that monks and clerks are authors and amateurs of profane realistic poetry when he says: "Quoddam autem talium genus, illorum scilicet, qui vel in monachico vel canonico vel etiam Graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrent, quos et Platonis more Perypatheticos irridendo cognominavit, illos, inquam, prorsus exprobrando quasi execrabatur."—*Monum. Germ. hist. Scriptores*, Vol. XI, p. 207. On the other hand the minstrels often took their subjects from sacred legend and story: the theme of little John the monk is from the *Vitas patrum* (cf. Allen, *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, p. 468), the Triumphus Sancti Remacii (eleventh century) is by a "cantator quidam jocularis" (*Monum. Germ. hist. Scriptores*, Vol. XI, p. 456), etc.

² Cf. Scherer's essay on the intellectual life in mediaeval Austria in his *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, p. 180.

³ Minstrels borrow their materials from the old myths, the animal-fable, legend, heroic story drolly distorted (*Saleman and Morolt*), history, and daily life. "In this way a multitude of German tales, legends, and fableaux certainly owe their origin to the activity of these minstrels in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. This time was apparently the richest quarry for them."—Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen, Lieder*, p. xix.

⁴ De fundatione monasterii Tegrinsee; Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotarum novus*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 493.

tribute their quota. The old story is being retold: German armies are crossing the Alps, sweeping victoriously over northern Italy (this time Lombardy), stopping a while near the center of the world's culture to gather their spoils of war, streaming homeward laden with booty, some of gold—most of civilization and of art.

Now this is the sort of age which critics think could not bear rich fruitage of its own. And so we are asked to find its origin in the Italian *mimus*. Heyne pictures these *mimi*¹ increasing in German territory during the migration period, venturing out singly or in troops to the village or the isolated manor, following the bands of warriors, presenting in camp their pantomimes, puppet-shows, sword-plays, gladiatorial exercises, and arts of *legerdemain*.² He says these *mimi* outlasted the migration period and continued to thrive during the following epochs.

Let Johannes Kelle continue the tale.³ He has gathered his information from the most diverse sources from fourth to thirteenth century and this is the result: In the beginning of the ninth century, ever increasing in numbers, there roamed throughout the Frankish empire the descendants of the old *mimi* and *histriones*, who had become completely demoralized in the Merovingian epoch. Pipers, drummers, fiddlers, singers, dancers, jugglers, blood-letters, barbers, cuppers⁴ had likewise in the ninth century become indispensable to the Germanic people, much as the latter despised them because of their un-German venality and their insatiable greed. They added luster to every festive occasion by their dances, obscene songs, topical hits, and *legerdemain*. The Roman *mimi* were everywhere most welcome guests, but especially at wedding banquets.

And Winterfeld may add the epilogue: In the middle of the eleventh century he thinks "it would seem a matter of course that mimes shot out of the earth like mushrooms after a rain," he avers

¹ In his essay on "Unehrlliche Hantierungen" in *Das altdeutsche Handwerk* (1908), pp. 101 ff.

² These phrases of Heyne are apparently based upon no surer a foundation than the moonlit picture by Freytag (*Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 445 f.) of the well-known passage in Procopius (*De bello vandalico*, Bk. II, chap. 6) "Roman jugglers and mimes presented before the bloody Vandal hordes the obscenest pantomimes." Cf. Crome's preface to *Das altdeutsche Handwerk*, p. vi.

³ *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

⁴ This list is from the *Sachsenspiegel*, ed. Homeyer (1861)³, p. 194.

that Notker and Roswitha owe the best of their work to these mimi, and ends by saying that only through the mime and his continued existence can one understand and explain the literary development of the centuries.¹

We are, then, asked to believe the following: Roman mimes before and after the fall of the empire spread northward in the pursuit of their profession. They adapted themselves so snugly to the ideas of their new environment, by catering to old social needs and creating novel ones, that they handed down their art from father to son, from teacher to pupil for eight centuries. They became the mouthpiece for every sort of popular entertainment outside the pale of literary transmission.

Now, if this be so, we can discover the traces of these thousands of all-important people not only in the sorry lists of their class-names in dusty chronicle and decretal, but here and there and everywhere in the lighter and more realistic writings of their day. We shall find, as Winterfeld wants us to, these mimi peering out from behind fables, tales, romances, dramas, fableaux, satires, historical poems, sacred ballads, and lyric poems.² And here I shall look for

¹ *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, pp. 74, 49.

² There is something illogical in according the mimi during the Dark Ages a lion's share in molding and continuing all the realistic and popular themes of these times, and at the same breath excluding them from active participation in that one enduring form of poetic narrative and expression which for centuries as yet unnumbered held the German fancy captive: the heroic epic. Ages before the minstrel-romances *Hersog Ernst* and *König Rother* Winterfeld's mimes should have "polished up the motives of native heroic legend with adventurous journeys and coarse jokes," if these mimi are what he supposes them to be. Then too, we should find an explanation for some things in Ekkehard's *Waltharius*, and it would be the descendant of a Roman mime who furnished accidental plot and bye-work for the materials of the Latin Nibelung-story.

If I were convinced these southern mimi played the rôle in the literature of the Dark Ages which Winterfeld pretends, I should not hesitate to find in their activity an explanation for various puzzling matters in the early transmission of German popular epic stories and legends. No false "piety" would deter me. A fine characterization of such "piety" breathes in Michel Bréal's essay on the first influence of Rome on the Germanic world (*Journal des savants* [1889], pp. 624, 626, 697). I should believe, for instance, that the heroic songs of the Goths were first and best and most enduring of all Germanic popular ballads because they came closest to an appreciation of the work of the Roman mimi and were most affected by it. If such mimes as Winterfeld's were mine, I should understand why much of the older epic material was in the form of a comparatively short dramatic ballad (Ker, *Epic and Romance* [1908]²; Heusler, *Lied und Epos* [1905]), not one that could be used as a single chapter in the framework of a long narrative epic, but a compact and individual unit. For I should realize how close such work is to other effort of which Winterfeld suspects the mime: historical ballad, for instance.

Bédier (*Les légendes épiques* [1908]) has recently had strange tales to tell us of how certain *chansons de geste* originated and first achieved their popularity. Whatever acceptance his conclusions may gain in the field of French epic legends, one matter of

them. Now unless I discover traces of their handiwork here in no uncertain way I shall disbelieve—as I have good right to—that there is any connection between Roman mime and mediaeval jongleur and spielmann. It is, of course, in the literary records of the Dark Ages that I shall hunt, for if the thread of continuity snap at this point, it is little likely that it was ever thereafter mended. And now to work.

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general import he has given us. He has shown that epic ballads (heroic songs) did not mysteriously evolve the moment some conspicuous deed of prowess was done, and then go echoing in oral transmission down the centuries until some tardy mediaeval person wrote a romance based upon these ballads. Rather was a deliberate art requisite at the beginning, and literary instead of oral preservation to be supposed. Now as the brightest and most adaptable poets in Europe for six critical centuries or so were the descendants of Roman mimi, if they were as Winterfeld supposes, it would be they who accounted for the humor and life of older epic material, for the first-hand description of it, for its realism and its dramatic pressure. Such mimi would then teach us why the German epic is not one sort of thing: an unalloyed alliterative poetry, the treasured formula of generations of scopas, but rather a mosaic of elements, diverse in manner and matter, wherein we find lyric and pastoral and dramatic and gnomic ingredients.

Were Winterfeld's mimi mine, I should account for the disappearance of the old alliterative poetry and the appearance of end-rime, not by saying it sprang from a degeneration or torpescence of the stave-form itself, but hold it due to the influence of Latin popular poetry brought into Germany by mimi. I should then believe the fall from favor of the old-fashioned harp-playing vassal the result, not of the rise of the Frankish empire and the consequent decline of the smaller courts, but of the new popularity of Italian mimi. The demoralization, or humanizing, of the mythical elements in heroic poetry, the appearance in it of new personalities (Henry, the Ottos, their supporters and opponents), the newer sort of epic poetry dealing with contemporary events—these things might find explanation, not so much in the national consciousness which Germany developed under the Saxon emperors, as in the successful practice of poetry by the guild of Italian mimi. A shorter type of lyrical popular ballad which appears in the ninth and tenth century might, too, be conditioned by new music and melodies introduced by mimi—if they were only such as we are asked to believe them.

A SEMASIOLOGIC DIFFERENTIATION IN GERMANIC
SECONDARY ABLAUT.—*Concluded*

139. N. *snikka* 'cut, clip; reproach, blame' : *snakka* 'talk, prattle' : *snukka* 'snuff, snuffle, scent.'

D. *snige* (strong, I) 'sneak, slink, skulk' : *snage* 'rummage, snuff about.'

E. *sneak* 'slink, skulk,' dial. *snick* 'cut sharply, notch, clip; give a quick sudden blow, strike smartly; hang fire,' *snicker* 'titter, laugh suppressedly' : dial. *snack* 'snatch, bite, snap, break with a snap, make a cracking noise; share' : dial. *snock* 'give a downward blow on the head or top of anything' : dial. *snuck* 'smell, olfacere' : dial. *snōok* 'smell with a loud inspiration, snuffle, snort, speak through the nose; snore; sneak, lie concealed, steal' : dial. *snouw* 'smell, sniff; poke about with the nose.'

Dutch *snikken* 'sob, gasp' : *snakken* 'chatter (of the teeth); gasp, sob, hanker after.'

WVl. *snikken* 'hiccough' : *snakken* 'grab for something; bissig und kurz antworten,' *snaken* 'feurig begehren' : *snokken* 'shove, jerk, push jerkingly.'

OF. *snikken*, *snūkken* 'schluchzen, stossweise einen Laut hören lassen' : *snakken* 'reden, sprechen; plaudern, schwatzen' : *snukken* = *snikken*.

Westf. *snickeln* 'gelinde mit der Peitsche klatschen' : *snacken* 'mit der Peitsche klatschen, schlagen' : *snuckern* 'schluchzen,' *snuck* m. 'Anekdote, Schnurre' : *snicksnack* 'variierendes Schnacken mit der Peitsche.'

Hess. *schnacken*, *schnacksen* 'schnarchen' : *schnucken* 'naschen.'

Stieg. *schnacken* 'schwatzen' : *schnucken* 'schluchzen.'

Els. *schnickle* 'Unzucht treiben' : *Schnak* f. m. 'Stechmücke, kleine schwächliche Person; Schwank, Geschwätze' : *schnuckle* 'sich zusammenkauern, sich in die Decke einhüllen.'

Bav. *schnicken* 'schnell bewegen, schnellen' : *schnackeln* 'einen knallenden oder schnalzenden Laut erheben, schnallen;

schnipfen; eine rasche Bewegung machen': *schnuckeln* 'lecken, saugen, naschen.'

139a. E. dial. *snig* 'cut, chop off, lop off,' dial. *snig at* 'speak sharply and peevishly to, nag; give a sudden jerk; pull; steal, pilfer; neigh,' dial. *snigger* 'laugh in a suppressed or foolish manner, giggle, laugh sneeringly; cut unevenly,' dial. *sniggle* 'giggle; catch fish; wriggle away,' dial. *sniggle in* 'obtain in an under-hand manner,' *sniggle up* 'toady': dial. *snag* 'cut off branches, hew roughly, mow, tear an angular rent; nibble; snap, bite, tease, quarrel, chide, snarl,' dial. *snagger* 'snore with a harsh, grating sound,' dial. *snaggle* 'cut, notch, hack, cut awkwardly, snatch, snarl, grumble': dial. *snug* 'nestle, hug, fondle; put in order, make trim, compact, and tidy,' *snuggle* 'cuddle up, nestle, lie close,' dial. 'make compact.' Cf. also No. 139 Els. and perhaps Bav.

140. E. *slip* 'slide, glide along; slink': *slap* 'hit with the open hand': *slope* 'incline, slant,' *slop* 'soil with a liquid.'

Dutch *slippen* 'slit; slip,' *glide*: *slepen* 'drag, trail, draggle': *slappen* 'abate, slack, slacken': *slopen* 'pull down, demolish, break up, raze, consume, exhaust.'

OF. *slippen* 'gleiten, schlüpfen; schlitzen, aufschneiden': *slappen* 'schlaffen,' *ferslaffen* 'erschlaffen': *slopen* 'schleifen, platt legen, abtragen, zerbrechen': *slupen* 'gleiten, schlüpfen, kriechen.'

Hess. *schlappen* 'schlappen; lappen, auflecken': *schluppen* 'saugen.' Cf. 14a, D.

140a. N. *slabba* 'smack, suck continually; splash, spill': *slubba* 'splash, spill, proceed carelessly.'

S. dial. *slabba* 'soil wet,' dial. *slabbra i sej* 'eat hastily and carelessly': dial. *slubba* 'mix carelessly; slouch,' dial. *slubbra* 'be unclear; drag one's feet.'

D. *slibe* (strong, I) 'grind, cut,' *slibrig* 'slippery': *slubre* 'make a slobbering noise in eating or drinking.'

E. dial. *slibber* 'lose one's footing, slide; slouch': dial. *slabber* 'wet the thread in spinning; swallow one's words; gulp down, daub, dirty, walk through mud': dial. *slobber* 'moisten with saliva; slop, spill, daub, eat in a dirty manner; weep many tears, blubber': dial. *slubber* 'daub, besmear, obscure with dirt; drink with a gurgling noise; be careless.'

Dutch *slibberen* 'slip' : *slabberen* 'slobber, slabber, lap' : *slobberen* 'slabber, lap up; bungle, lubber over; stammer, mutter.'

WVl. *slibberen* 'be slippery' : *sloeberen* 'slabber, eat slaveringly.'

Westf. *slabbern* 'beim Essen u. Trinken etwas verschütten' : *slobber* 'schmutzige Brühe (für Schweine)' : *slubbern* 'schlürfen, auflecken (vom Vieh).'

141. S. dial. *slimpa* 'tear, rip' : *slampa* 'be negligent.'

Bav. *schlampen* 'Flüssiges mit der Zunge einschöpfen; gierig u. unreinlich essen; schlapp herabhängen' : *schlumpen* 'unreinlich sein.'

142. S. *sladda* 'drag,' *sladdra* 'prattle, jabber, gossip' : *sludra* 'fritter away, use carelessly; stutter, sputter, talk unclearly' : *slidder-sladder* n. 'nonsense, bosh.'

D. *sladder* (c) 'tattle, gossip' : *sludder* (c, n) 'fudge, balderdash.'

E. dial. *slidder* 'slide, slip, disappear, walk lazily, pronounce rapidly and indistinctly; delay, defer' : dial. *sladder* 'spill, scatter, make a wet, dirty mess' : dial. *slodder* 'spill, splash, make a dirty mess with' : dial. *sludder* 'eat in a slovenly way, pronounce slurringly, indistinctly.'

OF. *sliddern* 'gleiten, glitschen' : *sladdern* 'klatschen, klatschernd regnen' : *sluddern* 'schleppend, schlaff gehen, schlottern,' *sludern, slüdern* 'schlaff, matt, schläfrig hinsinken, schlummern.'

Wald. *sladeren* 'vor Frost beben, klappern' : *sluderen* 'schlottern; schlendern.'

Pr. *schliddern* 'auf der Eisbahn hingleiten' : *schloddern* 'schlottern, lose u. schlaff hin u. herschwanken' : *schluddern, schlüdern* 'flüchtig, nachlässig, schlecht arbeiten; auf dem Eise gleiten.'

Bav. *schledern* 'im Wasser hin u. her schwenken (als, Wasche)' : *schludern* 'übereilt oder nachlässig arbeiten; schlottern; plaudern.'

143. N. *slentre* 'saunter, lounge about' : *sluntre* 'skulk, shirk.'

D. dial. *slente, slentre* 'kill time without use or profit' : dial. *slante* 'loiter about, have no definite purpose' : dial. *slunte* 'be slow and unenergetic at one's work,' dial. *sluntre* 'be disorderly.'

144. N. *slirpa* 'give a quick blow with something elastic, lash' : *slarpa* 'give a blow with something soft and wet, slap, clap, splash, smear, spill' : *slurpa* 'slobber, suck with a smacking sound.'

Groningen *slieren* 'schlürfen' : *iets sloeren loaten* 'neglect; postpone.'

Zaan. *slieren* 'eine schlenkernde Bewegung machen; schlottern' : *sloeren* 'schlotternd, langsam, schlaff gehen.'

OF. *slüren*, *sliren* 'gleiten, schlüpfen, schleppen; sich leise und sanft gleitend bewegen' : *slören* 'schleifend, träge, nachlässig gehen, schlendern' : *slüren*, *sluren* 'schleppend, schlaff und unordentlich gehen.'

145. Groningen *slikken* 'lecken' : *slok* 'schlaff.'

OF. *slikken* 'schlecken, schlürfen, mit der Zunge gleitend, leise, sanft über etwas hinfahren' : *slakkern* 'beim Essen flüssiger Speisen sich besudeln; anhaltend fein regnen' : *sluken*, *slüken* 'schlucken, schlingen, verzehren.'

Westf. *slickern* 'Kot spritzen; etwas abschütteln,' *sik slickern* 'langsam gehen' : *slackern* 'schneien, wenn Regen dabei; zappeln (von Fischen); schlenkern; taumelnd gehen' : *sluckern* 'schluchzen; naschen.'

Wald. *slikeren* 'spritzen, schleudern' : *slakeren* 'durcheinander regnen und schneien.'

Pr. *schlickern* 'schaukelnd baumeln; ab u. zu einen Schluck nehmen' : *schlackern* 'schaukelnd wackeln, schlenkern; zwecklos gehen; essen, meist mit schlürfendem Ton' : *Schlocker* m. 'langsamer Mensch von schlotternder Haltung' : *Schlucker* m. 'wiederholtes, krankhaftes Aufstossen, Schluchzen.'

146. E. *slink* (st.) 'sneak, skulk, loiter' : dial. *slank* 'slink away; go about in listless fashion' : dial. *slunk* 'wade through a mire.'

147. OF. *schaffen* 'essen' : *schuffeln* 'unordentlich u. gierig essen.'

148. N. *skimla* 'glimmer, give forth glints or flashes, squint, rise tremblingly, wander restlessly,' *skimta* 'glint, flash, move with flashing rapidity' : *skuma* 'grow dark,' *skumla* 'scowl, cast down the eyes,' *skumta* 'grow dark; take an interval of rest at twilight.'

149. Stieg. *schittern* 'in starke zitternde Bewegung setzen oder darin sein' : *schattern* 'hell gackernd schreien' : *schuttern* = *schittern*.

Els. *schittle* 'schütteln, sich aus einer Sache ziehen' : *schattere* 'klingen wie ein zersprungenes Gefäß, klappern, rasseln, dröhnen' : *schottle* 'schütteln, wackeln,' *schottere* 'schüttern, erschüttern.'

Bav. *schitteln* 'schütteln' : *schattern* 'laut auflachen, schakern, schwatzen, klingen wie ein gespaltener Topf' : *schotteln* 'schütteln, hin u. her bewegen' : *schuttern* 'in Bewegung setzen; stossen.'

150. N. *skaldra* 'rattle, clash, clatter' : *skuldra* 'make a dull noise (as when furniture is being moved).'

151. N. *skirra* 'scare, frighten' : *skarra* 'walk slowly and waveringly; barely suffice; bring forth a rough throat-sound; clear the throat, speak uvular R; growl, whine,' *skarka* 'walk heavily, draggingly, as with a burden; work hard with the wings; grow slow, grow weak' : *skurra* 'shove so as to give a thundering noise (as, shove a table along the floor), scrub, scrape; warn,' *skurka* 'give a scratching, grating sound; escape from a duty.'

OF. *scharren* 'scharren, kratzen' : *schurren*, *schuren*, *schüren* 'scharren, kratzen, scharf über etwas hinfahren, dass es ein dumpfes Geräusch macht.'

152. E. dial. *shackle* 'shake, joggle, rattle; disorder; waste; crack; idle about' : dial. *shuckle* 'shuffle, slink in walking.'

153. N. *skrappa* 'bang, hammer' : *skruppa* 'put together unreliaibly wooden implements or vessels.'

Lux. *schrappen* 'schaben, unehrlich sammeln' : *schruppen* 'mit der Bürste waschen.'

Hess. *schrappen* 'kratzend schaben, scharren' : *schruppen* 'schruppen.'

153a. E. *scribble* 'write small or poorly' : dial. *scrabble* 'scratch, paw, crawl, scramble, drub' : dial. *scrobble* 'scratch, paw, scramble, crawl' : dial. *scrubble* 'struggle, work laboriously, raise an uproar.'

154. E. dial. *scraffle* 'struggle, scramble, creep, tumble, shuffle, quarrel, wrangle, dispute' : dial. *scruffle* '= *scraffle*; rustle.'

155. N. *skrima* 'gleam forth, appear faintly as in a mist; have poor sight, glow faintly (of twilight)'; *skramla*, 'rattle, resound': *skruma* 'talk roughly or threateningly, scold,' *skrumla* 'give a hollow, unharmonious sound, make a darker noise than *skramla*.'

156. N. *skratla* 'rattle, creak; laugh aloud': *skrutla* 'shudder.'

157. N. *skrilta* 'walk lightly, slowly, half glidingly, as over thin and slippery ice; glide; steal ahead': *skralta* 'walk with small and weak steps': *skrulta* 'walk with one's head hanging and one's back bent, walk skulkingly.'

158. N. *skrikla* 'shout, rejoice (of children and birds); creak, crack, scrape, walk shakily and with cracking joints': *skrakla* 'give a grating, rattling or scraping sound, laugh loud and gratingly; be brittle; walk loosely, slowly, unsurely, or with difficulty; patch up, bungle': *skrukla* 'give a short rattling noise somewhat darker than *skrakla*, work unreliably, patch, bungle.'

159. N. *skvipa* 'press out or spirt out in a thin stream,' *skvipla* 'take frequently and in small portions from a liquid so that it unnoticeably disappears': *skvapa* 'send out through a small opening a wavelike mass; talk loud and much, emptily; bubble, gluck (of liquids),' *skvapla* 'give small waves, spill by means of waves.'

160. N. *skvitra* 'splash, sprinkle, scatter, spirt out in thin streams': *skvatra* 'plash, ripple.'

161. N. *skvisla* 'splash, = *skvasla* but with lesser momentum and a thinner noise; scatter': *skvasla* 'splash, scatter.'

162. OF. *swippe* 'das letzte dünne, schlanke Ende einer Peitschenschnur': *swappen* 'schwingend bewegen, klatschend schlagen, mit Geräusch schleudern oder werfen.'

Thur. *schwippen* 'schnelle Bewegungen machen': *schwappen* 'schwingende Bewegungen machen; hauen; überlaufen,' *schwappeln* 'schwanken, sich hin u. her bewegen; gedankenlos reden.'

163. E. dial. *swittle* 'wash gently, dabble in water; cut, whittle a stick and leave the pieces lying about': dial. *swattle* 'swallow greedily and noisily, drink; waste, squander; beat soundly.'

164. N. *lebba* 'speak indistinctly, with lazy articulation, speak languidly and slowly': *labba* 'shuffle, walk carelessly; slap smackingly': *lubba* 'walk heavily, slowly, and swayingly.'

165. N. *lima* 'dawn, break (of the day)' : *lamra* 'wear out with perpetual use' : *luma* 'doze, be sleepy,' *lumra* 'walk unsurely, limpingly, stiffly, sleepily.'

Wvl. *limmen* 'glimmen, anbrechen (vom Tag)' : *lommer* m. Vn. 'Schatten gegen die Sonnenglut, fr. *l'ombre*; besonders, schwüler, mit Wolken überzogener Sommerhimmel.'

165a. Els. *lampe* 'schlaff herabhängen' : *lumpe* 'nichts arbeiten u. statt dessen im Wirtshaus liegen u. trinken.'

165b. N. *lamsa* 'slap with a paw or fist, slap carelessly or roughly; go ahead languidly and with long, heavy, unsure strides' : *lumsa* 'hobble, walk heavily and carelessly.'

166. Zaan. *liddenen* 'move tremblingly back and forth, quake, shake' : *lodderen* 'bask in the sun, coddle oneself in the sun.'

167. S. dial. *lisk* 'be false while smiling' : *lуска* 'sneak about to hear something.'

168. D. *lalle* 'babble' : *lulle* 'lull.'

E. *lilt* 'sing softly, hum, croon; sing merrily' : *loll* 'lie lazily about; hang out from the mouth (of the tongue)' : *lull* 'soothe, become calm,' dial. *lult* 'idle, lounge, lean against.'

Dutch *lillen* 'shake, quiver, shiver' : *lellen* 'tattle, prattle incessantly' : *lollen* 'waul, caterwaul, sing badly, bray; warm one's hands at a fire-pot' : *lullen* 'talk nonsense, prate; cheat, gull.'

Westf. *lällebeck* m. 'fader, schwatzhafter junger Mensch' : *lollen* 'laut weinen; ein gewisses Miauen, das dem lauten Weinen ahnelt.'

Els. *lalle* 'lallen, betrunken sein; lechzen, vor Durst die Zunge heraushängen lassen' : *lulle* 'saugende Bewegungen mit Lippen u. Zunge machen, saugen; vom Essen alter Leute; trinken; rauchen.'

Schw. *lalle* 'die Zunge herausstrecken oder heraushängen lassen; die Lippen lecken; auflodern (von Flammen)' : *läle* 'nachlässig, undeutlich vor sich hin singen, sich emfältig gebärden' : *lulle* 'saugen, die Zunge heraushängen lassen; naschen; undeutlich reden, wie wenn man etwas im Munde hätte.'

Bav. *lallen* 'mit schwerer Zunge sprechen' : *lullen* 'saugen.'

169. N. *lira* 'move ahead in small jerks; be on the watch; steal up to one; examine' : *lera* 'watch, look at' : *lura* 'watch,

lie in wait, steal up, sneak, outwit' : *lūra* 'hang the head, doze (mostly of cattle in bad weather); slap gently.'

170. N. *likka* 'move, shove, move very slightly, wriggle, be loose in the joints; try something small and secret,' *likra* 'wriggle, shake, crack, drop from looseness in joints or attachment' : *lakka* 'trip, walk lightly, run, hop on one foot, pass, move on (of time); fasten by a point, hang up,' *lakra* 'rock, wobble, be loosely joined.'

WVl. *lekken* 'lick' : *lokken* 'drink suckingly.'

171. N. *ripla* 'scratch, stripe' : *rapla* 'rattle lightly; babble' : *rupla* 'shake, put out of order.'

E. *rtp* 'divide by tearing or cutting' : *ripple* 'have or cause small waves' : *rap* 'strike sharply.'

WVl. *rippen* 'tear open, tear hastily' : *rappen* 'move speedily.'

Westf. *sik rippeln* 'sich schnell fort machen' : *rappeln* 'klappern, Getöse oder Geräusch machen; halbverrückt sein' : *ripprapp* m. 'Necklied.'

Wald. *sek ripelen* 'sich rühren' : *rapelen* 'rasseln,' et *rapelt bei ieme* 'er ist verrückt,' *sek rapelen* 'sich beeilen.'

Lux. *rappen* 'zerren, zupfen; zerreiben' : *ruppen* 'rupfen (ein Huhn).'

Thur. *rippeln* 'rühren, bewegen' : *rappeln* 'klappern, klappernd sich bewegen; raffen' : *ruppeln* 'raffen, rühren.'

Hess. *rippeln* 'sich regen, leise Bewegungen machen; sich beeilen' : *berappeln* 'bestrafen; überfallen.'

Stieg. *sich rippeln* 'sich regen, gewöhnlich in der Wendung *sich nich rippeln un rējen*' : *rāppeln*, *rappeln*, *rāpeln* 'raffen, zusammenraffen; klappern, in schneller Bewegung rasseln.'

172. N. *ribba* 'pluck, tear out the feathers' : *rabba* 'talk, prattle; snatch, tear to one; do work in a hurry, fling it off' : *rubba* 'scrub, make even or harrow down loosely, take the scales from a fish.'

E. dial. *ribble* 'read or recite quickly, gabble; work hastily and carelessly' : dial. *rabble* 'talk or read quickly and indistinctly, gabble; speak confusedly, make a noise as of a stream, babble, wrangle, work hastily and carelessly' : dial. *robbles* 'tangle' : *rub* 'reiben, fricare,' dial. *rubble* 'crawl or wriggle amongst dirt and refuse' : *ribble-rabble* 'idle confused talk.'

Wald. *riwelen* 'zwischen den Fingern drehen' : *rawelen* 'schnell u. undeutlich schwatzen.'

Lux. *räbbelen* 'jemandem alles abgewinnen' : *rabbelen* 'raseln, klappern; halbverrückt sein' : *rubbelen* 'rütteln, übereilt handeln, klappern, rumpeln; hastig abmachen u. deshalb schlechte Arbeit liefern.'

172a. OF. *riffeln* 'lose u. locker werden, fasern; mit einem scharfen Instrument streifig, rinnig oder furchig machen, cannelieren' : *ruffeln* 'schnell, flüchtig, unordentlich arbeiten, oberflächlich behobeln; Falten oder Krausen in etwas machen.'

173. S. dial. *rammla* 'fall down with a crash; beat with a crash, thrash, rattle, prattle noisily' : dial. *rummla* 'play pranks, be noisy, make a racket.'

Dutch *rammelen* 'rattle, clink; chatter; rut, couple' : *rommelen* 'mix up, put out of order; roar, rumble, thunder; buzz; grumble.'

OF. *rammeln* 'wiederholt stossen, schlagen; klappern, lärmern, rumoren' : *rummeln* 'ein anhaltendes und wiederholtes dumpfes Getöse machen, sich mit dumpf tönendem und dumpf stossendem Geräusch bewegen.'

Westf. *remmeln*, *rammeln* 'bespringen (von Hasen, Kaninchen, etc.)' : *rummeln* 'Geräusch machen; geschwind etwas tun.'

Els. *rammle* 'coire; schäkern, raufen; sich mutwillig herumtreiben' : *rummle* 'donnern.'

173a. E. *ramp* 'climb or creep as a plant; leap, bound' : *romp* 'gambol, tumble.'

Bav. *rimpfen* (st.) 'aufritzen, zusammenziehen' : *rampfen* 'raffen, herausziehen' : *rumpfen* 'runzlicht machen, verziehen.'

173b. N. *rimsa* 'talk, patter; tear or cut to shreds' : *remsa* 'talk prattle' : *ramsa* 'walk with fast, long strides; work quickly and carelessly; tear, talk rapidly' : *romsa* 'shake up; mumble; move in one's sleep.'

174. N. *ratla* 'wander, walk unsurely' : *rutla* 'rattle; amble; roar like distant thunder, make a dull noise.'

E. dial. *rittle* 'wheeze, snore, make a rattling noise in the throat' : *rattle* 'clatter; speak noisily,' dial. 'prate; pronounce

uvular *R*': dial. *ruttle* 'rattle, rustle, breathe with a rattling sound, laugh suppressedly; snore; gurgle': *rittle-rattle* 'rattle.'

WVl. *reutelen* 'stir up; make a rattling, knocking or rustling sound': *uitratelen* 'blab out, tattle out': *rotelen*, *ruttelen* 'make a rattling, knocking or rustling sound,' *ruttelen* 'shake, rattle.'

Wald. *rütelen*, 'rütteln': *rätelen* 'laut durcheinander sprechen,' *ratelech* 'schlotterig.'

Lux. *reselen* 'rütteln, rasseln': *rässelen* 'leidenschaftlich spielen,' *raselen* 'rauschen': *roselen* 'die Kinderrassel bewegen.'

175. OF. *ratsen* 'reissen, kratzen, verwunden': *rutsen* 'reissen, raffen, raufen, verwunden; rutschen, gleiten, fallen, stürzen.'

Wald. *ratsken* in *im štrau rume ratsken* 'einen im Stroh herumwälzen': *rutsken* 'rutschen.'

Bav. *ratschen* 'klappern, schnarren, schwatzen': *rutschen* 'rutschen; schaukeln.'

176. N. *rasa* 'glide, rush about, play gaily; rage': *rusa* 'start ahead, go on chance or luck, barter by chance more than by valuation; storm ahead; work carelessly; shake, sway.'

176a. Thur. *rascheln* 'mit jemandem sich im Scherze rupfen': *ruscheln* 'rascheln; unordentlich; fahrig sein; auf dem Eise gleiten.'

177. S. *rispa* 'scratch, slip, rip': *raspa* 'rasp, scratch.'

D. *rispe* 'scratch': *raspe* 'rasp.'

Dutch *rispen* 'belch': *raspen* 'rasp, grate.'

Westf. *rispeln* 'rascheln': *raspeln* 'mit einer Raspel feilen': *ruspeln* 'vom Boden, der etwas gefriert: et ruspelt.'

Wald. *rispelen* 'regen rühren': *raspelen* 'feilen rascheln.'

178. N. *rīla* 'walk with difficulty, unsurely; stagger,' *rȳla* 'hack, harrow, dream away the time, keep to oneself,' *ryla* 'howl, shriek with a long-drawn sound,' *rilla* 'roll small and light things, trundle, walk slowly': *rēla* 'twist a joint; walk shakily and unevenly, like a child,' *røla* 'talk loud, screech, use big words; tumble, gambol,' *ræla* 'pierce, scratch; prate; walk slowly': *rāla* 'walk slowly, talk wanderingly,' *ralla* 'talk much, prate': *rōla* 'write carelessly, clutter,' *rolla* 'prate': *rulla* 'roll, walk swayingly and unsteadily.'

E. *rill* 'narrow stream,' *reel* 'stagger, sway': *roll* 'rollen.'

Dutch *rillen* 'shiver, shudder' : *rellen* 'babble, tattle, chatter' : *ralle* f. 'gossip' : *rollen* 'roll, trundle; tumble' : *zooals het reilt en zeilt* 'in the lump.'

Lux. *Rill* f. 'Rinne, Rinnstein' : *rallech* 'wüst, roh' : *Roll* f. 'Rolle; Bierwagen' : *Rull* f. 'Saufgelage,' *rullen* 'rollen.'

179. E. dial. *rickle* 'rattle, jingle, chatter' : dial. *ruckle* 'breathe with difficulty, make a hoarse rattling sound, croak.'

Bav. *ricksen* 'schäkern, sich scherzweise zanken' : *räckezen* 'sich räuspern' : *ruckezen* 'girren, jämmerlich bitten' : *rauckizen* 'kläglich tun oder reden.'

180. N. *riga* 'totter, sway, sway lightly, rock, flit lightly, walk unsurely, walk slowly,' *rigga* 'rock, shake, take hold of something so that it shakes; wrap up,' *rigla* 'rock, stand loose or trembling, totter, walk unsurely, be loose in the joints, move quickly back and forth, rattle in the throat' : *regla* 'prattle, talk maliciously; be incoherent' : *raga* 'totter, waver, ramble,' *ragga* 'walk slowly like an old man, saunter, idle about,' *ragla* 'totter, reel; prattle; talk or write carelessly and meaninglessly, move unsteadily' : *rogga* 'prompt, incite, hurry,' *rogla* 'play before the eye in changing colors' : *rugga* 'tremble, shake, rock, move, swing, shudder,' *rugla* 'lie or stand unsurely, walk totteringly, waveringly.'

E. dial. *riggle*, *wriggle* 'zappeln; squirm; struggle; rattle' : dial. *raggle*, *wraggle* 'wrangle, dispute, contend with' : dial. *ruggle* 'shake, pull, tug backwards and forwards, shake so as make a rattling noise.'

181. N. *gipa* 'cause to open or gape; gasp' : *gapa* 'gape, gazeat; rant, prate, shout' : *geipa* 'set open, give a wide opening, straddle; throw about the arms or body; prattle, talk wantonly.'

Els. *giffe* 'schwache Laute ausstossen, wimmern' : *gaffe* 'stieren, starr ansehen.' Cf. also perhaps No. 181b. N.

181a. Groningen *giebeln* 'laugh' : *gabbeln* 'laugh,—louder than *giebeln*.'

OF. *gibeln* 'lachen, kichern, spottend u. höhnend lachen' : *gabbeln* 'mit weit geöffnetem Munde hell u. laut lachen' : *gubbeln* 'wallen, brodeln, brausen.'

Westf. *gibbeln* 'heimlich versteckt lachen' : *gabbeln* 'Spass haben.'

181b. N. *gyfsa* 'puff out air, pant out; jump up high, cause to jump up high' : *gafsa* 'swallow forcedly, gulp down' : *gufsa* 'puff, blow gently, come in puffs, prepare carelessly.'

E. dial. *jiffle* 'fidget, be restless, shuffle;' sb.—'idle talk' : dial. *jaffle* sb. 'idle discourse' : *juffle* 'beat, knock, box the ears; walk hastily, shuffle.'

OF. *gaffeln* 'mit weit geöffnetem Munde hell u. laut lachen, = *gabbeln*' : *guffeln* 'anhaltend laut oder dumpf u. unterdrückt lachen.'

182. N. *gimpa seg* 'swing, shake, move, throw about the upper part of the body with gestures and grimaces; challenge or vex,' *gimsa* 'throw one's head wantonly, like a young horse' : *gampa seg* 'act like a clumsy jester,' *gamsa* 'jest, joke, trifle, jest with stupid, gross grimaces' : *gumpa* 'give a light blow with the clenched fist, puff; take food, eat,' *gumsa* 'laugh suppressedly, with small clucking outbursts.'

D. *gamse* 'snap' : *gumle* 'mumble.'

J. *gimpe* 'shake, rock, twinge, sting (of sudden-pain),' *gimre* 'move tremblingly up and down' : *gamse* 'snap' : *gumpe* 'swing, rock on the arm,' *gumse* 'mumble.'

E. dial. *gamp* 'be foolishly merry, laugh loudly' : dial. *gump* 'grope.'

182a. Els. *gümple* 'mit geringwertigen alten Sachen trödeln' : *gample* 'im Gehen sich hin u. herwiegen.'

Schw. *gampe* 'schwanken, schankeln,' *gampele* 'auspumpen' : *gumpere* 'poltern.'

Bav. *gampen*, *gampern* 'scherzen, hüpfen, springen' : *gumpen*, *gumpeln* 'Sprünge machen, stossen, durch stossende Bewegung herauf herausbringen (von Wiederkäuern).'

183. Hess. *gitzen* 'einen leise pfeifenden Laut von sich geben (von Mäusen etc.)' : *gätzen* 'schreien nach Legen eines Eis, gackern (von der Henne)' : *gutzen* 'sich bücken, sich wiederlegen.' Cf. No. 183a.

183a. N. *gidda* 'tremble, shudder, vibrate' : *gadda* 'stretch up, erect oneself; become hard or firm.'

Schw. *gidere* 'kichern, lachen,' *güdere* 'gurgelndes Geräusch verursachen, plappern' : *gadele*, *gadere* 'schwätzen, plaudern.' Cf. No. 183 and Nos. 206, 206a.

184. N. *gisa* 'look with pinched-up eyes, blink, stare with sly, pretendedly penetrant mockery' : *gasa* 'gaze, stare, strut, move about with one's nose in the air, be lively, rush ahead' : *gusa* 'sigh, groan; hang back from a duty; rush forth' : *geisa* 'stride, straddle.'

185. Thur. *gillern* 'schreien,' *gillen* 'laut kreischen' : *gallern* 'mit Wucht werfen; durchprügeln' : *gullern* 'geräuschvoll fließen, giessen, trinken; das Wasser gullert aus der Flasche.'

Hess. *gillern* 'scharfer, hoher Ton des Schmerzenslautes der Hunde' : *gallern* 'laut schreien, rufen, weinen, laut lachen.'

Bav. *gellen* 'schreien' : *gollen* 'vomere.' Cf. No. 208.

185a. Groningen *gilpen* 'scream, whine' : *galpen* 'howl very loudly, cry.'

OF. *gilpen*, *gilpen* 'laut u. scharf schreien; kreischen' : *galpen* 'laut schreien, weinen, heulen, schelten' : *gulpen* 'mit grossem Schwall hervorbrechen; in grossen Zügen hineinstärzen, gierig schlucken.'

Westf. *gilpern* 'schreien (von jungen Hühnern)' : *galpern* 'schreien (vom Hunde, wohl auch vom Menschen).'

Wald. *jilperen* 'piepen, nach Futter schreien (von jungen Vögeln)' : *jalpern* 'heulend bellen (von Hunden).'

Hess. *gilpen* 'schreien wie junge Vögel; winseln' : *gilfen* 'laut, schreiend u. schnell reden' : *galpen* 'bellen, zanken,' *galfen* 'bellen, zanken.' Cf. No. 208.

186. Hess. *gerren* (st., IV) 'weinen' : *gurren* 'dumpf knurren oder knarren.'

Els. *garre*, *gerre* 'das R mit dem Zapfchen aussprechen' : *gurre* 'girren (von Tauben).' Cf. No. 209.

187. E. *gargle* : *gurgle*.

188. Hess. *giken*, *gicken* 'laut u. hell, in hohem Tone aufschreien; mit langen stumpfen Instrumenten stechen' : *gäken* 'überlaut schreien,' *gackern* 'gackern.'

Thur. *gieken* 'mit einem langen Gegenstande stechen; scharf sehen,' *giekeln* 'unsicher stechen,' *gieksen* 'stechen; laut schreien,'

gicken 'stechen, hell auflachen, schreien,' *gickeln* 'unsicher stechen, sticheln, reizen': *gäken, gäksen* 'sich erbrechen,' *gäckeln* 'unsicher herumfahren': *gäcken, gacken* 'lang hervortreten,' *gacken* 'schreien, gackern, schwatzen,' *gaken* 'lang u. dünn emporstehen; schreien.'

Bav. *gigken* 'mit der Spitze des Zeigefingers stechen, berühren, auf etwas hinweisen; unartikulierte Töne hervorbringen,' *gigkeln* 'beben, zucken': *gögken* 'rülpsen, speien, sich erbrechen': *gagkern, gagkezen* 'abgestossene Laute hervorbringen, trocken u. abgebrochen husten, stottern, aussprechen': *gogkeln* '(von Hahne) die Henne treten': *gugken* 'gucken.' Cf. Nos. 188a, 210.

188a. N. *gigla* 'shake, topple, be or keep in a gently swinging movement': *gagla* 'strut, stretch oneself upward, stare with one's chin in the air': *gugla* 'stammer': *geigla* 'swing, sway, swing and throw oneself about.'

E. *jig* 'dance a clog-dance,' dial. 'dance briskly, play the fiddle, work in a lively manner, trot, move, jerk, tilt, shake,' *giggle* 'titter, laugh suppressedly,' dial. *giggle, jiggle* 'shake about, be restless, wriggle': dial. *jag* 'jerk roughly, jolt,' dial. *jaggle* 'cut roughly, shake, quarrel, jangle,' dial. *gaggle* 'laugh immoderately, cackle': *jog* 'push, nudge; shake,' dial. 'move on,' *joggle* 'shake, shove, nudge,' dial. 'move on slowly; throb, pulse': dial. *juggle* 'shake, joggle, mix violently,' dial. *guggle* 'gurgle, bubble; sound, gurgle, guzzle.'

Els. *gagere* 'gackern, schwatzen, heftig weinen; schaukeln, langsam gehen': *gugere* 'schaukeln, hin u. herschwanken.' Cf. especially No. 210.

188b. E. *jingle* 'ring lightly, tinkle': *jangle* 'ring noisily, sound out of tune.'

Els. *Ginkel* m. 'freischwebender, hängender Körper; Knabe, der beständig Sprünge macht': *Gänkel* m. 'tänzelnder, närrischer Mensch': *Gankel* m. 'lose Weiberjacke': *Gunkel* m. 'Lump, Schnappssäufer.'

NOTE.—With words in *gn-* cf. also those in *kn-*.

189. E. *gnab-*, etc. see under *n-*.

Els. *gnappe* 'plötzlich in die Knie einsinken, den Fuss übertreten, hinken, schwanken': *gnuppe* 'Rippenstöße geben.'

189a. OF. *gniffeln*, *gniffellachen* 'heimlich lachen; gekniffen, unterdrückt, mit kicherndem, feinem Tone lachen' : *gnuffeln* 'i. q. *gniffeln* aber mit dumpferem, dem U-Laut entsprechendem Ton.'

190. N. *gnidra* 'rub perseveringly, rub clean; work unceasingly but with little result; toil, finger, make too small' : *gnadra* 'grumble.'

D. *gnidre* 'write a close and crabbed hand' : *gnadre* 'grumble, growl.'

J. *gnidder* 'louse-egg; fine, illegible writing' : *gnaddre* 'murmur, growl, grumble.'

E. *gnat*-, etc. see under *n*-.

OF. *gnittern*, *knittern* 'einen weinerlichen u. klagenden Ton hören lassen, knisternd rauschen, prasseln' : *gnätern*, *gnattern* 'murren, verdriesslich sein' : *gnuttern*, *knuttern* 'i. q. *gnattern* u. *gnittern*, aber mit dumpfem, dem U entsprechendem Ton.'

Thur. *knittern* 'in hellen, kurzen Tönen knacken, knattern' : *knattern* 'unaufhörlich nörgeln, knurren, brummen' : *knuttern*, *knutteln* 'brummen, murren.'

Stieg. *knittern* '=*knätern* in kurzen, hellen Tönen' : *knätern* 'knarren, knacken,' *knattern* 'brummen, knurren (von Menschen), knattern (von Gewehrfeuer).' Cf. No. 214.

191. N. *gnistra* 'whine; creak, give a screeching sound' : *gnastra* 'whine; grumble.'

J. *gniske* 'rub' : *gnaske* 'gnaw gently, chew with a crackling sound.'

OF. *gnisen*, *knisen* 'knirschen, beissen, zischend flüstern, kichern' : *gnüsen*, *knüsen* 'drücken, drückend zermalmen.'

Pr. *knistern* : *knästern* 'prasseln, knarren, rasseln. Der intensiv höhere Ton des Prassels und Knarrens wird durch *knistern* bezeichnet.'

NHD. *knistern* : *knastern*. Cf. No. 215.

192. D. *knirke* 'creak, crackle (of snow)' : *knarke* 'creak, grate, jar' : *knurre* 'growl, snarl.'

F. *gnierje*, *gnjirje* 'mit den Zähnen kratzen; gnash the teeth' : *gnoarje* 'knurren, murren.'

OF. *gniren*, *gniren* 'knirren, einen feinen knarrenden Ton von

sich geben, knirschen, kreischen, wimmern,' *gnirsen* 'knirschen, i. q. *gnarsen* u. *gnürsen*, jedoch mit feinerem Ton' : *gnarren* 'knarren, murren, brummen,' *gnarsen* 'knirschen (Zähne, Mhlsteine, Felsen)' : *gnüren* 'knurren, brummen, murren,' *gnürsen* 'i. q. *gnarsen* aber mit dumpferem dem *U* entsprechendem Ton.'

Wald. *knaren* 'weinen (von Kindern)' : *knuren* 'knurren, murren.'

Pr. *gnirren*, *gnörren* 'hämisch, mit Murmeln u. Zähneflitschen lachen; hohnlachen, murren,' *knirren* 'feineres Knarren; knurren; = *gnirren*' : *gnarren*, *gnaren* 'knarrend klagen, verdriesslich u. unzufrieden murren,' *knarren* 'knarren; verdriesslich u. weinerlich murren' : *gnorren*, *gnurren* 'knurren, murren, brummen,' *knorren* = *gnorren*.

NHD. *knirren* : *knarren* : *knurren*.

Els. *knirsche* 'mit den Zähnen knirschen' : *knarsche* 'etwas Hartes kauend mit den Zähnen Geräusch machen.'

Schw. *knirren* 'knittern wie harter Schnee unter den Füßen' : *chnarsche* 'knarren, knirschen' : *knorren* 'grunzen,' *chnorsche* 'zusammendrücken, pressen, quetschen, kneten, häufig mit dem Nebenbegriff des Unordentlichen.'

193. N. *glīpa* (st. I) 'grab with the mouth, swallow,' *glīpa glīpa* 'gape, be a little open (of clothes)' : *glapa* 'have an open space that ought not be, gape' : *glaapa* 'stare, look after something,' *glopa* 'gape, open one's mouth wide, become soft and swollen in thawing weather (of the earth); swallow; chance, stumble, let things go' : *glupa* 'gape, snap up, tear to oneself, swallow' : *gleipa* 'go on one's luck, loiter; distort one's face' : *glōypa* 'swallow, eat greedily; talk roughly, grab at roughly.' Cf. No. 218.

193a. S. dial. *glāffsa* 'clack, clap (of shoes)' : *glāffsa* 'eat voraciously; eat slowly and much' : *gluffsa* 'devour carelessly and violently.'

194. N. *glīma* 'shine, flash, have blinding brilliancy (of the sun or snow); shine with an unsteady, blinding, usually a reflected light,' *glīma* 'glitter, glisten; glint now and then,' *glyma* 'cast angry looks,' *glymja* 'resound, rattle' : *glama* 'rattle, make a noise, bang; rail, rate, scold' : *glaama* 'stare, make big eyes' :

gluma 'resound, more dully than *glymja*; grow dark, cloud over; cast sinister glances' : *gleima* 'cast short, quick glances, look awry and stealthily' : *gløyma* 'cast stealthy and crooked glances.'

S. *glimma* 'glimmer, glisten, glitter' : *glōmma* 'forget' : *glamma* 'laugh and talk.'

D. *glimre* 'glitter, glisten' : *glamme* 'bay, bark' : *glume* 'forget.'

E. *gleam, glim, glimmer* : *gloam* : *gloom, glum*.

OF. *glimmen* 'glimmen, scheinen, glänzen' : *glūmen, glumen* 'heimlich wonach sehen u. lauern, einen finstern, bösen Blick werfen' : *glumen* 'ein dumpfer, versteckter Schmerz.'

Wald. *glimen* 'glimmen' : *glumen* 'einen stillen, dumpfen Schmerz empfinden (z. B. von nicht heftigem Zahnweh).'

Thur. *glimmen, glimmern* 'zitternd glänzen' : *glummen* 'glimmen.'

Schw. *glimse* 'stark glimmen' : *glumse* 'unter der Asche brennen, noch glühen.'

195. N. *glidra* 'tremble so as to seem to give small glints (of eyes, of the air)' : *gladra* 'treat carelessly and unhandily things that require care; bungle' : *glodra* 'be fumbling and unsure in the use of the hands and feet, fumble or paw senselessly, rush ahead clumsily.'

Els. *glitzere* 'glänzen, funkeln, blinken; putzen' : *glotze* 'starr sehen.'

196. N. *glīna* (st. I) 'shine, have a white sheen,' *glīna* (wk.) 'stare' : *glæna* 'grow pale' : *glana* 'stare, look curiously, glimmer, shine (of open spaces between clouds, of the horizon after sunset)' : *glaana* 'grow more open and broader, stare, look, become more open (of a forest)' : *gleina* 'look askance, cast angry looks, slide to one side, slide down.'

D. *glinse* 'glisten, shine' : *glane* 'stare.'

E. *glint* 'shine, sparkle, gleam, flash,' dial. 'peep; squirt' : dial. *glunt* 'emit sparks, glance, pout, scowl.'

197. N. *glisa* 'flash, gleam through a small opening, show the teeth; titter, laugh mockingly' : *gløsa* 'catch fire, blaze up, flash up, shine, glow, see, watch' : *glosa* 'shine, sparkle, look after, see.'

198. N. *glira* 'blink, pinch together the eyes, glimmer, shine repeatedly, laugh with puckered eyes repeatedly and suppressedly,' *glyra* 'look intensely, look sidewise with an observant, angry, or arch glance, blink, stare' : *glera* 'be childishly, noisily gay; jump about laughing and shouting; frisk, gambol' : *glora* 'glisten, shine; make big eyes, stare.'

199. E. *grip* 'take hold of' : *grapple* 'clutch, close with' : *grope* 'feel for, fumble after or about' : *gripe* 'sieve, squeeze, give pain.'

199a. E. dial. *grīb* 'bite' : *grab* 'sieve, take hold of' : *grub* 'dig, dig around.'

F. *grabbelje* 'krabbeln, suchend tasten' : *grobbele* 'waschen.'

Groningen. *gribbeln* 'claw up, gather up small objects' : *gröb-beln* 'grope (in the dark).'

Wald. *gripsen* 'Sachen von geringem Werte stehlen, mausern' : *grapsen* 'hastig greifen.'

Lux. *gripsen* 'entwenden, stehlen' : *grapsen* 'hastig nach etwas greifen.'

Thur. *gripsen* 'stehlen' : *grapsen*, *grupsen* 'hastig greifen.'

Stieg. *jripsen* 'heimlich fassen, greifen; stehlen' : *jraptschen* 'mit vollen Händen greifen, raufen, an sich reißen.'

Els. *grippe* 'stehlen' : *gruppe* 'kauern, sich ducken.'

Schw. *grapen* 'tappen, tasten' : *gruppen* 'kriechen (von kleinen Kindern).' Cf. No. 223.

200. N. *grimma seg* 'get angry, act harshly' : *gramma seg* 'complain.'

F. *grimmelje* 'crawl, swarm' : *grommelje* 'rumpeln, poltern, murren.'

Wvl. *grimmen*, 'smile,' *grimmelen* 'curdle' : *grimeelen*, *gre-meelen*, *grameelen*, 'smile,' *grameien* 'smile' : *grommelen* 'scold, mutter.'

OF. *fergrimmen* 'ergrimmen, wütend werden' : *gramen*, *grammen*, *grāmen* 'böse, verdriesslich sein, sich grāmen' : *grummeln* 'knurren; donnern.'

Westf. *grimen* 'grauen, dämmern,' *griemeln* = *grimen* : *grāmstern* 'hüsteln' : *gramm* adj. 'heiser' : *grummeln* 'leise donnern; sich klumpen.'

Hess. *grammelig* 'heiser' : *grummen*, *grummeln*, *grumsen* 'knurren, brummen, in den Bart brummeln.'

NHD. *Grimm* : *Gram*.

Els. *grimme* 'mit den Nägeln kneifen' : *gramsle* 'krabbeln, durcheinanderwimmeln; in allen Gliedern prickeln' : *grumme* 'brummen, murren, murmeln; kneifen,' *grumse* 'murren, brummen; grunzen.'

Bav. *grimmen* 'kneipen, zwicken' : *gramen*, *grameln* 'die Zähne hörbar übereinander reiben, knirren, knirschen' : *grumen* 'sich bekümmern, grämen.'

201. OF. *grillen* 'frösteln, zittern' : *grōlen* 'gröhlen, laut schreien, brüllen, laut u. mistönig singen, etc.' : *gralen*, *grālen* 'laut u. fröhlich lachen, freudig wiehern' : *grullen* 'grollen, böse sein, brummen, donnern.'

Westf. *grille* f. 'Wut, Zorn' : *graelen* 'mistönend schreien' : *grullen* 'leise donnern, grollen.'

NHD. *Grille* : *Groll*.

Bav. *grillen*, *grellen* 'brüllen, heulend weinen' : *grollen* 'brüllen, brummen.' Cf. No. 229.

202. N. *jabba* 'talk after, assent to everything; talk overflowing and meaninglessly; stammer; trot, run, be slow, chew slowly and without force' : *jubba* 'bend down low.'

Lux. *jappelen* 'traben' : *juppelen* 'schaukeln, hüpfen.'

Thur. *jippen* 'schnappen' : *jappen* 'mit Mühe atmen.'

203. N. *jaġla* 'chew laboriously, cut bluntly; creak; stand shaking, set loosely and high up; prate, talk nonsense' : *jugla* 'walk hobblingly, shakingly with the knees turned out; play tricks, talk nonsense.'

Westf. *jackeln*, *jackeln* 'reiten' : *juekeln*, *juckeln* 'reiten, schlecht reiten.'

Wald. *jikselen* 'zwischen Schritt u. Trab reiten' : *jakelen* 'im Trabe reiten' : *jukelen* = *jakelen*.

Lux. *jickelen* 'beweglich sein' : *jekelen* 'unruhig sein, besonders mit den Beinen beim Sitzen' : *juckelen* = *jickelen*.

Hess. *jackern* 'schnell reiten, schnell fahren' : *juckern* 'unruhig sitzen; auch = *jackern*.'

Els. *jackere* 'jagen, eilig fahren, schnell reiten; im Haus

herumsurren und arbeiten' : *jucke* 'zucken, zusammenfahren, aufspringen; jucken, reiben, sich kratzen.'

204. N. *kippa* 'pull to oneself, snap, nip; scare, startle' : *kappa* 'take off the top, hew off' : *kafsa* 'snatch, claw, move the hands much, pluck, pick, or stir at' : *kufsa* 'make sudden jerks, go suddenly from one thing to another, hustle.'

E. *chip* 'cut into small pieces, diminish by cutting away a little at a time,' dial. 'crack, break the shell (of birds)' : *chap* 'cut, crack,' dial. 'knock, strike, chop' : *chop* 'cut with a blow, cut into small pieces,' dial. 'thrash, beat, break small; put, thrust.'

OF. *kippe*, *kip* 'Spitze, scharfe Kante' : *kappe*, *kap* 'Kopfdecke, Deckel, Endrinde des Brodes' : *kop* 'Kopf.'

Westf. *kippen* 'schwach anstossen,' *kipp* m. n. 'Spitze' : *kappe* f. Mütze, Haube, Fingerkuppe' : *kopp* m. 'Kopf, Bergkuppe.'

Wald. *kipen* 'umschlagen, umfallen; beschneiden, behauen' : *kapen* 'abhauen, bestutzen.'

Stieg. *kippen* 'umfallen, umstürzen, umwenden,' *kippeln* 'schwanken, zu fallen drohen (von kleineren Dingen gesagt),' *kippe* f. 'Spitze, Schwerpunkt' : *kuppe* f. 'Spitze, Gipfel, runder oberster Teil' : *kaipeln* 'wanken, hin u. her schwanken.'

Els. *kipf* m. 'langer spitzer Wecken' : *kopf* m. 'Kopf.'

204a. N. *kabba* 'take off the top, hew off; cause to fall, conquer' : *kubba* 'hew off into short stumps.'

S. dial. *kabba* 'hew off; take to oneself' : *kubba* 'hew off to short stubs.'

Dutch *kibbelen* 'quarrel, wrangle, cavil' : *kabbelen* 'prattle, murmur, gabble.'

Westf. *kabbeln* 'keifen' : *kubben* 'im Staube arbeiten oder spielen,' *kuebeln* 'sich im Staube wälzen (von Hühnern),' *kubbelik* 'kränkelnd, fieberfröstelnd.'

Els. *kippe* 'die äusserste Spitze abbrechen,' *kipp* f. 'Gipfel des Baumes, Kopf' : *kappe* 'die Spitze abschneiden (an den Reben); auf eine Anzahl im Kreise aufrechtstehender Garben zum Schutze eine umgekehrt aufsetzen,' *kapp* f. 'Mütze, Lappen' : *kuppe* 'die äusserste Spitze abrechen.'

205. Dutch *kim* f. 'border, brim, mould, horizon' : *kom* f. 'bowl, cup, pond, basin.'

WVl. *kemme, kimme, kem* f. 'horizon' : *komme* f., *kom* m. 'a rather deep earthen, wooden, or metal vessel.'

OF. *kimme, kim* 'Kerbe, Rinne, Einschnitt, Rand' : *kumme, kum* 'tiefe Schüssel, Becken, tiefes u. hohles Etwas.'

Pr. *kimme* f. 'am Fasse, der über den Boden hinausragende Rand der Dauben; am Schiffe, der ausserste Rand' : *kumme, komme* f. 'tiefes, schüsselartiges Gefäss; Napf.; kleine runde Bowle; Krippe, Kasten.'

206. E. dial. *chitter* 'twitter, warble' : *chatter* 'prattle, talk,' dial. 'scold, rattle' : dial. *chuttering* 'a subdued chirping.'

OF. *kittern* 'leise oder fein und scharf schallen, knistern, zwitschern' : *kettern* 'schelten, lärmern, toben' : *kattern* 'lärmern, plaudern, knattern.'

Thur. *kittern* 'lachen, kichern' : *kutteln* 'schlecht, oberflächlich waschen.'

Cf. No. 206*a* and Nos. 183 and 183*a*.

206*a*. N. *kada* 'cackle, chatter, jabber' : *koda* 'be busy at small things, bustle, gossip, talk small-talk, chatter.'

Westf. *käddern* 'zanken' : *kuedern* 'klagen, sich krank zeigen,' *kuedeln* 'sich im Staube wälzen (von Hühnern).'

Els. *kittere* 'girren, kichern' : *kottiere* 'lachen; singen (von der Nachtigall).'

Schw. *chittere* 'kichern, garrere (wie die Vögel),' *chütttere* 'garrere (wie die Vögel), laut lachen, verliebt reden,' *chüttete* 'wie ein Rebhuhn rufen, heimlich raunen' : *chuttere, chütere* 'vom schnarrenden Laut, den der Täuberich oder Hahn hören lässt, wenn er das Weibchen ruft,' *chüte* 'tosen, rauschen, heulen, keuchen.'

Bav. *kittern* 'in schlecht verhaltenen Soprantönen lachen' : *küdern, ködern* 'in wiederholtes halbverhaltenes Lachen ausbrechen; schäkern' : *kuttern* 'ein Geräusch machen, wie Flüssigkeiten, die aus der Flasche gegossen werden; halbunterdrückt lachen,' *kudern* = *kuttern*.

Cf. No. 206 and Nos. 183 and 183*a*.

207. Els. *kistere* 'heiser reden, keuchen, pusten' : *kustere* 'gräbeln.'

207*a*. Schw. *chisle* 'hageln, rieseln, in Kiesel zerfallen' : *chosle*

'unangenehme Arbeit verrichten; im Essen u. Trinken unsauber sein; menstruare; durcheinander regnen u. schneien.'

208. Groningen *kilstern* 'call loud and shrilly, outscreech' : *kallen* 'prate, boast' : *kullen* 'cheat, mislead.'

Dutch *killen* 'shiver with cold, be chilled, tingle' : *kallen* 'prattle, gossip' : *kollen* 'knock down, slaughter, ride upon' : *kullen* 'cheat, dupe.'

OF. *killen* 'wappern, schnappern, flattern, hin u. herschlagen (von Segeln)' : *kallen* 'sprechen, schwatzen, plaudern' : *kullern*, *kullen* 'rumoren, poltern; dumpfes, rollendes Geräusch machen; rollen, wälzen' : *kil-kallen* = *kallen*.

Bav. *kallen* 'bellen, sprechen (verächtlich)' : *kollern*, *kullern* 'rollen, kugeln.'

Cf. Nos. 185, 185a.

209. N. *kirra* 'tremble, shudder' : *karra* 'coo, cackle, speak uvular R; ruffle, shrivel' : *kurra* 'give a cooing sound; let (a meal) settle in the stomach.'

Pr. *kirren*, *kürren* 'tönen, erschallen; bändigen, zahm machen' : *kurren* 'knurren, murren.'

Stieg. *kår'm* 'klagen, jammern' : *kurrig* 'leicht auffahrend, reizbar, erregbar.'

Schw. *chirre* 'einen knarrenden Ton von sich geben, mit den Zähnen knirschen, girren, hörbar atmen, husten' : *churre* 'knurren, brummen, murren; schwer und hörbar atmen.'

Bav. *kirren*, *kerren* 'durchdringend schreien oder tönen' : *karren* 'knarren.' Cf. No. 186.

210. N. *kikla* 'strain by driving too hard; give small pushes and twists, walk bobbingly and unevenly,' *kiksa* 'rub back and forth, especially of playing the fiddle' : *kjekla* 'quarrel, wrangle' : *kakla* 'hack, beat, bang, clatter in walking, row ineffectively,' *kaksa* 'hack, hew, or cut clumsily; slap, thump' : *kokla* 'cackle; spoil, coddle' : *kukla* 'cluck; mutter; botch, boggle; caress,' *kuksa* 'tumble about as if drunk or wild; deck oneself.'

D. *kike*, *kige* 'peep,' *kikse* 'miss, make a miss' : *kagle* 'cackle.'

E. *kick* 'push with the foot,' dial. 'sting, tease; complain' : dial. *cack* 'cackle, chatter, boast,' *cackle* : dial. *cock* 'crow, swagger; turn up, raise' : dial. *cuck* 'throw, jerk, lurch.'

F. *kikke* 'make the least sound,' *kikkerje* 'croak like a frog' : *kokke, kokkelje* 'cluck, cackle.'

Dutch *kikken* 'mutter; in *hij durft geen woord kikken*': *kakelen* 'cackle, cluck; chatter, tattle, gabble; scribble': *kokkelen* 'cluck': *koekeloeren* 'stare, ogle; idle, loiter' : *kijken* 'look, peep.'

Westf. *kiken* (st. I) 'gucken, sehen,' *kicken* 'mucksen, leisen Laut hören lassen' : *kaekeln* 'grelles entgegensprechen' : *kākeln* 'schwätzen, schnattern,' *kackeln* 'gackern' : *kūken* 'keuchen, kränkeln; gucken.'

Wald. *kiken, kikelen* 'gucken' : *kāken* 'schreien, weinen (meist von Tieren)' : *kuken* 'sehen.'

Siebenb. *kickn* 'stechen' : *kuckn* 'gucken.'

Schw. *Chich* m. 'keuchender Atemzug; Rauhreif': *Chuch* m. 'Hauch, Atem.'

Bav. *kickeln* 'spottend mit dem Finger auf etwas hinweisen,' *kickezen* 'kichern, husten, abgestossene Laute hervorbringen,' *kicken, kecken* 'sich erholen, beleben' : *kocken* 'sich unruhig bewegen.' Cf. especially No. 188.

211. S. dial. *kinka* 'be over-sensitive, vexatious; ring the smallest church-bells; dangle' : *kanka* 'walk slowly.'

E. dial. *chink* 'catch one's breath in laughing or coughing' : dial. *chank* 'chew, bite' : dial. *chunk* sb. 'log of wood, lump.'

Dutch *kinken* 'peg, beat repeatedly': *konkelen* 'gossip; bungle, botch; intrigue, plot,' *konkel* f. 'rag, tatter, dishcloth; slut, hussy.'

OF. *kinken* (st.) 'klingen; schnurren, husten; schlagen, stossen,' *kinkel, kinke, kink*, Schlinge, Windung, Ringel' : *kunkeln* 'schwätzen, plaudern; flüstern, munkeln,' *kunkel* 'Schmutzlappen, Schlumpe, Vettel.'

NOTE.—For words in *kn-* see also under *gn-*.

212. E. *knap-* etc., see under *nap-*.

F. *knippe* 'clip, cut, fillip, catch; crush (lice),' *knipe* 'pinch, nip, quiz' : *knappe* 'snap, crack, burst, chatter, crackle' : *knop* m. 'pommel, head, bud, knob.'

Groningen *knippen* 'snap one's fingers,' *kniepen* 'be in a pinch, exert oneself' : *knappen* 'crack (nuts).'

Dutch *knippen* 'clip, cut, fillip, catch, crush, (lice)' : *knappen*

'snap, crack, burst, chatter, crackle': *knoppen* 'bud,' *knop* m. 'pommel, head, bud, knob': *knippen* 'pinch, nip, oppress, quiz.'

Wvl. *knippen* 'jump away with a snap, fall suddenly': *knappen* 'snatch, snap at, bite noisily.'

OF. *knippen* 'knippen, knicksen, platzen, knicken, blinzeln, zwinkern, schnellen,' *knüppen* 'knüpfen,' *knîpen* (st.) 'kneifen': *knappen* 'knallen, platzen, brechen, essen, spalten.'

Westf. *knippen* 'schnellen, schussern, Schnippchen schlagen,' *knüppen* 'knüpfen': *knappen* 'knacken, essen': *knop* m. 'knopf, kleiner Hügel' *knoppe* f. 'Knospe.'

Wald. *knipsen* 'mit den Fingern schnalzen, mit den Augen zwinkern': *knupsen* 'puffen, stossen.'

Pr. *knippen, knöppen* 'knüpfen, mit hörbarem Knipp schließen': *knappen* 'knapp austeilen; mit der Peitsche knallen.'

Bav. *kniffen, kniffeln* 'reiben, kauen, kratzen, zerren, reißen': *knuffen* 'mit den Knöcheln der Faust stossen, schlagen': *kneifen* 'antreiben; bellen (von kleinen Hunden)': *knaufen* 'bellen, zanken.'

212a. N. *knabba* 'snatch quickly': *knubba* 'push, puff, buffet.'

E. *knab*- etc., see under *n*-.

F. *knibbelje* 'haggle, cavil': *knabbelje, knabje* 'nibble, gnaw, champ': *knobbel* 'knob, protuberance.'

Dutch *knibbelen* 'haggle, higgle, cavil': *knabbelen* 'nibble, gnaw, champ': *knobbel, knubbel* 'knob, protuberance.'

Westf. *knibbelen* 'abkneipen; zwinkern,' *knübschen* 'weg-schnellen': *knabbeln* 'nagen': *knubbeln* 'zerdrücken, faltig machen,' *knubbel, knubben* m. 'Knoten, Klumpen, Geschwulst.'

Els. *knabbere* 'kauen, mit Mühe zerbeißen': *knopere* 'schelten, murren': *knuppere* 'schlecht nähen, knicken.'

Bav. *knappen* 'eine kurze Bewegung, besonders auf-u. niederwärts, machen; knapp zureichen': *knuppeln* 'mechanisch die Lippen bewegen, als ob sie sögen': *knaupen* = *knappen*.

E. *knat*- etc., see under *n*-.

213. N. *knaska* 'crunch, chew audibly': *knuska* 'crush, break, squeeze, oppress.'

Wald. *knatsken* 'quetschen, zerdrücken, unreifes Obst zerbeißen': *knutskelen, knutsknen* 'verdrücken, liebkosend drücken.'

Hess. *knitschen* 'gänzlich zerdrücken (Kleider, Flöhe, Lause),—abermalige Verstärkung von *knetschen*' : *knetschen* '=*knatschen*, aber nicht bloß von weichen Gegenständen gebraucht, zerquetschen,—eine Verstärkung von *knatschen*' : *knutschen* 'in geringe Falten drücken, derb lieblosen,—eine Milderung des *knetschen*.'

Stieg. *knëtschen* 'zerdrücken, zerpressen, zusammendrücken, pressen (Papier, Zeug, Kräuter)' : *knatschen* 'in flüssige breiige Massen treten, etwas zu einer solchen treten, langweilig kritteln' : *knütschen* = *knëtschen*.

Schw. *chnütsche* 'zermalmen, zerreiben, prügeln, anhaltend trocken husten' : *chnatsche* 'einen quatschenden, platschenden, knackenden Ton hören lassen' : *chnötsche* 'beim Gehen schwer auftreten, = *chnatsche* meist mit dem Nebenbegriff der Unordentlichkeit' : *chnautsche* 'in Kot stampfend, in Obst beissend klappern, plappern, schwatzen; besonders, mit starker Mundbewegung kauen.'

214. N. *knidra* 'work perseveringly but with little result, toil' : *knadra* 'push and jolt over rough places (as on a frozen road).' Cf. especially *gnad-* etc., No. 190.

215. N. *knisa* 'snicker,' *knisla* 'whinny gently' : *knasa* 'crush, crackle, sound as when something is crushed,' *knasla* 'chew rapidly, with open mouth, and audibly; crackle like something dry' : *knusa* '=*knasa*; also, pinch, be stingy, haggle,' *knusla* 'rattle with a very low sound; pinch, be stingy, haggle.' Cf. No. 191.

215a. N. *knispa* 'eat brittle things slowly and all the time; eat rapidly' : *knaspa* 'eat rapidly and audibly, gnaw rapidly at something hard' : *knuspa* 'crush rapidly and audibly with lively movement of the jaws—the movements are less and lighter, the thing more breakable and the sound more dampened than in *knaspa*; go lightly to many small pieces with no high sound of breaking.'

216. Dutch *knellen* 'pinch, squeeze, oppress' : *knallen* 'clap, crack, give a report' : *knol* m. 'knob, protuberance, clumsy fellow' : *knul* m. 'dunce; hammer.'

WVl. *knollen* 'grumble, scold' : *knullen* 'sing or speak with closed mouth, mumble.'

OF. *knillen* 'knistern, knisternd heftig brennen; zerknittern' : *knellen* 'kneifen, klemmen, drücken' : *knallen* 'knallen, mit der Peitsche schlagen, schiessen' : *knullen* 'laut schwatzen, prahlen; knittern, drücken.'

Bav. *knellen* 'knallen, lärmern,' *knöllen* 'stossen, schlagen, puffen' : *knallen* = *knellen*.

217. N. *knikra* 'laugh constantly, whinnyingly' : *knaka* 'crackle as when branches are broken or twisted' : *knūka* 'treat with the knuckles; squeeze, thrash.'

E. *knak-* etc., see under *n-*.

Dutch *knikken* 'crack, snap; crush (a louse); nod' : *knakken* 'break, crack, injure with pain' : *knakkel* m. 'knuckle.'

OF. *knikken* 'brechen; so brechen oder bersten, dass noch ein Zusammenhang bleibt' : *knakken* (st. VI) 'knacken, krachen; brechen, bersten.'

Westf. *knicken* 'knicken, krümmen; brechen' : *knöken* 'stossen, zerstoßen' : *knucks* 'innere Verletzung.'

Wald. *kniken* 'halb abbrechen' : *knaken* 'bersten, springen; zerbrechen, zersprengen.'

Pr. *knicken* 'mit gelindem Geräusch zu brechen anfangen,' *knicksen* 'brechen, wenn der das Brechen anzeigende Ton kurz ist; den volleren Ton bei einem Bruche bezeichnet *knacken*' : *knacken*, *knacksen* 'rauschend knistern, als solle ein Bruch erfolgen.'

NHD. *knicken* : *knacken*.

Bav. *kneckeln* 'am Preise abbrechen, karg tun' : *knackern* 'wiederholt knacken' : *knocken* 'knieend sitzen, hocken' : *knucken* 'stossen u. dadurch verletzen' : *knoukeln* 'schlecht gehen.'

218. N. *klippa* 'clip, cut,' *klipsa* 'snap, catch at' : *kleppa* 'hack, split, cleave; hang in clumps' : *klappa* 'clap, beat with the flat hand; give a gentle, friendly slap,' *klapsa* 'hit repeatedly with something flat, slap' : *kloppa* 'place wood over a swamp so as to make a road.'

S. *klippa* 'cut, snip, clip' : dial. *klappa* 'throw out a word about something, be unable to keep silent' : *klappa* 'clap, knock, rap,' dial. 'beat, bang, strike' : *klāpa* 'bungle.'

D. *klippe* 'clip, cut' : *klapre* 'clatter, rattle, chatter.'

E. *clip* 'cut with the scissors, snip' : *clap* 'slap, strike with something flat.'

F. *klippe* 'clap, chime, toll' : *klappe* 'clap, smack, slap; chatter, babble; blab; crackle' : *kloppe* 'beat, knock, drub, plane, hammer.'

Dutch *kleppen* 'clap; chime, toll' : *klappen* 'clap, smack, slap; chatter, prate, babble; blab; crackle' : *kloppen* 'beat, knock, drub, hammer.'

OF. *klippen* 'durch Schlagen, Stossen, etc., ein klippendes oder klimperndes Geräusch machen' : *kleppen* 'klappen; aufschlagen, dass es schallt, die Glocke mit dem Klöppel anschlagen,' *klepen, klāpen, klāpen* 'schlagen, klopfen, dreschen' : *klappen* 'klappen, klatschen, schlagen' : *kloppen* 'klopfen, hämmern, pulsieren.'

Westf. *klippen* 'ein diminutives Klappen, heller als *klappen*' : *kleppen* 'die Glocke anschlagen' : *klappen* 'schlagen,' *klappen* 'klappen,' *klappen* 'Schläge geben' : *kloppen* 'klopfen' : *klappen* 'mit derben Schuhen sehr hörbare Tritte machen.'

Pr. *klippen* 'klappen, doch mit leiserem Geräusch bei höherer Tonlage' : *klappen* 'wiederholt klappen.'

Thur. *klippen* 'mit hellem Ton klappen, klopfen' : *klappen* 'klappen.'

Els. *klepfe* 'knallen, besonders mit der Peitsche, schnellen, mit der Zunge oder dem Mittelfinger; krachen, pedere, schiessen; wegschnappen' : *klopfe* 'schlagen, zerbrechen, prügeln.' Cf. No. 193.

219. N. *klama* 'work with difficulty, owing to external hindrances, toil,' *klamra* 'make a noise, clamor, dispute; work unhandily, slowly, with difficulty, owing to external impediments such as poor tools,—which does not presuppose clumsiness on the part of the worker,' *klamsa* 'botch, bungle, work awkwardly and with much noise' : *kluma* 'make speechless; lame, bind to the spot,' *klumra* 'work with stiff, or, as it were, half-lamed hands; botch,' *klumsa* 'make speechless, paralyze the tongue, keep from biting.'

219a. D. *klimpre* 'thrum, strum, twang' : *klampe* 'clamp, cleat.'

E. dial. *climp* 'take hold of suddenly, catch by a quick movement, steal, pilfer; mark with greasy fingers; limp, halt': *clamp* 'cleat, hold with instruments for the purpose,' dial. 'walk with heavy or noisy tread, stump about, stamp,' *clamper* 'make a clattering noise.': *clump* 'walk noisily.'

OF. *klimpern* 'klimpern, klirren, klittern, klingeln, stümperhaft spielen': *klampen* 'nageln, nieten, schlagen, festschlagen': *klumpen, klumpern* 'zu Klumpen ballen, poltern; mit dumpf polterndem Geräusch, plump, schwer und laut gehen.'

Westf. *klimperklain* 'äusserst klein': *klumpen* pl. 'Holzschuhe.'

219b. Els. *klimpere* 'lärmen, rasseln; schlecht auf einem Instrument spielen': *klumpere* 'in Holzschuhen lärmend gehen.'

220. N. *klatra* 'beat, hammer slowly and persistently on something hard; bungle; work with inconvenient materials or bad tools': *klutra* 'work at something small, be busy with small or easy work.'

E. dial. *clitter* 'litter, make a mess, flutter,' sb. 'clatter, confusion, the chirping of sparrows': *clatter* 'rattle, beat': dial. *clutter* 'pile up in heaps, fall in a heap,' *clutter up* 'litter, make a mess, bustle, do anything in confused, hasty manner': *clitter-clatter* sb. 'rattling noise, chatter,' vb. 'make a sharp rattling noise, talk a great deal.'

WVl. *klatteren* 'stain, spot, blot,' *kluttern* 'shake or toss with rattling.'

OF. *klittern* 'klirren, rasseln (Gläser, Metallstücke, ans Fenster schlagender Hagel),' *klütern* 'in dilettantischer u. kleinlicher Weise arbeiten, flicken': *klötern* 'rasseln, klappern, klimpern (Küken im Ei, Bohnen in der Schote)': *klatern, klattern* 'klappern, rasseln, prasseln (Hagel, Regen, prasselnder oder schmetternder Donner)': *klutern* 'klumpig u. klössig werden.'

220a. Schw. *chlattere* 'klirren, klimpern': *chluttere* 'kleine Arbeit machen, flicken, klecken, schlecht schreiben; zittern; einen dumpfen, kollernden Ton aus dem Halse hören lassen.'

220b. N. *klissa* 'clash, clap': *klessa* 'stick to, hang to, splash, clap, clash, give a dull sound as when one heavy mass hits another; pet; speak unclearly': *klassa* 'stick, hang to; dabble,

soil, botch, bungle, talk unclearly' : *klussa* 'soil, speak indistinctly' : *kleisa* 'stick, speak unclearly.'

Dutch *kletsen* 'clash, slap, clap, lash' : *klotsen* 'clash, knock' : *klutsen* 'beat up (eggs, cream, etc.).'

OF. *klits* 'Schlag, Klapps,—ein feineres Geräusch wie *klats*' : *klats* 'lauter Schall oder Knall, klatschender Schlag mit Hand oder Peitsche' : *klots* 'Klotz, plumper oder dummer Mensch.'

Thur. *klitschen* 'mit hellem Tone klatschen, schlagen; Kalk an die Wand werfen, Butter aufs Brot werfen' : *klatschen* 'schallend schlagen (auch besonders vom schallenden Niederschlagen der Regentropfen, *sich klatschen* 'kämpfen, schwatzen.'

221. N. *klandra* 'complain, have an objection, work clumsily and with difficulty' : *klundra* 'toil forward with difficulty; work clumsily, with poor instruments.'

OF. *klinstern* 'klimpern, klingeln, ein helltönendes Geräusch machen' : *kluntern* 'poltern, geräuschvoll gehen; plump auftreten, stolpern.'

222. N. *klikka* 'hit with a small sound, tick like a watch, smack, click,' *klykkja* 'toll a bell, ring gently' : *klekka* (st. *e-a-o*) 'blink, click; tremble, shudder; be sufficient,' *kløkka* 'tremble, move; be suddenly moved, be touched' : *klakka* 'soil, spot, beat, bang, smack, snap' : *klukka* 'whimper, complain with half-spoken complaints; cluck.'

D. *klik* (c.) 'blot, stain, blemish; miss-fire' : *klak*, *klakke* (c.) 'blot' : *klokke* (c.) 'clock, bell' : *kluk* (c.) 'clucking.'

E. *click* 'hit lightly, make a slight noise,' dial. 'close, snap' : *clack* 'clatter, resound, echo, snap the fingers' : dial. *clock* 'cluck' : *cluck* (of hens).

Dutch *klikken* 'tell tales, blab; suffice, be enough;' *kliken* 'spit, sputter out, leave scraps' : *klakken* 'spoil, blot, dirty; crack' : *klokken* 'cluck; gurgle; tipple, drink' : *kloeken* 'encourage' : *klikklakken* 'click, clash, clack, clang.'

WVI. *klikken* 'click, clap—(of something smaller than *klakken*)' : *klakken* 'beat, strike with the whip so as to produce a smack' : *klokken* 'drink from a bottle held to the mouth.'

OF. *klikken* 'durch Schlagen, Stossen, Hämmern, etc., ein feines, kurzes u. scharfes Geräusch machen' : *klakken* 'klappern,

klappend schlagen, flecken, beklecksen, schmieren' : *klukken* 'klucken, glucksen, schlucken, klopfen, pulsieren.'

Lux. *kleken* 'einen Knall machen, knicken, ein Patschhändchen geben, Beifall klatschen' : *kläken* 'klatschen, knallen' : *klucken* 'glucksen.'

Siebenb. *klackn* 'pulsieren (von Wunden)' : *klucksn* 'glucksen.'

Stieg. *klickern* 'bedeutet dasselbe wie *klackern*, nur für den hellern Ton des Fallens u. kleinere, feinere Teilchen' : *klackern* 'in Klecksen etwas zerstreuen, so dass es schallt, klackt.'

Bav. *klicken*, *klecken* 'mit der Peitsche knallen, bersten, brechen' : *klöcken*, *klocken* 'anklopfen' : *klocken*, *klucken* 'anstoßen, anprallen, hacken, schallen.'

222a. N. *klinka* 'clinch, rivet, clink glasses, hammer from both sides, beat or punch against' : *klunka* 'cluck, gulp, croak.'

D. *klinke* 'rivet, clinch, clink glasses,' *klynke* 'whimper, whine' : *klunke* 'cluck, gurgle.'

E. *clink* : *clank* 'rattle (of metal),' dial. 'strike with noise, beat, seat oneself noisily, take hold of noisily' : dial. *clunk* 'emit a hollow interrupted sound, as of a liquid issuing from a bottle or narrow opening; hiccup; swallow, bolt.'

Pr. *klunkern* 'das kluckende, gluckende Tönen, welches sich beim Trinken aus einer Flasche mit engerem Halse hören lässt; auch das Rollen im Unterleibe' : *klinkklank* 'Interjektion, gebraucht wenn ein Glas zur Erde fällt u. klingend zerbricht.'

223. F. *kribelje* 'jucken, kitzeln' : *krabbelje* 'scratch, scrape, scrawl' : *kribbelkrabbel* 'schlechte Schrift.'

D. *kribben* 'quarrel, be peevish, be cross; ail,' *kribbeln* 'scrawl, scribble, quarrel, be quarrelsome,' *kriebelen* 'scrawl, scribble' : *krabben* 'scratch, claw; pencil,' *krabbelen* 'scratch, scrape, scrawl.'

WVl. *kriebelen* 'tingle, itch, prick' : *doorkrabbelen* 'scratch or plow open completely.'

OF. *kribben* 'hadern, streiten, reizen,' *kribbeln* 'kritzeln, krabbeln, wimmeln' : *krabben* 'kratzen, scharren, schlagen,' *krabbeln* 'krabbeln, kratzen, kitzeln, jucken.'

Westf. *kribbeln* 'reizen' : *krabbeln* 'kriechen, krauen, kratzen.'

Wald. *kriwelen* 'jucken, namentlich infolge von Frost' : *krawelen* 'kriechen; sich lebhaft bewegen; krauen, kratzen.'

Pr. *kribbeln, krebbein* 'ein kleines Krabbeln, krabbelnd sich regen; prickelnd jucken' : *krabbeln* 'die Finger, Klauen, etc., krümmen zum Greifen, Klauen, Wühlen, Kratzen; langsam kriechen oder gehen.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *kribbelich* 'mürrisch, verdriesslich, launisch' : *krabbelen* 'kriechen.'

Thur. *kribeln* 'jucken, vielfüssig sich bewegen' : *krabeln* 'krauen, kitzeln.'

Stieg. *kriweln* 'vielfüssig sich bewegen, jucken' : *kraweln* 'mit rascher Bewegung der Finger woran tasten, greifen, kratzen; die Füsse rasch bewegend kriechen besonders von vielfüssigen, kleinen u. zahlreichen Tieren.'

Schw. *chrißle* 'mit einem spitzen Instrument die Oberfläche eines Körpers ritzen, mit allzu dünnen und krummen Strichen schreiben; zappeln' : *chrable* 'krabblen, kratzen, tasten, herumstochern.'

224. N. *krafsa*, 'snatch, grab after; move the hands much' : *krufsa* 'walk slowly and weakly, like a sick person.'

225. N. *krimsa* 'make figures, embroider, cut out' : *kramsa* 'grab, snatch, fumble' : *krumsa* 'knead, squeeze, treat with the knuckles.'

226. N. *krilla* 'tickle, itch, swarm with small creatures' : *kratla* 'bungle, work without getting ahead' : *krutla* 'work slowly and slackly.'

Dutch *krissen* 'crackle' : *krassen* 'scratch, scrape; clean, scrape out; crack; screech, spatter (of pens), strum.'

NHD. *kritzeln* : *kratzen*.

Els. *kritze* 'ritzen, kritzeln, leicht kratzen, mit den Zähnen knirschen' : *kratze* 'kratzen, reiben, radieren, schlagen, Zäpfchen -R sprechen.'

Schw. *chritze* 'ritzen, zeichnen; kratzen (von saurem Wein)' : *chratze* 'kratzen, krauen, scharren.'

Bav. *kritzen, kritzeln* 'kritzen, kritzeln; mit feiner Stimme schreien' : *kratzen* 'kratzen' : *verkrotzen* 'im Zuschneiden verunstalten.'

227. N. *krasla* 'move ahead slowly and with difficulty' : *krusla* 'move ahead slowly and somewhat waveringly owing to weakness or over-carefulness, work one's way ahead.'

228. E. dial. *crish* 'crush,' *creesh* 'grease, lubricate; beat' : *crash* 'make a noise as of things breaking,' dial. 'break to pieces with violence and noise, smash' : *crush* 'break and bruise, crowd, press, rumple.'

229. N. *krīla* 'tickle, itch; move so as to tickle or itch' : *krala* 'claw, scratch, scrape' : *krōla* 'scratch, work one's way laboriously, crawl.' Cf. No. 201.

230. N. *krikla* 'make crooked figures, embroider in crooked lines' : *krekla* 'stir up a quarrel; creep, crawl' : *krakla* 'crawl ahead, work one's way ahead laboriously' : *krukla* 'walk with bent or stiff limbs, walk laboriously and unsurely.'

E. *creak*, dial. *crick* 'wrench, twist, break, crack' : dial. *crake* 'cry out harshly, croak, murmur, whimper; brag, boast, creak' : *crack* : *croak* : dial. *cruck* 'to lame,' dial. *cruckle* 'crouch, bend, hobble, make a cracking noise, wrinkle, rumple.'

Dutch *kriek* f. 'cricket; black-cherry; hunchback' : *kreuken* 'fold, rumple,' *krekel* m. 'cricket, cicada, harvest-fly' : *kraken* 'crack, crash' : *kroken* 'fold, ruffle, rumple, pucker' : *krukken* 'use crutches; be sickly', *kruk* f. 'crutch, handle, pommel,' m. 'bungler, blunderer; sickly person.'

WVI. *kraken* 'crack, crash' : *krokken* 'of the crumpling of snow under foot.'

OF. *krīken*, *kriken*, *kreken* 'das Anbrechen des Tages' : *krōken* 'brechen, krümmen; kränken' : *kraken* 'krachen knacken, zerbrechen; mit knarrender oder krähender Stimme weinen; stöhnen,' *krakeln* 'gelinde krachen oder knarren.'

Westf. *krieken* 'krachen', *krickeln* 'kränkeln' : *kröckeln* 'schwach, locker in den Fugen sein,' *kräkeln* 'stets Recht haben wollen und deshalb andern immer widersprechen' : *krucken* 'keuchen, stöhnen, mit dem Leibe drücken.'

Wald. *krikelech* 'schlecht geschrieben' : *krakelech* 'schief u. krumm' : *krikelkrakel* n. 'schlechtes Geschreibse.'

Thur. *kriekeln* 'kritzeln' : *kräkeln* 'lallen, gackern, glucken' : *krakeln* 'unleserlich schreiben, breitspurig gehen.'

Bav. *kräcken*, *krecken* 'krachen, verrenken' : *krackeln* 'zanken, streiten' : *krucken* 'mühsam gehen.'

230a. E. dial. *crink* 'twist, wrench painfully, bend, wrinkle;

loiter,' dial. *crinch* 'crunch with the teeth some hard or brittle substance; gnash' : dial. *crank* 'make a harsh noise, creak, croak,' *cranch* 'crunch, grind with the teeth in biting anything hard; crush under foot; break up with a crackling sound' : dial. *cronk* 'croak, grumble' : *crunch* 'crush with the teeth.'

230b. Schw. *chringle* 'verschlingen; klirren, klingen' : *chran-gle* 'sich winden, zusammenrollen; verwirren; sich weigern; zudringlich klagen; zanken, streiten.'

231. E. *quiver* 'shake with slight tremulous motion' : *quaver* 'shake, sing or play with tremulous modulation,' dial. 'reel, tremble, go uncertainly about an occupation; brandish, flourish, clench the fists.' Cf. No. 242a.

232. OF. *kwittern* 'einen leisen oder feinen und scharfen Ton hören lassen, knistern, knittern, zwitschern' : *kwattern* 'schwätzen, plaudern, zwitschern (Staar).'

Hess. *quittern* 'glänzen, leuchten' : *quattern* 'strudeln,' *quatteln* 'ein kochendes Geräusch von sich gehen.'

232a. Pr. *quitschen* 'quetschen; in hohen Tönen hell schreien; pfeifend u. quiekend mit kindischer Stimme sprechen' : *quatschen* 'zur Bezeichnung des Lautes, den eine feuchte, weiche Masse hören lässt wenn man in derselben geht oder hantiert; den Saft ausdrücken; viel reden, schwätzen' : *quutschen* 'vom Wasser in den Schuhen, von weichem, lehmigem Boden.'

Hess. *quitschern* 'zwitschern' : *quatschern* 'den Laut bezeichnend, den mit Feuchtigkeit durchdrungene Gegenstände hören lassen, wenn sie mit härtern, trockenen in Berührung kommen (wenn man im Sumpfe watet, etc.)' : *quutschern* 'sich hineinschmiegen (ins Bett).'

Thur. *quitschen* 'die Tür oft u. geräuschvoll öffnen u. schliessen' : *quatschen* '(man *quatscht* im Kot, Wasser in den Stiefeln *quatscht*); die Tür heftig zuwerfen,' *quatscheln* 'eine Flüssigkeit schütteln, zappeln' : *quutschen* 'schlüpfen, rasch fließen; in tiefem Tone *quatschen*.' Cf. No. 243.

233. N. *kvidra* 'go back and forth with short quick movements; bob; play; swarm with small creeping things' : *kvadrast* (impersonal) 'go on with difficulty and slowly.'

E. dial. *quiddle* 'fuss about trifles, fiddle about, fret' : dial.

quaddle 'waddle' : dial. *quoddle* 'make noises while boiling, dry, make limp or flabby.' Cf. No. 243a.

234. Hess. *quallen* 'schluchzend, übertrieben weinen' : *quallern* 'mit Geräusch hervorsprudeln; in den Gedärmen rumpeln.'

235. Wald. *kwiren* 'schreien (von jungen Vögeln), girren' : *kwaren* 'schreien (von Kindern und Fröschen).'

Pr. *quirren* '*quarren* in hoher Tonlage, namentlich von Kindern; klagen, wimmern; blähend im Leibe gurren' : *quarren* 'quacken wie ein Frosch; aus Unzufriedenheit weinen, weinerlich murren, brummen.'

236. WVl. *kwikkelen* 'shake, wriggle' : *kwakkelen* 'slowly throw up large bubbles (of something cooking in a large vessel).'

Westf. *kwiken*(st.) 'quieken (von Schwein, Stute, Esel), schreien (vom Vogel)' : *kwacken* '(vom Schall eines fallenden weichen Körpers).'

Pr. *quikēn* 'in hohen Tönen hell schreien; zur Bezeichnung des Tones, den Schweine hören lassen, namentlich beim Schlachten' : *quacken* 'mit schwacher, schriller Stimme reden' : *quackeln* 'Unnützes schwatzen, endlos reden.'

Thur. *quieken* 'vom Ton der Schweine' : '*quäkeln* 'kleinlich tadeln u. klagen' : *quaken* 'vom Rufen der Frösche.'

Stieg. *quiken* 'quieken, schreien (mit sehr feiner Stimme)' : *kwāk'n* 'quāken, schreien (mit heller Stimme)' : *kwāk'n* 'mit tiefer breiter Stimme schreien.'

NHD. *quieken* : *quacken*.

237. N. *hafsa* 'work carelessly, hurry ahead hastily and carelessly' : *hufsa* 'push, shake, make heavy, jumping motions.'

F. *hippe* 'hop, skip, frisk, bounce.'

Groningen *hippen* 'the jumping of small insects' : *happig*, *haps* adj. 'eager for something' : *huppen* 'the jumping run of birds, also of insects.'

Dutch *happen* 'snatch, snap at' : *huppen*, *huppelen* 'hop, skip, frisk, bounce.'

Wald. *hapelen* 'hastig sein,' *hapelech* 'hastig,' *hapech* 'gierig' : *hupelen* 'hinken, schwerfällig gehen, wanken, wackeln,' *hupelech* 'holprig, uneben.'

Lux. *hippen* 'lahm sein; auf einem Beine gehen' : *happen* 'auf Haufen bringen' : *huppen* 'hüpfen, niederkauern.'

Hess. *hippeln* 'hinken, zappelnd laufen (scherzhaftes Wort)' : *happen* 'begierig sein, nach etwas schnappen,' *happeln* 'übereilt handeln.'

237a. Westf. *habbeln* 'schnell u. unordentlich sprechen' : *hubbeln* 'hinken.'

Els. *hippe* 'auf der Weidenpfeife blasen, tuten; gierig trinken,' *hüpple* 'hüpfend auf einem Beine gehen,' *hüppere* 'springen, schnell davonlaufen; hinken' : *hüpple* 'tappeln, unsicher u. ungeschickt gehen; herumstolpern' : *hapere* (unpersönlich) 'stocken, langsam u. schwer vorwärts kommen' : *hopple* 'hüpfen, besonders auf einem Bein; hinken; ruckweise springen; wackeln; schlecht tanzen, anstossen,' *hoppere* 'stossweise gehen, springen (Wagen auf gefrorenem Wege; Frösche), hinken', *hopperle* 'mit kleinen Schritten springen, hüpfen, im Gehen schwanken.'

238. D. dial. *hime* 'breathe pressedly and noisily' : *humre* 'show satisfaction with a low and, as it were, grunting sound (of horses); scold; laugh low.'

OF. *himen* 'pfeifend atmen, keuchen' : *hummel* 'Hummel.'

Westf. *hummeln* 'grummeln, donnern,' *hummelte* f. 'Hummel' : *haime* f. 'Hausgrille; Elbe.'

239. J. *hample* 'stammer, stutter' : *humple* 'walk awkwardly and carelessly.'

OF. *hampeln* 'greifend hin u. her fahren, strampeln' : *humpeln* 'gebrechlich gehen, hinken' : *himphampen* 'hinken, humpeln.'

240. Hess. *hadern* 'sich streiten' : *hudern* 'wiehern, wiehernd atmen'.

Stieg. *hedern*, *hadern* 'sich zanken, hadern, streiten' : *hudern* 'etwas oberflächlich machen, besorgen; frösteln, schaudern, sich im Staube baden (von Hühnern).'

Schw. *hädere* 'unruhig herumlaufen, sich übereilen' : *huderen* 'wirr werden, zerfallen' : *hauderen* 'etwas mit überstürzter Eile tun.'

241. N. *hikka* 'step unsurely and jerkily, as on a sick foot, talk stammeringly and with repetitions,' *hikra* 'laugh much, whinny with laughter; make repeated small, short movements; give small portions,' *hiksta* 'hiccough, sob' : *hakka* 'hack, hew,

dig; chop to pieces; chatter with the teeth,' *hakla* 'crack, bang, give a crackling sound': *hokra* 'limp, walk with difficulty and bobbingly, as with weak feet': *hukra* 'bend together, especially with cold; give a low trembling sound,' *hukla* 'shake, tremble, jolt; tremble or bend up from cold.'

S. *hicka* 'hiccough': *hacka* 'hoe, hack.'

D. *hikke* 'hiccough': *hakke* 'hack, hoe, grub, peck, chop, mince; stutter.'

E. *hack*: dial. *hick* 'sob, hiccough.'

OF. *hikken* 'mit einem scharfen oder spitzen Etwas auf ein anderes Etwas stossen u. schlagen': *hakken* 'hacken, hauen.'

Westf. *hicken* 'im Sprichwort *bai well helpen hicken maut ock helpen picken*,' *hickeln* 'wackeln (von der Messerklinge)': *hacken* 'hacken': *hickhack* 'Hacke.'

Lux. *hicken* 'schluchzen,' *hickeren* 'den Schluchzer haben': *hackelen* 'stottern': *huckelen* 'gewöhnheitsmässig hocken; greinen,' *hucken* 'hocken.'

Hess. *hickeln* 'hinken, leicht hinken': *huckeln* 'auf dem Rücken tragen,' *huckern* 'einhüllen u. wärmen.'

Els. *hickere* 'bergauf klimmen, krumm gehen, mit einem steifen Bein hinken; lachen': *hacke* 'den Boden umbracken; schlecht sprechen': *hocke*, *hucke* 'sitzen, sich setzen.'

Bav. *hecken* 'stechen': *hacken* 'hacken': *hocken*, *hucken* 'hocken.'

241a. N. *higra* 'tremble with cold, especially of the sound uttered; laugh mockingly, giggle': *hugra* 'shake, move backward and forward (of a vehicle on an uneven road); shake and bend from cold, mostly with a shuddering noise; storm ahead noisily and destructively.'

NOTE.—*hw-*, *hv-*, *wh-* see under *w-*, following.

242. D. *hvippe* 'pipe (of small birds)': *hvippe*, *vuppe* 'bark (of young dogs).'

E. *weep*: *whoop*.

OF. *wippen*, *wuppen* 'schwingen u. schnellen; hüpfen, tanzen': *wepeln*, *wäpeln* 'schwingen, schaukeln': *wappen* 'auf u. nieder, hin u. her bewegen oder schlagen; schwingen, schwanken, schaukeln': *wup-di* 'rascher Schwung; Trunk Brantwein.'

242a. OF. *wibbeln*, *wübbeln* 'sich oder etwas rasch, hurtig u. leicht hin u. her bewegen' : *wabbeln* 'sich hin u. her bewegen (namentlich von losem, lockern Zeug)' : *wubbeln*, *wübbeln* 'i. q. *wibbeln* u. *wabbeln*.'

Westf. *wibbeln* 'wimmeln' : *wabbeln*, *wabbern* 'sich hervor-drängen (von Fleisch oder Fett)' : *wubbeln* 'waschend über den Körper hin u. her fahren.'

Wald. *wiwelen* 'wimmeln' : *wawelen* 'weich sein, von Fett schlottern.'

Pr. *wibbeln* 'wimmeln' : *wabbeln* 'schlottern, wie es weiche oder fette Körper tun.'

Lux. *wibbelen* 'sich bewegen, wimmeln' : *wabbelen* 'herunter-hängen.'

Hess. *wibbeln* 'wimmeln' : *wäbern*, *wabeln* 'sich schnell aber wankend hin u. her bewegen.'

Bav. *wibeln*, *wibbeln* 'sich regen, schnell bewegen, wimmeln' : *wabeln* 'schwätzen; sich hin u. her bewegen,' *wabern*, 'sich hin u. her bewegen' : *wubeln* 'wimmeln.' Cf. No. 231.

242b. E. dial. *wimble* 'enter or move in a sinuous manner; twist round and round' : dial. *wamble* 'rumble, roll, stir uneasily (of the intestines), move unsteadily to and fro, quiver, shake.'

243. Thur. *witschen* 'entwischen, huschen, schlüpfen' : *watscheln* 'wackligen Gang haben.'

Bav. *witschen* 'sich rasch, eilig bewegen, huschen' : *watscheln* 'schwerfällig, schleppend u. wackelnd gehen' : *wutschen* = *witschen*, *wutscheln* = *watscheln*. Cf. No. 232a.

243a. E. dial. *widdle* 'walk slowly about, waddle, wriggle, work slowly, oscillate, struggle, deceive, fret' : *waddle* 'take short steps and move from side to side in walking,' dial. 'wrap up clumsily, swaddle; drag a river; bargain' : dial. *wuddle* 'hold in an awkward, tumbled manner.' Cf. No. 233.

244. E. dial. *wizzle* 'move stealthily, creep, run out slowly (of liquids); wheedle' : dial. *wozzle*, *wuzzle* 'beat or trample down.'

244a. E. *whistle* : dial. *whustle* 'rustle.'

244b. Hess. *wispeln* 'sich eilig hin u. her bewegen' : *wuspeln* 'durch herumgehen in der Nacht Geräusch erregen.'

Els. *wispele* 'mit den Fingern herumtasten; in fortwährender

Unruhe sein; flüstern': *wasple* 'mit den Händen hastig hin u. her fahren': *wuspele* = *wispele*.

245. Dutch *wisschen* 'wipe, clean, whisk, rub, sponge': *wasschen* 'wash; paint in water-colors.'

NHD. *wischen*: *waschen*.

Els. *wische* 'wischen; leicht u. schnell mit oder an etwas hin u. her fahren, besonders mit der Hand': *wesche* 'wehen, hin u. her bewegen, mit Händen u. Füßen zappeln': *wasche* 'waschen, heftig regnen; schlagen; schwatzen; aufsehen erregen durch hochmütiges Benehmen.'

Bav. *wischen* 'wischen, leicht u. schnell an etwas hin u. her fahren; mit der Rute streichen': *waschen* 'waschen, schleppend oder in weiten Kleidern dahergehen; schelten; prügeln.'

246. E. *warble* 'schmettern, trillend singen,' dial. 'play the quicker measures of a piece of bagpipe music; swing, reel': dial. *wurble* 'move in a slow sinuous manner, wriggle, crawl.'

247. E. *wiggle* 'wriggle,' dial. 'reel, stagger': *wag* 'shake to and fro,' *waggle* 'wag,' dial. 'waddle, stagger along unsteadily.'

Dutch *wiegelen* 'jolt, totter, shake': *waggelen* 'stagger, waddle, totter.'

Pr. *wiggeln* 'wackelnd hin u. her wiegen': *waggeln* 'wackeln; prügeln.'

248. OF. *winken* (st. u. sw.) 'winken, nicken, sich neigen, abnehmen': *wenken* 'winken, nicken, schläfrig werden': *wanken*, 'wanken, schwanken, sich hin u. her bewegen.'

Pr. *winken* (sw. doch fehlerhaft auch st.) 'ein Zeichen gehen, mit Hand oder Auge; sich die Augen zuhalten': *wanken* 'schwanken; herumwandeln': *wunk* m. 'scherzhafte Umbildung von *wink* in einem einen *Wunk* mit dem Zaunpfahl gehen.'

NHD. *winken*: *wanken*.

249. E. dial. *whinge* 'whine, cry, whimper': *whang* 'beat, thrash, bang,' dial. 'eat voraciously, chop, wrench.'

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THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE *FAYRE MAIDE OF THE EXCHANGE*

Since the anonymous publication of the *Fayre Maide of the Exchange*¹ which was entered on the Stationer's Registers, April 24, 1607 (Arber Reprint, III, 347), and reprinted in 1625, 1634, and 1637, the open question of its authorship had been variously decided. First ascribed to Thomas Heywood in Kirkman's catalogue of 1671, it was stoutly championed by Charles Lamb (*Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, II, 186) in 1826, and accepted without question by some twenty-one others,² among them Barron Field and John Pearson, who edited the play in 1846 and 1874 respectively. On the other hand, Gerard Langbaine (*English Dramatic Poets*, 1687, p. 263) questioned Kirkman's ascription and was followed in his doubts by a writer in the *Retrospective Review*, 1825, IX, 126; by Mr. Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, II, 329); by Mr. Ward (*History of English Dramatic Literature*, 1899, II, 572); by Mr. Greg (*A List of Masques and Pageants*, 1902, p. lxxvii), who simply said, however, that Kirkman's ascription was without authority, and by Professor Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, 1908, I, 349, 501). Undoubtedly the agreement of these critics is the strongest argument against Heywood's authorship; yet an analytic comparison of the play with his known work would seem to show that their conclusions are based on over-hasty personal impression and with no due allowance for certain unfortunate facts in the conditions and manner of Heywood's work as an author. Mr. Greg's opinion may

¹ References to the play will be indicated by *F. M. of Ex.*

² Winstanley, *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, 1687, p. 90; Whincop, "List of Dramatic Authors and Pieces," affixed to *Scanderbeg*, 1747, p. 117; Chetwood, *British Theatre*, 1750; Cibber, *Lives of Poets of Great Britain*, 1753, I, 271; Baker, *Companion to the Playhouse*, 1764, II (Vol. I gives *F. M. of Ex.* as anonymous); Reed and Jones, *Biographica Dramatica*, 1812, I, 332; *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1841, p. 221; Halliwell, *Dictionary of Old Plays*, 1860, p. 90; Pröbbs, *Geschichte des neuen Dramas*, 1882, II, 178; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885; Griffith, *Evenings with Shakespeare*, 1889, p. 214; Symonds, *Mermaid Heywood*, p. xv; Hazlitt, *Manual for the Collector of Old Plays*, 1892; Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature*, 1899, II, 283; Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama*, 1902, Index; Bang, ed., *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1903, p. 361; Garnett and Gosse, *Hist. English Literature*, 1904, II, 341; Adams, *Dictionary of Drama*, 1904, I, 479; Seccombe, *Hist. English Literature*, 1906, I, 118.

be dismissed with the admission of the meagerness of the external evidence, which is the ground of his objection, since it is only internal evidence in this case which offers any safe guidance. We may also reject Mr. Ward's criticism which wavers between acceptance of Mr. Fleay's theory and "respect for the safe instinct of Charles Lamb."

Mr. Fleay's first argument is the occurrence in the Prologue of the line "shore up our tender pamping twig," which he believed would indicate a young author and not one of Heywood's mature standing. Aside from the fact that such an inference regarding his youth and natural lack of fame would be literally true,¹ the metaphorical modesty of the line is not only usual but characteristic of Heywood's references to his own work. The Prologue to his greatest play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, contains an avowal in which identically the same humble imagery is used. In the dedication of his *Troia Britannica* (1609), Heywood speaks of his muse trying her "weak unable wing." *The Marriage Triumph* (1613) laments the "weakness of his skille;" the address to his fellow city actors in the *Apology for Actors* begs excuse for his "ignorance" and for the "infancy" of his judgment. In the dedication of *The Fair Maid of the West* (1631), he speaks of it as a "weak and unpolish't Poem," and again in the dedication (1633) of *The English Traveller*, he mourns that "weakness and bashfulness" discourage him.

Much of this is conventional, but it proves, nevertheless, that Heywood kept to a consistent depreciation of his own works. "The keynote of his character seems to have been an unaffected modesty" (*Dict. National Biography*) which expressed itself sometimes in the stiff artificial ways just given and sometimes in genuine simplicity. To lovers of Heywood the quaintly generous line of the *Apology for Actors*, in which he described himself as the youngest and weakest of the brood of his great contemporaries, is the final expression of his real humility. There is no reason, therefore, from either his practice or character, to infer that he would not have written the line which Mr. Fleay disputed. On the contrary it is a considerable argument in favor of Heywood's authorship, so thoroughly does it agree with other known words of his.

The fact that the *F. M. of Ex.* is filled with Shakspearean allusions,

¹ See p. 14.

constitutes Mr. Fleay's next argument. This seems a strange argument for a Shakspearean scholar to advance, since the literary influence of the great dramatist on the minor one was so natural and so obvious. Space does not permit of more than a few notable illustrations of a hardly disputed point. In *The Four Prentices*, II, 216,¹ there is plain imitation of the Portia-Nerissa scene in *The Merchant of Venice*; *The Brazen Age* closely follows *Venus and Adonis*; the whole play of *The Rape of Lucrece* is full of hints of Shakspeare's famous poem; there are Shakspearean echoes in *King Edward IV* and in *The Royal King and Loyal Subject* (ed. K. Tibballs, 1906, notes). A considerable likeness between an incident in *Cymbeline* and one in *A Challenge for Beauty* was long ago pointed out by Mr. Dilke (*Old Plays*, VI, 325), and more recently by Mr. Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, II, 371), who also suggested a further likeness between *The Challenge* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Professor Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 352) points out the correspondence between *The Captives* and *Pericles*. The allusions to Shakspeare's earlier plays in the *F. M. of Ez.* cannot be urged, consequently, as any positive argument against Heywood's authorship.

Mr. Fleay's third argument, the plea for Machin's authorship, is based on a similarity of quotation, from Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*, in the *F. M. of Ez.* and *The Dumb Knight*, and is the weakest of any which he advanced. Nothing is known of Machin except that he shared "in the wrong" as he called it, of writing *The Dumb Knight*; his partner was Gervase Markham. Professor Schelling says of this play (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 204), "It contains, besides its heroical main plot, a coarse underplot in Middletonian vein, places luscious bits of *Venus and Adonis* in the mouth of one of the most scurrilous characters in our old drama, and borrows shamelessly its best scene from Heywood's *A Woman Killed*." As *A Woman Killed* was finished, paid for, and being acted in 1602, according to the accounts in Henslow's diary (ed. Greg, 1904, I, 189) the borrowing of the card-playing scene in *The Dumb Knight*² establishes the fact

¹ References by volume and page are to Pearson's six-volume edition of Heywood, 1874; by act, scene, and page to the "Mermaid Series," ed. Verity. All references to the *F. M. of Ez.* are to Field's edition, 1846, printed with *Fortune by Land and Sea* for the Shakespeare Society.

² *Dumb Knight*, ed. Dodsley, X, 187. The verses quoted (*ibid.*, p. 158) from *Venus and Adonis* are from ll. 229, 234, 18, 17, 18.

that the latter was written after 1602, and probably much later. It was not published until 1608, a year after the publication of *A Woman Killed* and the *F. M. of Ex.* Since every fact of internal evidence shows the latter to have been written before 1603, the conclusion is necessary that Machin borrowed from it as freely as he had from *A Woman Killed*. But, even were it not possible to establish this borrowing, Mr. Fleay's contention would be wholly unconvincing, since it is an obviously impossible business to prove that because two plays had the same quotation from an immensely popular poem,¹ they were by the same man. Aside from the so-called identity of quotation there is nothing in the structure of *The Dumb Knight*, in its coarse indecency or in its phrasing, which suggests the merry humor and wholesome, pleasantly bourgeois atmosphere of the *F. M. of Ex.*

The last general argument of Mr. Fleay returned to those doubts of style and character which the earlier critics expressed. However weak his specific arguments appear on examination, his positive "I am sure it is not Heywood's" must be taken seriously, especially as the most recent dictum, that by Professor Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 502) is similar. In the effort to answer this, a close comparative study of Heywood's known work has been made by the writer, and the likenesses classified in distinct groups. In natural consequence of the number and quality of Heywood's dramas, which "attempted nearly every species" (Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* II, 554) and of his unimaginative vocabulary, many of these similarities are of the incidental and purely conventional sort. There remains, however, a fairly respectable surplus of Heywood's characteristic handiwork which represents for the most part his least inspired production and, therefore, that least likely to be imitated by anyone save himself.

SCENE

The scene of the *F. M. of Ex.* is that beloved London of which Heywood possessed such ample knowledge. The references to it are not many but they are in the words of one sure of his local color.

¹ *Venus and Adonis*, ed. Rolfe, note p. 170. Cf. Ingleby, *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, pp. 23, 30, 44, 107. "Collier was the first to point out the quotation in the *F. M. of Ex.* as an early proof of the popularity of Shakespeare's poem." H. Anderson, *Shakespeare Society Papers*, 1847, III, 55.

Mile-end (I, i, 37);¹ the Exchange, with its "beautous gallant walk" (III, i, 47),² its tiers of shops about the square, its young foppish gallants, its fair sempsters, its pattern drawer; the Counters (II, ii, 8), with their famous wards;³ St. Paul's Churchyard (III, ii, 106), of the "rolls and bundles of cast wit" where the stationers kept up their busy trade;⁴ Gracious Street (Gracechurch) (II, ii, 87),⁵ are places necessarily familiar to any reader of Heywood's plays. London is the scene of four of his plays⁶ and in all the professedly English and modern plays, the references to its special locality are frequent. Mile-end is prominent in *Edward IV*; the second part of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* concerns itself with the building of the Exchange; and the special streets, shops, and taverns⁷ are everywhere mentioned with the same tone of easy knowledge that characterizes them in the *F. M. of Ex.*

CHARACTER

The characters of the play possess strong family resemblances to others of Heywood's creation. Phillis, "the Fair Maid," though she lacks that pathetic quality which so frequently characterized Heywood's women, is nevertheless like them in many respects. In her Exchange shop, watching over her fine embroideries and chatting with the 'prentice boy, Phillis suggests Jane Shore showing her husband's wares to the disguised King Edward (I, 64); or pretty Luce working her laced handkerchief in the goldsmith's shop, and greeting Boyster's approach with the conventional "What is't you lack?" (*Wise Woman*, I, i, 258). Like Lady Mary Audley (*Royal King*, VI, 25), Phillis recognizes the claims of her lover before those of her father; she manages her own love affairs and seeks her recreant suitor with the courage of a second Luce (*Wise Woman*); she does her wooing even as the French Lady in the *Four Prentices* (II, 180), or as Lauretta in the *Maydenhead Well Lost* (IV, 134);

¹ *Edward IV*, I, 16, 22, 24, etc.

² *Wise Woman*, III, ii, 191.

³ *Ibid.*, II, ii, 273; *Royal King*, VI, 89; *Edward IV*, I, 19.

⁴ *Edward IV*, I, 26; *If You Know*, I, 269; *Royal King*, VI, 8; *Fair Maid of the West*, II, 317.

⁵ *Wise Woman*, I, i, 256. II, i, 315.

⁶ *Edward IV*; *If You Know*; *Four Prentices*; *Royal King*.

⁷ *Rape of Lucrece*, III, v, 383. Cf. reference to the Star, *F. M. of Ex.*, II, i, 30.

and she wavers in her affections with the unaccountable vacillation of Mistress Frankford in *A Woman Killed*. The inability to motive properly such changes, and a lack of realism, may be said to distinguish Heywood's "lady" heroines.¹ Like Phillis, they are possessed of an impossibly bright beauty always conventionally described, and have usually her somewhat self-conscious air of propriety.

But it is the men of the play who possess, as Heywood's men commonly do, much more distinctive features. In Master Flower, easy-going and somewhat slow of wit, there is special likeness to those old, kindly, and much-abused fathers, whom Heywood loved from the time when he first read Plautus. Flower has a little mannerism of speech, "a good conceit," that matches the "my further honor still" of Aldana, father of the imperious Petroncella in the *Challenge for Beauty*, the "bones a me" of Hobson in *If You Know*.² Flower dotes on his lovely wilful daughter, indulging and never seeing through her small wiles, with a tenderness very suggestive of Luce's father, of Aldana, of Martiall in the *Challenge for Beauty*, of old Forrest in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, who most surely was Heywood's creation. The whole character of loveableness and simplicity is Flower's, dashed with a bit of that choleric temper which Heywood, at his best, could do so well.³

Of the other male characters, Frank's two brothers are but fainter replicas of himself and the three are typical of the ordinary seventeenth century lover, over-passionate and extravagantly expressive of his own emotions. Frank jeers at the sonnet-writing lovers and falls to it himself, like Valladura in the *Challenge for Beauty* (V, 13). Like the wild-headed young Chartley in *The Wise Woman* (I, i, 257), he would have nothing to do with marriage. The three brothers, and those flirtatious gallants, Gardiner and Bennet, and the soldiers of fortune, Bobbington and Scarlet, are too obviously types and too lightly sketched for any argument to be taken from them. The

¹ The term "lady" is employed to distinguish these heroines from Heywood's women of low class, who are portrayed with masculine realism and are possessed of masculine vigor.

² "In *Edward IV*, Heywood already resorts to the familiar stage trick of attaching a telling catchword to a humorous character" (Ward, II, 558). See the "and so forth" of Josselin, the "do what ye will, for me" of Mistress Blague in *Edward IV*.

³ Cf. Sir Harry's testiness, *Wise Woman*, II, ii, 275, and the old fathers in *English Traveller*.

Cripple, "that excellent fellow," as Lamb calls him, whose deformity is an essential feature of the action, has naturally no counterpart among Heywood's characters, except as they duplicate his virtues. His first appearance as a heroic rescuer of distressed damsels, his fight against heavy odds, brings to mind, of course, the similar scenes in the *Four Prentices*. Bowlder, the humorous gallant, with his affectations, his good heart, and his blunt unluckiness of speech, bears a distinct resemblance to Boyster, the blunt lover of Luce in *The Wise Woman*. Master Berry, by his miserly habits and opinions, by the denunciations hurled at him and the glee with which he is cheated by Fiddle, plays the Shylock rôle of the usurer, only less common in Heywood's plays than that of the old father.¹ The character of Fiddle, the clown, is, however, the best drawn and most representative in the *F. M. of Ex.* Fiddle is own brother to those other clowns whom Ward says (*English Dramatic Literature*, II, 586) "Heywood made to order." Fiddle, whose wit is of the same quality, has the elements of their humor: the impudent give-and-take style of conversation, the absurd assumptions of dignity, his *Lakienstolz*, for instance,² the word quibblings and merry lies,³ the reckless jokes to or about their mistresses,⁴ which give vivacity to their comedy. He knows the same merry ways of begging and extortion, the same effective pretenses which Heywood's clowns usually practiced.

PLOT

The plot of the *F. M. of Ex.* suggests several of Heywood's plays in its general structure and in certain incidents. The two main plots are handled with that curious independence which Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, II, 589, 570) points out as characteristic of Heywood. They are connected externally by the friendship of the two old fathers, Flower and Berry, in much the same way that the friendship of Old Wincott and Old Lionel brings together the two plots of *The English Traveller*. The main plot concerning Phillis

¹ Cf. Shafton, *Woman Killed*, III, i, 29; and Usurer, *English Traveller*, III, ii, 203.

² Cf. *Fair Maid of the West*, II, 308, 329, etc.

³ Cf. *Maydenhead Well Lost*, IV, 132.

⁴ Cf. *Wise Woman*, II, ii, 271. For further study of Heywood's clowns see Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama*, Index, 1902.

resembles others of Heywood's in the disguises¹ which play so important a part in its development; in the speediness of that love at first sight which vanquishes the unwilling hero,² and in the unexplained variability of her affections. The assault in the first scene recalls that in *The Fair Maid of the West* (II, 389), and the two in *The Four Prentices of London* (II, 189, 226). The gallant controversy of Anthony and Ferdinand is paralleled in the dispute of the "foure Bretheren" over Bella Franca (II, 209), and the suspicious hiding and spying on each other of the two brothers in the *F. M. of Ex.* also strongly suggests *The Four Prentices*; the tragi-comic scene in which the always despised usurer, the loan of a hundred pounds, the bond broken by a dissolute young debtor, and a sympathetic friend, are familiar elements, suggests like scenes in *A Woman Killed* and *The English Traveller*. The begging scene between Berry and Fiddle in II, 2, 162, is very like that between Sir Harry and Taber in *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (II, ii, 271); in each case the servant, pretending knowledge of a somewhat scandalous secret, pockets a bribe and then confesses the peculiarly inoffensive truth. In Frank's accosting of Fiddle "perambulating before" his mistress (III, ii, 150), there is likeness to the meeting of Gratiana and Taber, in *The Wise Woman* (III, ii, 287).

LIKENESS IN EXPRESSION

Verbal comparison of the *F. M. of Ex.* with Heywood's plays is at once an enlightening and a disappointing task. The likeness of vocabulary is evident at the first glance, and further search reveals that every word, almost every simile and metaphor of the play, however uncommon or oddly used, is elsewhere used by Heywood in the same sense. But it is necessary to acknowledge that Heywood's vocabulary was not distinctive. His first thought was for action, not for fine discrimination of phrase and word, and his work does not, therefore, present many strikingly individual features for comparison. However, among the same somewhat unusual words which he elsewhere uses, may be noted the following: cothurnicke

¹ Cf. *Wise Woman*; *Fair Maid of the West*, II, 103; *Golden Age*, III, 29; *Challenge*, V, 63; *Edward IV*, I, 41, 64; *Four Prentices*, II, 287.

² Cf. *Edward IV*, I, 60; *Woman Killed*, III, i, 31; *Fair Maid of the West*, V, i, 140; *Wise Woman*, III, ii, 287.

Prologue (*Apology for Actors*, p. 33); bombaste, to stuff, II, ii, 12, (Prologue, *English Traveller*); tracers, dancers, II, i, 37, (*Woman Killed*, I, ii, 9, to trace); perplexion, II, ii, 259, (*Golden Age*, III, 1); contentious, III, i, 15, (*Royal King*, VI, 41); submissee, V, i, 154, (*King Edward IV*, I, 128); bandied, V, i, 374, (*Fortune by Land and Sea*, ed. Field, IV, v, 16). Such proverbial and conventional phrases as "there the game doth go," I, ii, 12; "break your day," II, ii, 130; "upon the tenters," II, iii, 39; "what lack ye," III, i, 58, are repeated respectively in *King Edward IV*, I, 143; *The English Traveller*, III, ii, 203; *A Challenge for Beauty*, V, 11; and *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, I, ii, 258. Parallels to such figures of speech as a winged Muse, Prologue; a fiery heart, I, iii, 193; a sea of pleasure, I, iii, 68; a beautiful woman a comet, IV, ii, 26; Cupid a wag, IV, ii, 94, may be found in *Troia Britannica*, *A Woman Killed*, V, iii, 66, *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, IV, ii, 300, *A Maydenhead Well Lost*, IV, 109, and *Love's Mistress*, V, 139. Perhaps the most especially significant phrase in the play is that descriptive of an overloquacious person as a "parenthesis of words," III, i, 93, or a "parenthesis of jests," IV, ii, 257, which is repeated in *King Edward IV*, I, 29. Foreign allusions, to Spain, to India, to Barbary, are of just that off-hand, more or less conventional kind Heywood usually introduced into his plays. The apt familiarity of his local references has already been noted. The classical allusions are to those familiar characters in myth or history, in whom his other works show special interest. Jove's adventures referred to in Act II, iii, 190, are the subject-matter of *The Golden Age*; Venus and Adonis, I, iii, 228, and III, iii, 67, act their traditional parts in *The Brazen Age*, III, 184; the adventures of Hercules, III, iii, 48, are dramatized in *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age*; Helen, III, ii, 88, is the heroine of *The Iron Age*; Phillis and her lover, Demophoon, III, ii, 170, are bewailed in *The General History of Women* (1657), p. 407; Nestor is mentioned in *The Brazen Age* and *The English Traveller*. Here as elsewhere Heywood's knowledge of Ovid is plain; in fact the *Metamorphoses* might well be called his book in the same sense that it was Chaucer's. In *The General History of Women*, pp. 67-76, Heywood gives an "Abstract of all the fables in the fifteen Books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*;" in the *Apology for Actors* he quoted and translated at

some length from the *Heroidum Epistulae*. It was very probably Heywood who wrote in *The Witches of Lancashire*, IV, 190, with a raillery like Shakspeare's in his later years, "this gentleman speakes like a Country Parson that took his text out of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*."

RHYME AND METER

The apology which Mr. Collier wrote for the verse of *The Fair Maid of the West* (Shakespeare Society, 1850, p. x) belongs with even more propriety to the *F. M. of Ex.* There is much confusion in the division of the lines, the verse is frequently awkward and careless, and shows especially the lack of any author's revision. But even so, there are some striking metrical analogies with Heywood's work. Of the 2,538 lines in the *F. M. of Ex.*, 18 per cent. are rhymed; 17 per cent. of the 1,966 lines in *A Woman Killed*, 14 per cent. of the 2,462 lines in *The Rape of Lucrece*, are likewise rhymed. These percentages are the best answer to Professor Schelling's argument that "the attempts at poetry where poetry is out of place are peculiarly unlike Heywood's unaffected genius." Rhyme was a distinguishing feature of his early work, as Heywood himself confessed with amused reminiscence in 1637 (*Royal King*, VI, 84). As to whether it was appropriate or not, that seems an impossible thing for any individual critic rightly to determine. Heywood was very irregular in his use and non-use of rhyme at the end of speeches and scenes, as in his changes from blank verse into heroic couplet; but not more so in the *F. M. of Ex.* than in any of his acknowledged plays.

CONCLUSION

From the likenesses of scene, characters, and plot, from the verbal and metrical analogies of the *F. M. of Ex.* with other plays of Heywood, it is scarcely possible to doubt that this was one of those over-numerous two hundred and twenty plays in which he confessed he had a hand or certainly a very sturdy "main finger" (*English Traveller*, "To the Reader"). If so much is granted, it is easy to find the reason of its anonymous publication in Heywood's often-voiced lament,¹ that unknown to him and without any of his direction, his plays "kept coming—corrupt and mangled to the

¹"Address to the Reader," *Rape of Lucrece*; cf. *Golden Age, Four Prentices*.

printer's hand." The obvious lack of revision shown, not only in the versification but in the unfinished state of the final incident of the play, the omission of Heywood's special literary trademark, that "aut prodesse solent aut delectare" which occurs so persistently on his titlepages, the omission, too, of that "title for acknowledgment or the formality of an Epistle for ornament," which it was so regularly his custom to write—all these would go far toward indicating a pirated edition. Since Heywood himself so often made it a matter of "formal remonstrance," we may in this case trust Mr. Collier's remark that "no other author of the time had more reason to complain of the pirating and surreptitious printing of his works" (*Fair Maid of the West*, Shakespeare Society, 1850, p. xi).

Finally, the date when the play was written fits in admirably with what we know of Heywood at that time. That it was written after 1601 is plainly shown, as Mr. Fleay pointed out, by the reference to the death of Thomas Nash, the sharp-witted, bitter-tongued writer, "who gave up his ghost to Luciae's bosom" in 1601, an allusion which Nash's own history and contemporary references to him leave no chance of mistaking. Further internal evidence also shows that the play must have been written before 1603. Rich in allusions to Shakspeare's work before that time and even directly imitating it here and there,¹ the *F. M. of Ex.* shows its author to have been so ignorant of, or so suddenly and strangely indifferent to, the great dramatist's work after 1602, that it practically eliminates all possibility of composition later than that date. In the second place,

¹ Starred passages indicate imitation:

Venus and Adonis (S. R., 1593), Stanzas 3 and 39. Quoted in *F.*

<i>M. of Ex.</i>	III, iii, 67*
<i>Love's Labour Lost</i> (S. R., 1607),	III, i, 185-215 <i>F. M. of Ex.</i>I, iii, 236*
	V, ii, 269I, ii, 32
	IV, i, 85III, i, 85
	V, ii, 272III, ii, 262
	IV, iii, 10III, ii, 283
	V, ii, 524V, i, 226
	IV, iii, 210V, i, 360*
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (Qs. 1597, 9),	III, v, 153I, iii, 17
	II, ii, 1I, iii, 98*
	III, ii, 6II, i, 3
<i>Merchant of Venice</i> (S. R., 1598),	II, vi, 47II, i, 3*
	V, i, 193-202II, iii, 60*-70*
	III, ii, 239IV, ii, 128*
<i>Much Ado</i> (S. R., 1600),	II, i, 260III, iii, 42
<i>Twelfth Night</i> (Wr., 1600-2),	I, iii, 60II, ii, 26*

despite the vigorous comedy of certain scenes and the "April morning freshness" of that perfect lyric, "Ye little birds that sit and sing," the manifest weakness of the play in several structural features, its abundance of rhyme and the occasional immaturity of style, suggest early work. Though possessed of that precocity which so blessed the younger Elizabethans, Heywood was, nevertheless, in 1601-2, simply a hardworking young man of twenty-seven or less,¹ forced, like most of his contemporaries in the intervals of acting, to over-hurried production. If he were, as is probable, already engaged in writing *A Woman Killed*, the flagging interest so evident in the last part of the *F. M. of Ex.* is explained.

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¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

"DUKE FREDERICK OF NORMANDY," AN ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

I

The student of literary conditions in western Europe already knows that Norway and her dependency, Iceland, manifested a lively interest in mediaeval literature. That this interest was not confined to native productions may be seen from the large number of Scandinavian translations of foreign masterpieces that have been transmitted from a comparatively early date. It was during the reign of Haakon Haakonson the Elder, of Norway (1217-63), that many of the popular romances of the day were first brought to the North from southern, chiefly French, sources. Some of these works are known to have been translated at King Haakon's command, for example, "Tristan and Isolde" (translated by Brother Rodbert, in 1226), the "Elis Saga" (by the same Rodbert), the "Iwain," the "Möttuls Saga," and the "Strengleikar" (lais).¹ Most of the others came in during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

While it is true that the whole number of romantic productions that were translated into one or more of the Scandinavian tongues is quite large, it is equally true that the proportion of those works which gained popularity in more than one of the northern countries is rather small, as indicated by the number of versions or redactions of a given work, the length of the period of its currency, and the condition of its surviving manuscripts. To the group of those which may be said to have found more than local favor belong the "Iwain," the "Flores and Blanchflor," the "Partonopeus (Partenopex) de Blois," and the Charlemagne Chronicles.²

For each of the works mentioned at least one prototype has survived, with which a later version may be compared whenever historical or linguistic questions arise concerning it. In the case of

¹ Cf. E. Kölbing, *Riddara Sögur*, Strasburg, 1872.

² For detailed accounts of the Scandinavian versions of different mediaeval romances see C. J. Brandt, *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*, Vols. I-III, København, 1869-77, especially Vol. III, pp. 287-349; also *Samlinger udgivne af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*, Vol. I, 1, pp. vii-xxx; Vol. II, 3, pp. lxi-lxxi; Vol. III, 1, pp. vii-xxii.

"Duke Frederick of Normandy" the situation is altogether different, for, with the exception of a single version in Old Swedish (and a Danish transcription of the same), this mediaeval romance seems to have disappeared from the literature of all Europe.¹ Believing, however, that there was a time when this work formed a link in the chain which bound all literary Europe together, the writer here offers some account of its history, a résumé of the more important views that have been held regarding it, and a summary of its contents.

Together with "Iwain" and "Flores and Blanchflor," "Duke Frederick of Normandy" is commonly referred to as one of the "Eufemiavisor," i. e., "ballads" or "songs" of Eufemia, so named after a queen of Norway who is said to have caused the three works to be translated between the years 1300 and 1312. Six manuscripts of "Duke Frederick" have survived, five of which are preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm and one in the library of Skokloster. They range in date from about 1430 to 1523. The condition in which the work is found indicates that even the oldest manuscript is only a copy of a still older one, but of this no trace has been found.

Instalments of "Duke Frederick" were published in 1822 and 1824.² The whole work was printed for the first time in 1853.³ Barring a few necessary variations from the original, the edition of 1853 represents a faithful copy of the oldest extant manuscript. A free adaptation of the story, intended for juvenile reading, is found in Henrik Schück's *Sveriges Medeltidssagor*.⁴ Schück's collection has been translated into English under the title, *Mediaeval Stories*.⁵

¹ So far as I have been able to ascertain there is no historic Frederick of Normandy. On the other hand, I have found a Herzog Friedrich in a German *Spielmannsgedicht* of 4,210 lines, entitled "Salman und Morolf." This poem has been traced to a Middle Franconian original from about the year 1200. P. Piper (*Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Bd. 2, 1, p. 205) says of the poem and the series to which it belongs: "Ihrem ganzen Charakter nach gehört die Dichtung in die Zeiten der Kreuzzüge, und der Herzog Friedrich, welcher (v. 726) Ackers erobert, deutet vielleicht auf Herzog Friedrich von Schwaben, welcher Akka 1190-91 einnahm." An examination of the general contents of the poem reveals the following parallels to "Duke Frederick": (1) the abduction of a princess; (2) a magic ring; (3) a chess-board inlaid with gems; (4) a flight across the sea; (5) a dwarf (Madelger) conducting the hero of the story into a mountain (compare, in the order indicated, "Salman und Morolf" in *Deut. Nat.-Lit.*, Bd. 2, 1, pp. 215, 216, 219, 222, 229, and "Duke Frederick" below, ll. 2271-2432, 801-942, 408-48, 2271-2432, 185-274). Unfortunately, the two works show no parallels in the details of their respective episodes.

² By G. W. Gumsællus, in *Iduna*, Vol. IX, 1822; Vol. X, 1824.

³ In Vol. III of *Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornkriftsällskapet*, Stockholm, 1853.

⁴ Vol. I, Stockholm, 1893.

⁵ Translated by W. F. Harvey, and published by Sands & Co., London, 1902.

As far as the writer's knowledge goes, these two are the only modern versions of the romance.

According to Gustav Storm,¹ the poem belongs to the Arthurian cycle, and seems to be one of a series of productions, which, on a basis of Arthurian material, were composed independently in northern France during the second half of the twelfth century. It was mentioned as early as 1758,² and again in 1785,³ but its existence was not generally known to European scholars before 1811, when their attention was called to it by Nyerup.⁴ Since then attempts have been made from time to time to find some other version of the work, but without success, and hence our knowledge of its history rests almost entirely upon the meager information that can be drawn from the poem itself.

In the closing lines of the poem the Swedish translator (or adapter) says that the work was first "turned" from *valsko* into German by order of Emperor "Otte," and by this statement he very probably means that it was translated from French into German during the reign of Otto IV, who died in 1218. He then adds that "the book was made into rhyme from the German to the Swedish tongue" at the command of Queen Eufemia. The correctness of the latter statement has been seriously questioned by the Norwegian scholars, who have tried to show that the poem did not come into Swedish directly from the German, but through the medium of Old Norse.

They have based their arguments mainly on the following assumptions: (1) that since two of the Eufemia songs, the "Iwain" and the "Flores and Blanchflor," have been handed down in Old Norse translations, the Swedish versions of these two as well as of the third, "Duke Frederick," all go back to Norse originals that have been lost; (2) that any translations in which Queen Eufemia may have had a share would naturally be in prose, for this is the form of all the extant Norse translations that were made before her time; (3) that a queen of Norway, herself a German countess by birth (she was the daughter of Günther von Arnstein), would hardly feel dis-

¹ Cf. his "Om Eufemiavisæerne" in *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi og Pædagogik*. Ny Række, I, København, 1874, pp. 28-43.

² By A. A. von Stiernman, in his *Tal om de lärda Wetenskapens Tillstånd i Swearike*, Stockholm, 1758.

³ By E. M. Fant, in his *Observationes selectae historiam Suecanam illustrantes*, I.

⁴ Rasmus Nyerup, in *Museum für altheutsche Litteratur*, Bd. II, 1811, pp. 324-28; cf. also his *Morkabelæening*, København, 1816, pp. 113, 124.

posed to have a translation made in a language (Swedish) that was foreign to her.¹ These views the Swedish scholars have persistently tried to refute.²

The question continued to attract the attention of Scandinavian scholars throughout the nineteenth century, though with little or no prospect of final settlement. Finally (1881), Oskar Klockhoff of Upsala subjected the three Eufemia songs to a series of linguistic tests.³ In his effort to fix the date at which the poems were translated, he found the foreign elements in them to indicate that all three came into the language some time before 1320; in other words, that the dates given in the translations may be accepted as correct.

As regards their sources, a careful comparison of the French, Norse, and Swedish versions of the "Iwain" and the "Flores and Blanchflor" led Klockhoff to believe that these two entered the Swedish through the Norse. Since no comparison of this kind was possible in the case of "Duke Frederick," the question of its nearest prototype had to be determined by the relative preponderance of Norse or German elements in its vocabulary. Of such elements the two German suffixes *-in* and *-in*, being exclusively characteristic of the language of this work, might be taken to point to a German source for the same. But on the whole its language was found to differ so slightly from that of the other writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that Klockhoff was unable to arrive at any definite conclusions. Additional evidences of a German original for "Duke Frederick" were pointed out by Edward Schröder,⁴ as follows: (1) the employment of a German diminutive word as a designation of a ring—an object which is always represented by a native word in the other two Eufemia songs; (2) three instances of German abstract nouns in *-heet* and more than thirty other German words not found in the other two poems; (3) the word *ingesinne*, which is very frequently met with in Middle Low German as a convenient word for completing a rhyme, is found in rhyme position

¹ Cf. *Nordisk Tidekrift*, 1850, p. 50; also *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1850, pp. 118-21, 163, 309.

² Cf. *Samlinger utgifna af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*, Vol. I, 1, pp. vii-xxx; Vol. II, 3, pp. xvii-xxi; Vol. III, 2, pp. 223-28.

³ Cf. "Studier öfver Eufemiavisorna" (86 pages), in *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift*, Upsala, 1881.

⁴ Cf. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1882), pp. 26-32.

three times in "Duke Frederick," these being the only instances of the word in any production in Old Swedish; (4) the German rhyme-combination *-lika : -rika* occurs proportionately much more often in this poem than it does in the other poems of the collection. Schröder also points out some parallels between "Duke Frederick" and two German fragments, the one published by Karl Regel,¹ the other by Karl Bartsch.²

The investigations of Klockhoff and Schröder seem to establish for "Duke Frederick" some Middle Low German prototype which has been lost; beyond this we can, at present, only conjecture. Some of the motifs in our romance are paralleled in several of the French and German romances,³ but in the process of arrangement and elaboration they have received the impress of the poet's own genius. The poet has, in other words, molded his material into new forms and thus produced a story with characteristic features of its own.

II

"Duke Frederick of Normandy" is a metrical romance of 3,232 lines, written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The predominant rhythm is iambic with four stresses to each verse. No attempt has been made by the poet to observe any particular rhyme scheme, and in places the measure is extremely irregular. A paraphrase of its contents is given below. In this paraphrase it has been the writer's aim to preserve the continuity of the story in all its essential features, including all proper names, but omitting details which have no bearing on the general trend of thought.

About the time of King Arthur there lived in Normandy a duke by the name of Frederick. He was a man of ability, wealth, courage, and honor, and of a gentle, cheerful disposition, so that he who would give him deserving praise must say that "one now finds fewer such." But on account of his many virtues he was an offense to a number of the lords, especially to some of his own kinsmen, for at that time true chivalry was on such a low plane that to find the man who would rightly cultivate it was a difficult task indeed. [28-58.]⁴

Now Duke Frederick was a lover of the hunt, and it happened that when he and his knights were once riding along through a grove named

¹ See footnote 1, p. 400, below.

² See footnote 1, p. 405, below.

³ Cf. Introduction to Vol. I of Henrik Schück's *Sveriges Medeltidsägar*, Stockholm, 1893.

⁴ The numbers refer to the lines of the text.

Asiant they heard a great noise, as of a large flock of deer. But when the hounds were sent in pursuit they ran only "the width of a field" and then returned. From this the duke concluded that the place must be haunted and therefore returned with his men to the castle (called Kalidas). [59-82.]

Clad in a rich military coat, white trousers of the finest workmanship, and a large glistening helmet, the duke rode out alone early the next morning. Over the whole surface of his shield was spread a bow of gold, and the richness of his metal decorations would take long to describe. As he was thus riding along on his blood-red steed, the road was suddenly lost to view; but on looking ahead he saw a wooded mountain in the distance, and he decided, though not without some reluctance and fear, to ride up to it. On approaching the mountain he noticed little foot prints, "all after the likeness of man," then a little horse tied to a tree, and presently also a dwarf. Then Frederick was glad that he had gone out on adventure that day. Soon after, another dwarf rode up to him on a horse that was smaller than a deer but larger than a roebuck. This dwarf had on a red military coat of costly silk, under which was a collar of mail, and his trousers were white as ivory. His helmet was bordered with gold and studded with precious stones, among them a carbuncle in front and a hyacinth behind, and all around were amethysts and rubies, sapphires, turquoises, emeralds, garnets, and many more that would take too long to enumerate. In his hand he held a lance about three ells in length. [83-184.]

After an exchange of greetings with the duke, the dwarf began to relate how he, a king of great wealth and large domains, had been banished and how most of his courtiers had deserted him. Within three days the new king was to occupy his castle (Karlmit) and take full possession of the land. Malnrit, the deposed king of the dwarfs, prayed the duke to help him defend his rightful title and kingdom.¹ This

¹ Compare the following "Bruchstück eines Gedichtes aus dem Kreise der Artussage" (published by Karl Regel in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XI, pp. 490 ff.). The fragment (289 lines) contains an account of some of the circumstances connected with a tourney which was given annually at the court of a certain Sirikirsan. A dwarf by the name of Malgrim, apparently despairing of his ability to gain the object of his love through his own efforts, has cunningly arranged to have Segremors appear as his champion (ll. 66-77):

do Segremors qvam so na,
daz er in wol erkante,
vz dem volke er rante,
der helt ellens richte,
vñ sprach vil vroliche
"Ich hoffe vñ gedinge,
daz mir nv gelinge,
nv ich vch here bringe."
"Herre," sprach Malgrim,
"ir sult mir nv gût sin:
ob v lveke hie gesicht,
so ne sult ir min vürgezzen nicht."

The remainder of the fragment relates to the reception of Segremors at the court of Sirikirsan.

Frederick promised to do, in so far as he would be able to oppose the enemy alone. With this understanding the two proceeded on in the direction of the castle, the little king leading the way through a narrow mountain pass. As they approach the castle, Frederick is told to stop and wait until Malnrit has informed his men of the former's arrival, for, if they were to see him unexpectedly, they would all run away, because they are all small, just like the king himself. [185-274.]

Presently the king's courtiers come out to greet the duke and conduct him to the castle. Here he is obliged to leave his horse outside, owing to the small size of the main entrance. The dwarfs themselves are so small that in removing the saddle from the duke's horse one of them has to stand on a chair. Frederick is conducted into the mountain and finds its interior gorgeously decorated with costly hangings of silks and satins. Geindor, the dwarf queen, who measures only two spans and a half in height, is decked in gold and precious stones, and wears a belt of such marvelous beauty that a thousand pounds would be but a fair estimate of its value. The palace is of marble and is illumined by red, white, green, and brown lights. Its windows are of alder and the benches and stools, of cypress. The table, at which the men are served with mead, wine, and a great variety of food, is a hundred thousand times more gorgeous than the emerald table of priest John of India, with its ivory legs and its amethyst, whose effectiveness against drunkenness "is known from the stone book."—After feasting at this table in the presence of fair queen Geindor, the duke retires for the night. [275-407.]

When he rises the next morning, Aribant, the dwarf chamberlain, waits on him with two golden wash basins. Having made his toilet, he is invited to inspect a large number of costly robes, and a chess table inlaid with an amount of rare gems that could not be bought with all his possessions in Normandy. [408-48.]

On the third day of the duke's visit with the dwarfs, the enemies of King Malnrit appear and pitch their tents out on a plain beyond the park that surrounds his palace. On the tent of the rebel king an eagle is poised, as if about to fly. With many fires and much noise the enemy now begin to prepare their food, and in the meantime the duke calls together all the dwarfs in the palace, telling them to arm themselves for the impending battle. Once more King Malnrit begs the duke to help him defend his throne, promising in return all the gold and precious stones that he can carry, but the latter prefers to tender his services gratis. [449-506.]

The battle alarm is sounded. With the understanding that he is to rush out at the critical moment, Frederick hides under a mountain ash, and King Malnrit opens battle with all the bravery of a Parcival or a Gawain. With a thrust that hurls both rider and horse to the ground the little king quickly vanquishes the first of the twelve hostile knights

who gallop out against him. Then, drawing his sword, he begins to cut down both friends and kinsmen, but is soon overwhelmed by their superior numbers and is forced to flee to where the duke is keeping himself concealed. Now the latter dashes against the rebels, and, taking them by twos, he tosses them about in every direction. At this point the dwarfs in the palace rush out and capture fifteen hundred of the enemies, among them all the instigators of the rebellion. These are: Otrik, the rebel king; Yrrik, a nephew of King Malnrit; Yrpon and Malnzir, two dukes. [507-660.]

An investigation to determine the cause of the insurrection fixes the guilt mainly on Yrrik, who is convicted of shameful treason. As a penalty, he is straightway beheaded, together with some dukes, counts, and lords, who had been his accomplices. Otrik is pardoned on condition of swearing fealty to Malnrit. [661-732.]

In return for his help in checking the rebellion, Frederick is invited by Malnrit to accept the rule of his entire kingdom, but the duke regards the whole affair as an honor to himself and therefore declines this generous offer. Malnrit then begs him to state before the rebel dwarfs that when he was in heaven he heard of their wrong to their king, and that if any one of them should ever as much as speak a word against their ruler, he (Frederick) would send down from heaven twenty men like himself with orders to roast and boil them alive. This announcement results in a plea for mercy and promise of obedience from the dwarfs. [733-800.]

Having induced the duke to return with him to the palace, the little king brings out the aforementioned table and begs him to accept it as a gift. But the latter politely declines and straightway makes ready to leave. When he rides away his little friend accompanies him for some distance, and, on parting, bestows on him a magic ring with four stones: one against injury by sword, another against injury by water, the third against injury by fire; but the fourth, which is from India, far surpasses the other three, for whoever carries it may render himself invisible at will. [801-942.]

After parting with the dwarf king, Frederick continues on his way until he is suddenly arrested by the terrified cries of a woman. On coming nearer he discovers that a giant¹ has tied the woman to a tree and her husband to the belly of a horse, and that he is mercilessly flogging the man. Frederick demands of the giant to state the reason for this horrible cruelty, when the answer comes back in the form of a challenge:

Fool, come here to me,
You may try for yourself
Whether you can help him!

¹ To this encounter with the giant there is a striking parallel in Crestien's *Erec*, ll. 4381 ff. For this reference I am indebted to Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

The duke, of course, accepts the challenge, and that very instant the giant hurls a big bar at him, and so violently that his shield is completely shattered. By a turn of his ring the duke vanishes from the sight of his adversary, and then, with a vehemence that causes the mountains and valleys to shake, he rushes upon him, fells him to the ground, and cuts off his head. By another turn of the ring he becomes visible again to the knight and his lady. He releases them both, and both are profuse in their thanks to him, offering to serve him with all their possessions. [943-1070.]

Upon inquiry Frederick learns that the man is Gamorin, king of Scotland [the son of Leunemin]. In the course of the conversation he soon reveals his own identity, whereupon the lady bursts out in joy: "My dear kinsman, Sir Frederick!" By "kinsman" she means "cousin," for her father (who is king of England) and the duke's father are brothers. Naturally, Frederick is very glad to meet her also, for neither one had seen the other for twelve years. King Gamorin now informs the duke that he and his queen are on their way to attend court between England and Brittany; that very distinguished guests are to be there from England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and that tournaments are to be held at the same occasion. This last news inspires Frederick with a desire to accompany them. [1071-1250.]

The three ride on together to Bramundant, the castle of Count Askalias. As soon as they arrive King Gamorin begins to relate to the count the details of his adventure with the giant, including the fact that both he and his queen had been saved through the timely intervention of the duke. Askalias is very glad to have the giant-slayer as a guest, for this same giant had killed his son, a young man of such pre-eminent knightly qualities that he had been dubbed knight even before he was twenty years of age. [1251-1376.]

The following day, while riding together, Gamorin is asked by Frederick to relate some adventure that he may have had, and the king tells of how he had once found a lady in a wide forest between England and Scotland. She was sitting beside a dead knight, pressing him sorrowfully to her breast. With sobs and tears she told Gamorin that the knight who had been killed was the late Sir Lifant, duke of Ireland, and that she was Arilla, a niece of the king of Ireland. Gamorin then took her to a city nearby, where he procured lodging for her for the night. The next morning they harnessed four horses and drove the shortest way to Ireland, where Gamorin was royally entertained by the king for eight days. While there he learned that the king had a daughter, the fairest in the land, but that she was kept high up in a tower and carefully guarded by attending ladies, for the king did not wish her to be seen by any man, save himself.—After listening to this narration Frederick is seized with a desire to possess the Irish princess. [1377-1512.]

King Gamorin and the duke continue on their way to Verona and arrive there at the right time for the big tournament. The city is the scene of a great concourse of the nobility: Beviand, duke of Scotland, brought 100 knights; the king of England brought 800; Sir Arrik of Taestergala,¹ even more; and the king of France came with 6,000 men. Besides, there were the following knights: Sir Maliz of Tenalabrok (Cenalabrok), Gawain, Segremors, Orillus, Lewis, Visrezat, and Vigolis. [1513-1640.]

The tournament begins that same night, and the first combat is fought between Gamorin and Count Puenzin, each wearing the other out without a decisive victory on either side. Next, Gamorin vanquishes Leuiz (Lewist) but is in turn dashed from his horse by a thrust from Gawain's hand. Seeing this, Sir Beviand rushes forward, and a prolonged combat ensues between him and Sir Oriik, until Beviand finally falls from his horse. Then Frederick dashes against Oriik, whom he already knew; their lances are shattered again and again, but the combat ends with honors equal. Now Tidonas turns upon Frederick, but is quickly vanquished. On the opposite side the king of England is fighting with one after the other, including the king of France, with whom he divides honors. This ends the tournament for that day. [1641-1768.]

Before the tourney was resumed the next morning, Frederick attended mass and prayed God to shield him from danger that day. As soon as he comes out on the jousting-field he engages Gawain, but neither one is able to wrest a victory from the other. Then Segremors turns upon the duke, but he and his horse are both thrown to the ground. A general fight ensues which rages so fiercely that in it "more lances were destroyed than were ever known to exist in a single city." Toward the close of the contest Beviand's enemies begin to crowd him away, but are intercepted by Frederick, who "cuts and strikes with both hands." Later, when the duke is threatened by the same danger, he is saved through the timely intervention of Gamorin. In the affray Lanzelaer is thrown from his horse but regains it with the assistance of friends. This ends the tourney of the second day. At the close of the tournament Gamorin invites Frederick to pay him a visit, but the latter declines the invitation, for he is now bent upon going to Ireland. [1769-1889.]

When he arrives at the Irish court he is received with all due honors though, of course, without seeing the king's daughter. After some days, a number of guests arrive from the tournament in Verona, and when they see the duke they are delighted to meet him. In his behalf they

¹ Cf. "Destregâles" ("Destrigâles"), the name of Erec's native country, in Hartmann's *Erec*, ll. 1818, 2864, 9373, 10032; also the form "Destrigleis," in Wolfram's *Parzival*, VII, 1336. Concerning the latter name Bartsch (*Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters*, X, Leipzig, 1876, p. 50, note) says: "*Destrigleis* aus Hartmanns *Erec* entnommen, wo der Name *Destrigales*, *Destregales* (aus *d'estre-Gales*, das Land über *Gales* hinaus) lautet." May we not then connect Arrik of Taestergala and Erec d'estre-Gales?

testify before the king that "in all the world there is no prouder knight" than he, and this testimony induces the king to order the best of accommodations for him. The knights and swains who are commissioned to attend to his needs very soon become his friends, and one day he ventures to ask them "how it might be" with the maiden up in the tower. He is told of her unrivaled beauty and of the strict rule against her being seen by any man, save the king himself; also that most of the king's valuables are kept up in the same tower. [1890-1966.]

While food is being brought to Floria the next evening, Frederick turns his ring and enters the room unseen. After the girl has taken her food the twelve women attendants bring in the bed in which she is to sleep; then all the women, except the governess, retire. When everything is quiet the duke is seized with an irrepressible desire of kissing the girl, "even though it should be his death." As he kisses her she calls her governess and screams, "Oh woe is me! I know not what is lying so near me here!" The women rush in, but naturally all search for the intruder is fruitless. This kind of disturbance is repeated until the governess tells Floria that if she causes any further trouble she will whip her until "the blood flows." The duke remains with the girl and she becomes quiet, yet the governess begins to put her threat into effect, when the other women intervene, and Floria promises to incommode them no more, though she might live a thousand years. [1967-2104.]

In the morning Frederick assumes visible form, Floria confesses her love to him, and he promises to make her duchess of Normandy. Before leaving the tower he notices the large supply of costly silks and the many "thousand hundred pounds of clear gold" that are kept there. Of both he takes whatever he can carry, and later distributes the booty among his chosen twelve knights and thirty-odd trusted squires. Meanwhile he causes messages to be sent to Gamorin, requesting him to come, and as soon as he learns of his friend's arrival he commands his private knights to assist him in the flight which he is about to make with Floria. The landlord (or steward) is told to keep in readiness a ship with accommodations for at least one hundred men and with provisions for a whole year. [2105-2270.]

The next evening, after bidding farewell to the king—who is sorry to see him leave so soon—Frederick proceeds to take Floria from the tower. He steps into a boat, has it brought over to the drawbridge, goes up to the tower and carries down so much gold that one of the squires asks him to desist, for fear of its causing the boat to sink. He then fetches Floria and her trusted maid, and gives orders to sail away as fast as possible.¹ A little way out at sea his company meet Gamorin

¹ Compare the flight, the angered king, etc., with the following "Bruchstück eines niederrheinischen epischen Gedichtes" (published by Karl Bartsch, *Germania*, V, pp. 256 ff.). According to Bartsch, the fragment (118 lines) belongs to the cycle of poems

and Belafir, who take both the duke and the girl on board their ship. Presently Frederick is seen walking out on the deck, when a high wind comes up and tosses him into the sea. King Gamorin's company mourn him as lost, and in her grief Floria tries to jump overboard, being caught in time by the king himself. Having concluded that nothing can be done to save the duke, his friends proceed to Scotland. [2271-2432.]

The following morning, when the Irish king learns of his daughter's flight with Frederick, he becomes furious, upbraids the women in attendance and even threatens to have them summarily put to death, so that the queen has to intercede for them and quiet his rage. He then calls the steward to explain, but the latter assures the king that in his services to the duke he has done nothing more than obey orders. Hereupon the king summons his knights and squires, bidding them prepare four ships, On these ships four hundred men set out in pursuit of the duke, with orders through the chancellor to kill both him and his company, if caught. After a few hours sailing, the men espy the duke sitting on the water totally unharmed. The pilot throws out a hook and lifts him on board. [2433-2516.]

Asked by the chancellor concerning the whereabouts of Floria. Frederick replies that he does not know. In a rage over this curt reply the chancellor puts a sword into the hands of a strong squire, who makes a futile attempt at beheading the duke. Disappointed, the chancellor then has him put in irons and gives orders to return home. On the return voyage the duke is again asked to explain where Floria might be, and he answers that she and her whole company are drowned. Failing

which connect romantic adventures and expeditions with the names of historic personages and places. I give a translation of Bartsch's summary of the contents. "On an expedition to the Orient, Heinrich, duke of Normandy, had won the love of Claredamle the daughter of the king of Mec (Mecca?), and had induced her to accept the Christian faith. Claredamle sent word to her mother that unless she also would become a Christian she would never see her daughter again. In her message the girl declared the heathen gods to be nothing but powerless gold, silver, and stone, as was seen when Maumet (Mahmet) had to bear the disgrace of being dashed to pieces by her lover. If the mother would comply with her wishes, she said, she would be willing to have a conference with her at whatever place she might appoint. On receiving this message, the queen was so grieved at the thought of losing her only child that she decided to renounce her own faith in the heathen gods. After she had been baptized, she was most cordially received by Claredamle. In order that the duke might cherish the most tender feelings toward her daughter, the queen made him a gift of two thousand pounds of gold, and then returned to her country. When the king of Mec heard that the queen had permitted herself to be baptized, he flew into a rage and, forgetting his honor, killed her. A war ensued between the heathens and Christians, which lasted for seven years; then Heinrich desired to return to his own country with Claredamle. His nephew Melantwiler, with his *amie*, joined him. Before departing, Heinrich and his company bestowed gifts on the Christian poor of the land, and after commending King Amerade to the protection of God, the four set out by sea from Jerusalem to Normandy. Here they were received with great joy and splendor by the lords and ladies of the land. Thereupon Heinrich sent messengers into the countries round about to proclaim a tourney in honor of the two ladies he had brought with him."

to satisfy the chancellor with this reply he is told that he must die. [2517-2560.]

When the men come back to the king's city the duke is immediately thrown upon a large burning pyre; but thanks to his magic ring he again comes out unharmed, although his clothes are burned from his body. The chancellor, however, is so sure of his case that he hastens to inform the king of the burning of the duke. Meanwhile, the latter goes up to the palace, puts on the best of the king's clothes, takes from the royal stalls the very best horse to be had, and rides away to Scotland, where the joy of his friends, particularly that of Floria, is unbounded. In honor of the event court is held for fourteen days. [2561-2654.]

When Frederick and his bride-to-be are about to leave for Normandy, the king of Scotland showers upon them numerous gifts, including a camel for carrying their many treasures. Besides, Floria is given a retinue of forty ladies and the duke is given a hundred knights as companions. Two swains are sent on to Normandy in advance, to announce the coming of the noble couple, and when they arrive great joy prevails among all the people, so dearly did they love their duke. His lords present him with many thousand pounds, but this money he in turn gives to the knights and ladies who have come from Scotland. Once more court is held for fourteen days, and after this session of court his Scotch friends return home. [2655-2718.]

The following spring Frederick sends messages in every direction, inviting the lords and princes to come to his wedding at Whitsuntide. To accommodate the visitors, a number of tents are put up on a broad plain. Here the guests assemble at the appointed time: the king of France with a hundred knights; the king of Scotland with two hundred knights; the king of Ireland—who is especially glad to come and see his daughter still alive—brings two hundred knights; Sir Lielin of Gascogny arrives with one hundred knights, and all the lords bring their wives. Lastly, there comes a rich king who has with him more people than all the others, and in pomp and splendor his appearance greatly excels that of the other kings: it is Malnrit, king of the dwarfs. [2719-2932.]

According to agreement with the duke, King Malnrit has his tents pitched along the banks of a river, and when they are ready the great flood of light which pours out from them turns night into day. On each of the knobs (on the tent-poles?) there are two carbuncles and four rubies; from these and other precious stones such intense light is given off that, in comparison, a lighted torch is like darkness itself. The queen's tent is the most gorgeous one of all: around it in a wide circle is spread a velvet mat which is studded with gems, and the queen herself is attired in a scarlet robe, and so are the court ladies. The knights all ride on blood-red steeds, and before them hosts of drummers are marching, and trumpeters, and all kinds of musicians.—The celebration

is concluded with a generous distribution of gold, precious stones, and scarlet robes among the visitors. [2933-3054.]

The wedding festivities were followed by a session of court for three weeks, and at the conclusion of this session the king of Ireland entrusted not only his daughter, but also his whole kingdom into Frederick's hands. The duke, in turn, transferred Normandy to a lord in whom he placed confidence, and then departed with his father-in-law for Ireland. Within a year from that time the king died, and Frederick ascended the throne, proving himself to be a model ruler who built churches and monasteries and in this way soon won the love and esteem of all his lords. Two sons and one daughter were born to him, and after a reign of fourteen years and three months he died. What became of the magic ring is not known, nor is it known how long the elder son ruled. The younger son was made duke of Normandy, and the daughter married the king of Spain. Floria, the widowed queen, entered a convent, where she remained the rest of her life.—Herewith the story ends. [3055-3200.]

Judged on the basis of poetic beauty and excellence, "Duke Frederick" is conceded to be a work of comparatively small importance. In this the critics appear to be of one mind. Speaking of it in comparison with the other two Eufemia songs, Henrik Schück¹ says that it lies more remote than either of these from the genuine world of legendary lore. He believes that it was written by a German poet who had read many popular contemporary French stories of chivalry; these he imitated in his own work. Nyerup² was so unfavorably impressed with the story that he condemned it outright, declaring it to be "drawn out to excess, wholly lacking in savor, and altogether uninteresting." Gumaelius³ is less severe in his verdict. He believes that in the construction of the plot, in the variety of episodes, and in the peculiar *natveté* of its narration enough of the poetic qualities of the original have survived in the translation to make at least one reading of it enjoyable. He admits, however, that a work like the "Iwain," with its wealth and variety of episode, and its vivid descriptions, is far more entertaining; and that the "Flores and Blanchflor" excels in the portrayal of pure, ardent love and unbroken fidelity. At best, "Duke Frederick" may be likened to a plant that has been moved from a milder zone to the less fertile

¹ Cf. Introduction to Vol. I of his *Sveriges Medeltidsägor*, Stockholm, 1893.

² In *Museum für altdenutsche Litteratur*, Bd. II (1811), p. 328.

³ In *Iduna*, IX (1822), pp. 121 f.

soil and the more severe climate of a foreign land: the delicacy of fragrance and wealth of colors which it may have had in common with most productions of the South have vanished before the cutting winds of the North.

Apart from all considerations of poetic merit, this mediaeval romance commands attention in its own way. To the student of Scandinavian literature, particular interest attaches to it from the linguistic point of view, for its language is contemporaneous with that of the old rhymed chronicles. It is, therefore, one of the few monuments that mark a period of transition, when many of the older Norse words, phrases, and forms of inflection began to be supplanted by the German. Its importance historically should not be measured by the light which it may shed upon mediaeval customs; such light can be drawn to better advantage from the native productions of France or Germany. Its historical value is rather to be sought in the additional evidence which it affords of the lively intellectual intercourse that existed between Northern and Southern Europe, a century or even more before the Renaissance. Considering this close relationship between the different nations of Europe, it is indeed surprising that Sweden, a comparatively obscure corner of the continent, should be the only country in which the work has been preserved to the present day.

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HEBBEL'S USE OF THE HEXAMETER IN "MUTTER UND KIND"

It is proposed in this investigation to determine by an examination of the metrical structure of Hebbel's epic, *Mutter und Kind*, the views which the poet entertained with respect to the hexameter, and to what extent he applied his principles in the writing of the poem. Such an investigation involves chiefly such questions as the relationship of the German hexameter and the Greek; in what respects and to what extent Hebbel followed Greek models, and how far he deemed it necessary, in view of the exigencies of the German language, to depart from classic models; whether, in line with such rigorists as Voss and later Wilhelm Schlegel and Platen, he modeled his verse closely after the principles of the ancients, or whether, with Goethe and Schiller, he admitted such metrical innovations as he deemed expedient in the adaptation of the verse to the German language.

The hexameter, being a verse composed of feet of a varying number of syllables, cannot depend solely on a regular succession of accented and unaccented syllables to sustain its rhythm. It demands also of the poet that he give due attention to time measure (*Taktdauer*). The ideal hexameter would be one, each foot of which, when declaimed naturally, consumes an equal interval of time in the reading. In addition the arsis of each foot should be so well marked by the accent that it would stand out sharply in contrast to the thesis. Of decided importance is the element of the time measure. One has but to declaim an imperfect hexameter to note the natural tendency to dwell on feet composed of short syllables, and conversely to suppress heavy stem syllables in the thesis, and thus, by a method of compensatory lengthenings and shortenings, force each foot into the time measure. In Hebbel's verse—

Als mein Vater sie konnte, und seine goldenen Regeln

the fourth foot is too short. In reading one naturally stretches out the arsis in order to bring the foot into time with the dactyl of the preceding foot.

If one recognizes the importance of the time measure in sustaining the rhythm of the hexameter, there arises next the question of how this uniformity is to be attained in German. Minor¹ demonstrates convincingly that there is no constant relationship between time measure (*Taktdauer*) and syllable quantity. The natural quantity of the German syllable is too variable for it to assure uniformity of time measure. The position and environment of a syllable play a large rôle in determining its length. Many compounds have a different length when resolved into their elements. In parallelism and repetition a word of two syllables may often be unaccented and thus lose in quantity.

Closely related to the subject of time measure is the oft-discussed question as to whether or not the trochee is admissible in the hexameter. Goethe in *Reineke Fuchs* and in *Hermann und Dorothea* and Schiller in his hexameters used trochees generously. Later Goethe, acting on suggestions from Wilhelm Schlegel, in his *Elegies* approached more nearly to classic models. Schlegel was at first for admitting trochees under certain conditions, but he later became more rigorous and like Platen demanded the absolute exclusion of the trochee from the hexameter. But the question may not be settled thus by a dogmatic acceptance or rejection of the trochee.

It is just here that the question of the time measure plays its principal rôle. If a trochee can be found which fills out the time measure of the foot, then the rhythm will not be marred. And the non-constant quality of the German syllable makes this possible. The indefinite article *eine* as a verse foot will always do violence to the rhythm. It is capable of being shortened but not prolonged. But trochees may be admitted in the hexameter which have an arsis capable of being long sustained, or a thesis with a full vowel or a strong consonant. A natural pause between the two elements of the foot may also fill out the time interval of the foot. It is thus evident that the trochee can neither be generally excluded nor indiscriminately admitted in the hexameter. Each case must be judged separately.

An investigation of Hebbel's hexameters begins naturally with the variants of the MSS. Taking these variants as a starting-point

¹ J. Minor, *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik* (Strassburg, 1902), S. 281 ff.

one may note what metrical defects were apparent to the poet himself, and in what spirit and to what extent he corrected these deficiencies. It is at once evident that the question of the trochee was his chief difficulty. By far the largest number of his corrections deal with the trochee. It is also interesting to note that he approaches the correction of faulty trochees in a spirit quite in sympathy with Minor's view of their admissibility in the hexameter. In many cases dactyls are substituted for trochees, in others spondees are introduced, and in still others heavier and longer trochees take the place of the original foot which was not quantitatively long enough to fill out the time measure. The poem is not purged of short trochees, but where the correction of a faulty foot was possible without doing violence to the passage in question Hebbel generally made it. In some cases a revision has been undertaken in order to eliminate a succession of short trochees. In other cases the revision affects only one trochee. In the first group of citations such cases are given in which a dactyl is substituted for the original trochee where the trochee was so weak as not to fill out the time measure of the foot. In the following citations the first version gives the original reading and the second Hebbel's revision.

- 1 Eben graut der Morgen u. s. w.
Eben Grauet der Morgen u. s. w.
- 14 Schwören bloss, zur Nacht die Raupen noch voller zu stopfen
Schwören sich bloss, zur Nacht u. s. w.
- 61 Selten ruhig zu Hause u. s. w.
Selten gemächlich zu Hause u. s. w.
- 77 Aber wem es Gott im liebsten Freunde und Bruder
Aber wem es der Herr im u. s. w.
- 78 Vor die Augen stellt, dem ziemt es sich warnen zu lassen
Dicht vor die Augen stellt, u. s. w.
- 79 Hätte Wilhelm mich in solchem Elend gesehen
Hätte der Ärmste mich u. s. w.

In addition to the above citations there are 48 other verses in the poem in which Hebbel has eliminated a weak trochee and substituted in its stead a dactyl.

In the next group of citations a weak trochee is strengthened. In some cases this is accomplished by the substitution of a spondee. In others the foot still remains quantitatively a trochee, but its

elements are capable of a natural prolongation in enunciation. In some cases a natural pause occurs between the two elements of the foot, thus filling out the time measure.

- 1887 Wie die Hunde bei uns! Denn wäre der Schmied ein Franzose
 Wie die Hunde bei uns! Denn wäre der Schmied ein Franzmann
 8 Wie der Hahn auch rufe, der nicht bequem auf der Latte
 Wie der Hahn auch rufe, und wie vom Thurme herunter

The trochee of the fourth foot is strengthened in the revision.

- 1960 Und sie gingen in Trauer! Dann habt Ihr nichts zu besorgen
 Und sie gingen in Trauer! Mich dünkt ich sehe den Todten

The natural pause between the arsis and the thesis of the fourth foot in the revision makes an improvement over the original.

Besides the above cases 14 other revisions of faulty trochees are accomplished in the poem by the introduction of a foot of two syllables, in which the two syllabic elements are either long or capable of prolongation, or between the elements of which there occurs a natural pause.

Taking the sum total of these corrections which deal with the trochee, Hebbel's view of the admissibility of the trochee in the hexameter begins to make itself apparent. He recognized evidently that the natural quantity of the syllable plays a large rôle in the hexameter. But it was also evident to him that the strict following of the principles of natural syllable quantity in the spirit of the ancients could not be made the standard of excellence for the verse foot of the hexameter. Hebbel made 71 corrections of weak trochees. Fifty-four of the original trochees were replaced by dactyls. The remaining 17 were simply strengthened. As was noted before, these corrections by no means purged the poem of faulty trochees. But such do not abound. In the first 100 verses of *Mutter und Kind* there are 14 cases of such weak trochees. In the first 100 verses of *Hermann und Dorothea* there are 25 trochees which are open to the same criticism.

A number of Hebbel's revisions are concerned with the dactyls. Just as the trochee may mar the rhythm of the verse if it is too weak to fill out the time measure, so also a heavy dactyl of the form 221 or 211 may destroy the rhythm by overflowing the time measure. The following group of citations shows revisions undertaken

in the interest of the quantity and in some cases of the accent of the dactyl. In some cases the dactyl gives way to a spondee or trochee. In other cases a better dactyl is substituted for the defective original.

- 94 Abgefallen! Ich glaubte im Anfang, es wäre sein Vater
Die nicht denken! Ich glaubte zuerst, es wäre sein Vater

In the original the dactyl of the fourth foot is of the form $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$. The quantity of the foot is further increased by the feminine caesura. Hebbel substitutes a spondee in the revision.

- 109 Darum lässt er sie sitzen u. s. w.
Darum bleiben sie sitzen u. s. w.

The revision improves the accent of the arsis and shortens the syllables of the thesis.

- 130 Wenn sich der Arme es wagt, ein Gatte und Vater zu werden
Wenn der Arme es wagt, ein Gatte und Vater zu werden

The initial dactyl was too long and the accent uncertain because of the series of monosyllabic words.

Thirty-three verses in all have been similarly revised in order to improve faulty dactyls.

Besides these revisions of trochees and dactyls Hebbel has made two changes in his MSS to avoid the caesura at the end of the third foot. This caesura was avoided by the Greeks as well as by most of the writers of German hexameters:

- 17 Aber wer könnte sie tadeln, dass sie noch einmal sich umdreh'n
Aber wer könnte sie tadeln dass sie sich noch einmal herumdreh'n

The verse gains little in the revision. The dactyls of the third and fourth feet are too heavy and the accent of the fourth foot is not well defined.

- 276 Dennoch irrt er gewaltig, wenn er das Knattern des Bodens
Dennoch irrt er gewaltig, indem er das Knattern des Bodens

Five verses are revised to avoid hiatus: 309, 720, 1024, 1028, and 1632.

Reviewing Hebbel's revisions, both of trochees and dactyls, one is in position to judge of his theory of the relationship of time measure and syllable quantity. It is evident that he is not a rigorist like

Voss or Platen. He employs in his verse both short trochees and long dactyls which the rigorists would have condemned. But he also eliminates from his verses many defective trochees and numerous faulty dactyls. And here he is just in line with Goethe and the method which the latter employed in his hexameter. That which distinctly characterizes Hebbel's revisions is his recognition of the importance of time measure (*Taktdauer*) in sustaining the rhythm of the hexameter. Schlegel rejects a trochee because it is too short. But if a trochee, when declaimed naturally, can be made to fill out the same time interval as the other feet of the verse, then that trochee makes a good verse foot. Hebbel substitutes in several cases just such a trochee in place of a dactyl. Most often he makes the trochee measure up to the *Taktdauer* by choosing one between the elements of which there occurs a slight pause. This is the best testimony to the fact that Hebbel recognized the necessity of uniformity of *Taktdauer* in the hexameter. A long syllable in the arsis, plus a natural pause, plus a short syllable, may be taken as the formula for many of the trochees in *Mutter und Kind*. Such trochees meet all the requirements of a good verse foot for the hexameter. Evidence of the recognition of the same principle is the frequency with which Hebbel discards dactyls which involve a natural pause between the two elements of the foot. A dactyl of the form $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, — (the comma represents the pause) would overflow the time measure. Whether Hebbel ever actually formulated the principle of subjecting his verse feet to this criterion of the time measure, and whether he recognized that time measure is often independent of syllable quantity, is immaterial as far as the result is concerned. If he depended solely on the accuracy of his ear the latter guided him in quite the right direction.

Hebbel, like Goethe, makes skilful use of the caesura to give variety to his verse. It may fall at the end of a simple sentence, 23, 41, 55; or it may precede an infinitive, 14, 78, 95; or it may come before a participial clause, 46, 70, 115; or it may separate the parts of a compound sentence, 10, 17, 25.

In 590 verses of the poem the caesura occurs after the accented syllable of the third foot (masculine caesura). In 542 cases (the poem contains in all 2,075 verses) the caesura falls after the first

unaccented syllable of the third foot (feminine caesura). In 559 verses there is a secondary caesura, the two pauses being variously distributed throughout the verse. Of frequent occurrence is the combination where the caesura occurs in the first and third feet of the verse, the verse being often introduced by a conjunction or expletive which gives rise to a natural pause.

16 Nun, man müsste sie loben, wofern sie sich rascher erhüben.

Again, the two caesuras may occur in the first and fifth feet, in the second and fourth, or often in successive feet. In 83 verses we find the caesura in the second foot; in 177 verses it occurs in the fourth foot; while there are 56 cases of a single caesura in the fifth foot.

Goethe has comparatively few verses in *Hermann und Dorothea* in which there are three pauses. In Hebbel's poem there are in the first canto alone 22 verses in which there are three necessary pauses (the first canto has 244 verses in all). The effect produced is to disjoint the verse and make it lose the essential character of the rhythm of the hexameter. This, it would appear, was obvious to Hebbel also, for in the second canto there are eight such verses, while in the fifth there are only three. In the entire poem there are 61 such verses. It appears therefore that Hebbel recognized this defect in the earlier verses of the poem and sought to avoid it later as he proceeded with his work.

Seventy-five cases of the bucolic dieresis occur in the poem, sometimes in conjunction with a secondary caesura and sometimes as the sole pause in the verse.

The feminine caesura in the fourth foot was avoided by the Greeks. W. Schlegel noted that the two short syllables of the fourth foot usually formed with the preceding or following syllable a complete word. In the Latin hexameter the feminine caesura in the fourth foot appears commonly as the *caesura regens*. Klopstock makes use of it, but Voss, always a close follower of the Greeks, avoided it. Goethe used it nowhere very generously. There are 24 instances of it in the first 500 verses of *Hermann und Dorothea*. Later, acting on the advice of Schlegel,¹ he admitted its illegitimacy and revised various passages in the *Elegies* to avoid it. Hebbel

¹ J. W. Scholl, "Goethe and Schlegel's Epic and Elegiac Verse," *Journal of English and German Philology*, July, 1908.

seems to have had no convictions against the use of it. There are 39 examples of the feminine caesura in the fourth foot in the first 500 verses of *Mutter und Kind*. None of his revisions reveal any attempt to avoid it.

The Greek hexameter did not permit the caesura at the end of the third foot, the result in such a case being not a jointed verse but two new verses each containing half the number of feet of the original verse. Makers of German hexameters have for the most part followed this law. Certain of Hebbel's revisions already noted have dealt with this difficulty. There are not more than a dozen verses in the whole poem which are thus divided in half by the caesura. And in several of these cases he has so combined this caesura with a secondary pause as to avoid the unpleasant effect of the division of the verse into two equal parts:

248 Nach der Kälte nicht fragend, nur nach der Stunde, verdriesslich.

Here the unpleasant effect of the caesura at the end of the third foot is avoided by the presence of a secondary caesura in the fifth foot, the whole verse having *enjambement*. Other verses equally divided are 825, 938, 1,521, 1,964, etc.

In a few verses Hebbel has two pauses in the third foot:

735 Dieses gelt' uns als Zeichen! Doch, wie sie auch immer sich fassen.

In a few others the caesura is somewhat difficult to place with certainty:

815 Californien ist der offene Rachen der Hölle.

Minor makes interesting statistics dealing with what he calls the osteological construction of the Greek, Latin, and German hexameter. The proportion of feet of three syllables to those of two is in Homer 68:32. In Virgil the proportion is 40:60. Klopstock's *Messias* is closer to Homer than to Virgil, the proportion being 61:39. In Voss's *Homer* the proportion is 60:40. The same author's *Luiſe* shows the proportion 65:35. In Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* the proportion is 49:51, and in *Hermann und Dorothea* 51:49. It will be seen then that Goethe's hexameters preserve the mean between Homer, in which feet of three syllables predominate, and Virgil, in whose verses feet of two syllables occur most frequently. In Hebbel's poem the proportion of dactyls to feet of two syllables is 65:59.

Hebbel's hexameters are therefore in this respect more closely akin to Goethe's than to those of Homer, Klopstock, and Voss. In other words, his verses show an increased use of feet of two syllables.

Considering the verse as a whole, we find in Homer, as between dactyls, spondees, and verses equally divided between the two, the following proportions: 7 (spondees): 61 (dactyls): 32 (equally divided). In the Latin hexameter the proportions are 40:20:40, Virgil being the representative. In Klopstock's verse the proportions are 13:47:40. Voss's Homer translation is almost like the *Messias*, the proportions being 12:44:44, but the *Luise* is more like the Homeric hexameter with the proportions 6:57:37. Goethe differs in this respect also from Homer, Klopstock, and Voss, his verses showing a predominatingly trochaic or spondaic rhythm, and in this point approaching more closely Latin models. The proportion in *Reineke Fuchs* is 32:24:44. In *Hermann und Dorothea* the same harmonious equilibrium prevails, the proportion being 27:28:45. And here again we find Hebbel's verse closely akin to Goethe's. In *Mutter und Kind* the ratio between trochees, dactyls, and verses in which feet of two and those of three syllables are equally divided, is 28 (trochees): 25 (dactyls): 47 (equally divided).

Considering the single verse feet we find the following relationships to exist in the first foot. In Homer the proportion of dactyls to spondees is in the first foot 60:40. In Virgil these proportions are exactly reversed and the proportions are 40:60. Klopstock's verse shows the proportions 52:48; Voss's Homer translation 54:46; and the latter's *Luise* 59:41. In Goethe's hexameters we find again a digression from the Greek models followed by Klopstock and Voss and an approach to the Latin. In *Reineke Fuchs* the proportions are 32:68, and in *Hermann und Dorothea* 27:73. In Hebbel's poem the proportion of dactyls to feet of two syllables is 40:63. He thus departs from the Greek usage and the strict imitators of the Greek models, but not so radically as Goethe in this respect.

In the second foot the proportion of dactyls to spondees is in Homer 60:40; in Virgil 46:54; in Klopstock's *Messias* 71:29; in Voss' *Homer* 65:35; and in the latter's *Luise* 73:28. In *Reineke Fuchs* the proportion of dactyls to trochees or spondees is in the second foot 77:28, and in *Hermann und Dorothea* 80:20. Hebbel is

again in line with Goethe with the proportions 83:20. The German hexameter in general prefers a dactyl in the second foot. Götzing¹ finds the explanation in the fact that the caesura usually occurs in the third foot (near the middle of the verse) and gives rise to a rhythm which is momentarily rising in character. If the caesura occurs in a dactylic foot it must be either of the form -/--- or --/--, and in each case a rising inflection is produced. The natural falling rhythm of the hexameter is best brought out by a dactyl in the second and fifth feet; hence the predominance of the dactyl in the second foot.

In the third foot we find in Homer 84 dactyls to every 16 spondees. In Virgil the proportion is 40:60. Klopstock and Voss follow again the Greek models, the proportion being in the *Messias* 72:28, in Voss's *Homer* 69:31, and in the *Luiſe* 65:35. In *Reineke Fuchs* there are 55 dactyls to every 45 trochees in the third foot. In *Hermann und Dorothea* these proportions are exactly reversed. In *Mutter und Kind* there are in the third foot 49 dactyls to every 55 trochees. Hebbel again follows Goethe in *Hermann und Dorothea*.

In the fourth foot Homer shows the proportions 68:40. The Latin hexameter departs again radically from the Greek. In Virgil the proportion of dactyls to spondees in the fourth foot is 29:71. Klopstock also gives the spondee a slight preference in the fourth foot. The proportion in the *Messias* is 48:52. In Voss's *Homer* there are 51 dactyls to every 40 trochees, but in the *Luiſe* the proportion is 63:37. Goethe prefers Klopstock's and Voss's usage here. The proportions in *Reineke Fuchs* is 31:69, and in *Hermann und Dorothea* 42:58. Hebbel's hexameters show in this point also their relationship to Goethe's, specifically to *Hermann und Dorothea*. In *Mutter und Kind* there are in the fourth foot 50 dactyls to every 53 trochees.

Reviewing these statistics of the dactyls, trochees, and spondees, we find that Goethe in the second foot gives the preference to the dactyl. In the third and fourth feet, however, he prefers the foot of two syllables, his hexameters being in this respect more closely related to the Latin than to the Greek models. Goethe's decided fondness for the trochee in the first foot is entirely new in the history

¹M. Götzing, *Die deutsche Sprache und ihre Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1839), II. Teil, S. 565 ff.

of the German hexameter. In each of these points we find Hebbel's verse closely related to Goethe's. Hebbel prefers the dactyl in the second foot, gives the preponderance to the trochee in the third and fourth feet, and shares Goethe's fondness for the trochee in the first foot. If we use the letter *d* to indicate a dactyl and the letter *t* to represent a trochee (or a spondee), it will be found that Goethe's favorite form for the hexameter is *tdttdt*. This is also Hebbel's favorite verse form. Out of 2,075 verses 311 are cast in this form, sixteen forms being possible, and all of them having representation in the poem. This is undoubtedly the form of the hexameter which yields the smoothest verse in German. The caesura usually falls near the middle of the verse. Therefore the falling cadence of the hexameter is best achieved by dactyls in the second and fifth feet.

Summing up results from the foregoing it becomes apparent that Hebbel in the making of his hexameters followed *Hermann und Dorothea* rather closely. His attitude with respect to syllable quantity is practically the same as that of Goethe. Hebbel was not a rigorist like Voss or Platen. He used both short trochees and long dactyls generously. But his revisions reveal a very sane view with respect to time measure and syllable quantity. Like Goethe, where it was possible without doing violence to the passage in question, he revised weak trochees and heavy dactyls. And these revisions are apparently based on an accurate sense for time measure. That is to say, a good verse was one in which each foot, when enunciated naturally, filled out an equal time interval. If a dactyl or trochee filled out the time measure naturally it was a good verse-foot. If it did not fill out this time interval, or if it overflowed it, it was not a good verse-foot. Hebbel recognized also that natural syllable quantity, even when strictly adhered to in the making of dactyls and spondees, did not always insure uniformity of time measure. A dactyl with more than one long syllable is under certain conditions metrically possible in the hexameter. And a trochee may also under conditions measure up to the standard of a good verse-foot for the hexameter.

Hebbel follows the rigorists in avoiding verses with the caesura after the third foot. In no other respects is he at pains to observe their dicta. For example, he makes no effort to avoid the feminine caesura in the fourth foot, in this point not even following Goethe,

who admitted its illegitimacy but did not always avoid it. With respect to the osteological construction of the hexameter Hebbel follows Goethe also. As compared with the Greek hexameter and its imitators Goethe and Hebbel employ far more feet of two syllables than the former. Trochees predominate in the third and fourth feet as well as in the first, in which last innovation Hebbel again follows Goethe.

Hebbel evidently took *Hermann und Dorothea* for his model. It may be said of the result that *Mutter und Kind* from a metrical standpoint is very well worthy of being compared with Goethe's epic.

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GUIDO CAVALCANTI'S ODE OF LOVE

The following translation is an attempt to render as literally as possible in the original meter the famous philosophical poem of Dante's "first friend." The rendering itself, with the notes, implies necessarily an interpretation of Guido's philosophy; but the present occasion does not seem appropriate to expand or justify that interpretation.

The Ode itself probably is in answer to the following sonnet, addressed, as the custom was, to Cavalcanti by a fellow-poet, Guido Orlandi.

GUIDO ORLANDI TO GUIDO CAVALCANTI

Tell me, where is Love born and of what sire?
Is't substance, quality, or remembrance, pray?
What is its natural place, where it holds sway?
Fancy of eye is it, or heart's desire?
From what derives its temper or its ire?
How is it felt as flame that wastes away?
Also I ask, upon what does it prey?
How, when, and over whom has it empire?
What sort of thing, I say, is Love? has't feature?
Wears it its own shape, or some counterfeit?
And is it life, this Love, or is it death?
Who serves it, should know somewhat of its nature:
Wherefore I ask you, Guido, touching it:
You're in its service seasoned, rumor saith.

ODE OF LOVE

BY CAVALCANTI

I

A Lady entreats me; wherefore I will tell
Of a quality too frequently malign,
Yet so divine that men have called it Love:
Thus may the truth whatever doubt dispel.
Adept I ask unto this task of mine,

5

1. *Lady*. In *Convito* III, 14, Dante interprets the *donna gentil* of his *cansone* as "a soul noble in intellect and free in the exercise of its own proper power, which is reason." Possibly, therefore, we may understand by the "Lady" who entreats Cavalcanti, the rational soul, or intelligence, of Orlandi.

2. *Quality*. An *accidente* is a contingent quality. Cavalcanti uses the term *qualità* for love in l. 50.

For my design, I fear me, is above
 His wit that is at heart of base degree.
 For me proof philosophic is defined,
 Else disinclined I feel me to recite
 Where Love has place; created by what might; 10
 And what its virtue is; and potency;
 Verity essential; motions of what kind;
 Its name assigned as Love for what delight;
 And if it may be manifest to sight.

II

In that part where the memory resides 15
 It makes appearance; as transparence shows
 Through which light flows, so Love its form acquires
 From shadow cast by Mars, the which abides.
 Created hence; nature of sense bestows
 Its name, and pose of soul, and heart's desire. 20
 It comes from visible form, which, apprehended,
 Ascended into passive intellect,
 There, as affect, maintains its tenancy.
 Never it works in that part injury.
 And since from finite kind 'tis not descended, 25
 Unended is its radiant effect.

15. *Where the memory resides.* I. e., the sensitive soul, according to Aristotle, where the image of the loved one is preserved; hence, modernly speaking, the imagination.

16-18. The lovable image is conceived as, so to speak, a silhouette in black upon the screen of the imagination, so symbolizing the "malignity" of love (cf. l. 2). This "malignity" is further explained by deriving the "shadow" from Mars, the planet of wrath and perturbation. Cecco d'Ascoli in his *Acerba*, III, 1, takes issue with this derivation of love, and reproves Dante for failing also to object. In fact, Dante in *Convito*, III, 19, does recant his own previous account of love as "malign" (*fero*): that view "sprang," he says, "from the infirmity of my mind which was impassioned by excessive longing." In *Convito*, II, 7, he derives love from the bright radiance of Venus. Cavalcanti, however, makes the very essence of love "excessive longing" (cf. II. 43, 44).

19. *Created hence.* Since love is excited by an outside force, i. e., literally or symbolically the influence of the planet Mars, it is not an original and permanent quality of the soul, but contingent (*accidente*) upon the action of that force.

19, 20. *Nature of sense*, etc. Love originates in the sensitive soul, and so has the same name and character and desire as sensual passion, though its object is quite different. The aim of all love is union with the thing beloved; but whereas sensual passion desires only physical union, love in the proper sense desires spiritual union. So Dante (*Conv.* III, 2): "Love, truly taken and subtly considered, is nought else than a spiritual union of the soul and of the loved thing."

21-23. The "visible form" or idea incarnate, is "apprehended," that is, its pure form or idea is abstracted from the material thing, and taken up into the passive intellect, or intellectual memory, where it remains as a dominating ideal.

24. The action of this amorous ideal is not directly mental, i. e., ratiocinative or discursive, but obsessive of the attention and will: to speak modernly, it becomes a "fixed idea."

25, 26. Being of a pure form, or idea, which as infinite cannot be completely possessed by a finite being, love is never inactive through satiety.

Nor wears aspect of joy but reverie,
For may not enter there affinity.

27, 28. Love cannot enjoy its ideal in the sense of fruition, as just said; its mood is an entranced contemplation of that ideal, a ravishment away from self toward it. Cavalcanti intends the same as the Platonic "ecstasy." The "affinity" is the "ideal" as it exists objectively in the intelligible world, according to Plato, or in the "active intelligence" according to Aristotle. (Cf. l. 75 and comment.)

III

It is not virtue, but from that proceeds
Which is perfection, in complexion withal 30
Not rational, but feeling, I attest.
The judgment Love against well-being leads,
For ravishments intelligence enthrall.
Discernment small it has where vice is guest.
Often there follows from its puissance death, 35
If wrath o'ermuch the faculty dismay
Which of the way adversative is ward:
Not that with nature Love hath disaccord;
But when to perfect good lies not its path,
Who saith that life is his is led astray, 40
Lacking the stay which makes him his own lord.
Nor less avails Love though it be ignored.

29-31. Virtue, moral or intellectual, is a rational perfection; love is not rational, but "feels." Its object, however, is not a sensation, but an idea; and to "feel" an idea is, modernly speaking, to "intuit." Love, then, is an intuitive perfection.

32, 33. Its intuitions of its ideal act, as said before, like "fixed ideas," dominating the judgment against the welfare of the organism; the mind is in a state of ecstatic brooding (*intensione*).

35-37. Wrath (*ira*) (cf. ll. 51, 52), occasioned by the impossibility of fruition (cf. l. 28), may fatally impair the vital faculties. Cf. the exclamation of Dante's "natural spirit" at the first appearance of Beatrice, *Heu miser! quia frequenter impeditus ero deinceps*.

38-41. It is not love that works against nature, for, on the contrary, love is the very principle which moves nature; but it is, as said, the inability of love to reach its "perfect good," which causes the "wrath" which deprives the lover of the self-control without which self-preservation is impossible.

IV

Its essence is whenas the passionate will
Beyond the measure of natural pleasure goes;
Then with repose forever is unblest. 45
Still fickle, smiles in tears it can fulfill,
And on the face leave pallid trace of woes.
Brief are its throes. Yet chiefly manifest
Thou shalt observe it in the nobly wise.

43, 44. Natural pleasure, or instinct, is of the attainable; the essence of love, for Cavalcanti, is that it seeks the unattainable. (Cf. comment on ll. 16-18.)

48, 49. Obviously only the few are capable of such love.

To sighs the new-given quality invites; 50
 Through it man sights an ever-shifting aim,
 Till in him wrath is kindled, darting flame.
 Conceive it none save one its puissance tries.
 Complies it never though it still incites;
 And no delights one seeketh in its name, 55
 Neither great wisdom, sooth—or small—to frame.

50. *An ever-shifting aim.* I. e., again the unattainable idea, or ideal.

V

A glance Love draws from like-temper'd heart
 Which seeming right to all delight implies.
 In secret guise Love comes not, so declared.
 Indeed not scornful beauty is the dart. 60
 For that way led desire through dread is wise,
 But merit lies with spirit that is snared.
 And not to sight is Love made manifest,
 For by its test o'ertaken man falls white;
 And, hears one right that form is seen by none, 65
 Then least by him that is by Love undone.
 Of color of being Love is dispossessed.
 At rest in shadow space it cancels light.
 Without false sleight saith a faith-worthy one,
 That from it only is the guerdon won. 70

57-59. Requite'd love is revealed through the meeting of eyes, and seems to promise satisfaction.

60-62. Scornful beauty repels love, at least when grown wary through experience. Genuine love invites requital. Cf. Dante: *Amor che a nullo amato amar perdona*.

63-68. But true love is of the invisible idea, which were it to appear in its reality to mortal man, would overwhelm him utterly; of it the lover's ideal is but the reflection.

67, 68. Again, insistence on the supersensuousness of love's object, which reflected darkly in the soul, darkens all.

70. This supersensuous ideal is the guerdon the lover seeks, and can win only through loss of his separateness from its abode in the active intelligence, that is, by loss of his separable self-consciousness. "He that loseth his life shall find it."

VI

Ode, thou mayst go thy ways, unfaltering,
 Where pleases thee: I have thee so adorned
 That never scorned shall be thy reasoning
 By such as bring to thee intelligence:
 To bide with others mak'st thou no pretence. 75

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GOETHE UND DIE GOTIK IN STRASSBURG

Die althergebrachte Ansicht als sei Goethe in Strassburg durch Herder zur Bewunderung der Gotik geführt worden, wie man sie ausgesprochen oder stillschweigend angenommen, in fast allen Werken über Goethe findet, z. B. in Meyers trefflichem Buch,¹ in Volbehr,² und Robertson³ entbehrt der wissenschaftlichen Grundlage.

Erstens wissen wir dass Goethe schon bei seiner Ankunft in Strassburg, ein volles halbes Jahr bevor er Herder kennen lernte, dem Münster erwartungsvoll entgegensah. Zwar erwartete er im Sinne des damaligen Geschmacks, "ein krausborstenes Ungeheuer" zu sehen, doch wie ganz anders kam es! Das Münster wurde der Brennpunkt seiner Begeisterung, sowohl als der des gesamten deutschen Kreises, dem er angehörte, und das Symbol für alles Grosse, das ihm in seiner neuen Umgebung aufging.

Dass er schon vor seiner Ankunft in Strassburg in Bezug auf die Gotik durch Herder angeregt worden, bleibt ausgeschlossen. Herder hatte sich über Baukunst nur im Allgemeinen ausgelassen. Zudem las Goethe die *Fragmente* erst 1772.⁴ Das *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* war Goethe notwendigerweise noch nicht bekannt gleichfalls das vierte *Wäldchen*, das Herder um diese Zeit noch im Manuskript bei sich trug.

Zudem ist das Urteil Herders im *Journal meiner Reise, u. s. w.*, nichts weniger als lobend; es stimmt vielmehr noch ganz in die landläufige Verachtung der Gotik ein.⁵

¹ Meyer, *Goethe*, Berlin, 1905, I, S. 345.

² Volbehr, *Goethe und die bildende Kunst*, Lpzg., 1895, p. 113.

³ Robertson, *A History of German Literature*, Putnam, 1902, pp. 96, 311, 313.

⁴ An Herder, Wetzlar, Mitte Juni, 1772.

⁵ *Journal meiner Reise, u. s. w.*, Ausgabe des Bibl. Inst., pp. 415 f.: "Unsere gotische Fratzen und Altwelber-Märchen sind sehr schlechte erste Formen; die ersten Eindrücke von Tempeln und Religion sind gotisch, dunkel und oft ins Abenteuerliche und Leere; die ersten Bilder sind nürnbergersche Kupferstiche; die ersten Romane Magellonen und Olympleen; wer denkt wohl daran in der Musik die ersten Töne schon sanft, harmonisch, melodisch sein zu lassen? Daher kommt's auch, dass unsere Seelen in dieser gotischen Form veralten, statt dass sie, in den Begriffen der Schönheit erzogen, ihre erste Jugend wie im Paradiese der Schönheit geniessen würden. Hier sind aus meinem Beispiel die Folgen klar. Nach den ersten Eindrücken meiner Erziehung hat sich viel von meiner Denkart, von der Bestimmung zu einem Stande, vielleicht auch von meinem Studieren, meinem 427]

Zwar wird mancher schliessen: Herders Betonen des Urwüchsigen und Natürlichen hatte Goethe beeinflusst. Das wollen wir dahingestellt sein lassen. Gewiss ist, Herder ist, selbst nachdem er Goethe's Aufsatz *Von deutscher Baukunst* 1773 in seine Aufsatzsammlung: *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* aufgenommen, niemals voll auf die Gotikbegeisterung seines Jüngers eingegangen. Dass Herder von dieser Zeit ab "der geschichtlichen Würdigung der Gotik unwandelbar treu geblieben"¹ sei, ist richtig—doch hat das mit unserer Frage nichts zu tun. Ueberhaupt, kann man sich Herder anders als "der geschichtlichen Würdigung einer Richtung treu" denken? War er es doch, der den Grundsatz der geschichtlichen Würdigung aufstellte!

Woher dieser Mangel an Begeisterung, die ihm doch so nahe gelegt wurde? Erstens hatte sich Herder für die Baukunst nie recht erwärmen können. So kam auch in seinem System der Künste in seinem vierten *Kritischen Wäldchen*² die Baukunst schlimm weg, da für sie kein Platz übrig blieb und sie, weil nicht nachahmend, als eine verschönerte, mechanische unter die unwahren Künste eingereiht werden sollte. Und zweitens, und dies ist der Hauptgrund, stimmte Herder nicht mit denen überein, welche die Gotik schlechthin zur deutschen Kunst stempeln und als Ausfluss des deutschen Volksgeistes ansehen wollten, somit vorzüglich auch nicht mit Goethe.³

Ausdruck u. s. w. gerichtet. Was kann aus einer in Geschichte und Religion gotisch verdorbenen Jugendseele werden? Und was würde aus einer werden können, die mit den schönsten Begriffen des Schönen genährt würde?"

Ebenda, S. 423: "Es wird die Zeit kommen, da unsere Musik erscheinen wird wie unsere gotische Baukunst, auch künstlich im Kleinen und nichts im Grossen—keine Simplizität, kein menschlicher Ausdruck, kein Eindruck."

Ideen, Ausg. des Bibl. Inst., S. 423: "Ihr Distrikt enthielt, wie ein Stück der gotischen Baukunst alles im Kleinen, was das Reich im Grossen hatte."

Ebenda, S. 459: "Kurz was unter dem gedrückten Gewölbe der Hierarchie, Lehn herrschaft und Schirmvogel entstehen konnte, ist entstanden; dem festen Gebäude gotischer Bauart schien nur eins zu fehlen: Licht. Lasset uns sehen, auf wie sonderbaren Wegen ihm dieses zukam."

¹ Hettner, *Gsch. d. d. Litt. im 18 Jh.*, Bd. 3, S. 50.

² *Sämmtliche Wke.*, ed. Suphan, Bd. 4, S. 123. Vgl. *ebenda*, S. 192, wo wieder von der Baukunst als einer niedrigstehenden gesprochen wird.

³ *Ideen*, S. 482: "Auch in einigen Künsten, z. B. der Baukunst, ist vieles von dem, was wir gotischen Geschmack nennen, eigentlich arabischer Geschmack, der sich nach den Gebäuden, die diese rohen Eroberer in den griechischen Provinzen fanden, in ihrer eignen Weise bildete, mit ihnen nach Spanien herüberkam und von da weiterhin sich fortpflanzte."

Heute hat sich Herders Ansicht ja bewahrheitet. Wir wissen, dass der Spitzbogenstil viel früher im Orient als in Europa in Gebrauch war, auch dass die Gotik ihre früheste Gestaltung auf europäischen Boden im nördlichen Spanien, Oberitalien, Sizilien, sodann im nördlichen Frankreich erfuhr.

Ebenso wahr ist es, dass die Gotik das erlesenste Gefäß wurde, dem deutschen Geist seinen charakteristischsten Ausdruck zu verleihen.

Wie kommt Goethe zu seiner Gotikbewunderung, wenn nicht durch Herder? Der erste, der im Gegensatz zur allgemeinen Verachtung der Gotik für diese eine Lanze bricht, ist wohl Gerstenberg.¹ Bisher hatte das Wort *gotisch*, welches zuerst von italienischen Renaissance-Gelehrten auf den schwerfälligen ausländischen Stil angewendet worden, die Bedeutung *barbarisch*; nicht etwa, weil die Goten ihn in Italien eingeführt—das hatten sie nicht—sondern weil der ausländische Stil ihnen schwerfällig und unbeholfen erschien, und ihnen das Wort *gotisch* gleich barbarisch oder unkultiviert galt. In diesem Sinne kannte Goethe das Wort von Boileau her. Zu Goethes Zeit hatte das Wort in Deutschland die Bedeutung *altfränkisch*, *wunderlich*. So spricht Lessing von jener Höflichkeit "wo der Verfasser tragisch sein will und gotisch und burlesque wird." Auch Schiller: "Wechselt das Lächerliche nicht zu gotisch mit dem Rührenden und Schrecklichen ab."

Goethe selbst braucht das Wort noch in diesem Sinne in Briefen aus der leipziger Zeit; und selbst noch im Jahre 1778,² sowohl als Wagner in seiner *Kindermörderin*³ (1776).

Um die Stellungnahme Goethes zur Gotik zu veranschaulichen, müssen wir auf die leipziger und frankfurter Zeit zurückgehen. Durch Oeser auf das Natürliche hingewiesen teilt Goethe mit ihm die Liebe zu Wieland, Shakespere und der niederländischen Malerei. Schon in der 2. frankfurter Periode waren ihm Wieland, Shakespere

¹ *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur*, Schleswig u. Leipzig, 1766, 4. Brief: "Der Genius des Dichters, sein poetisches Verdienst, hätte uns sicher bis ans Ende geführt; wir hätten ein hohes gotisches Gebäude erhalten, dem zwar viele kleine Feinheiten der Kunst mangelten, das aber durch sein ehrwürdiges feyerliches Ansehen jedem, der es sähe, einen Schauer der Bewunderung abdränge." Obwohl Goethe Gerstenbergs Schriften schon in Leipzig kannte, ist eine besondere Beeinflussung Goethes von dieser Seite in Fragen der Gotik nicht nachzuweisen.

² An Oeser, d. 15. Jan. 1778.

³ In *D. N. L.*, Bd. 80, p. 290.

und Oeser seine "echten Lehrer"—und an allen diesen war es die Tendenz auf das Natürliche die ihn anzog.

Oeser hatte ihn zwar das Evangelium der "stillen Einfalt und edeln Grösse" gelehrt, doch hatte sich Goethe nun unter frankfurter Einflüssen—Mysticismus, schwankender Gesundheit u. s. w.—ein eigenes Schönheitsideal herausgebildet, das er unterm Datum des 13. Feb. 1769 gegen Friederike Oeser so ausdrückt: "Und was ist Schönheit? Sie ist nicht Licht und nicht Nacht. Dämmerung; eine Gebuhrt von Wahrheit und Unwahrheit. Ein Mittelding. In ihrem Reiche liegt ein Scheideweg so zweideutig, so schielend, ein Hercules unter den Philosophen könnte sich vergreifen."

Hierin trifft, beiläufig gesagt, er merkwürdigerweise mit Herders gleichzeitigen Aeusserungen im *Journal meiner Reise*,¹ u. s. w., zusammen, ohne jedoch von ihm noch auch von Hamann beeinflusst zu sein.

Auch in der Religion neigt Goethe zum dämmerigen Mysticismus, sowie in seinen alchymistischen Studien zur Naturmystik, wie das ja alles als Reaktion gegen die in seiner Jugendzeit herrschende Aufklärung nicht befremdet.

Dieses alles liess in der ersten strassburger Zeit nicht von ihm. Erstens stellte sich seine Gesundheit nur langsam her. Die mystische Lektüre der zweiten frankfurter Periode wird fortgesetzt. Das Münster, seine bedeutendste Schwärmerei ergötzte ihn besonders in der Dämmerung oder bei Nacht. So zog ihn auch Jung Stilling durch seine schwärmerische Mystik an.

Dass diese Vorliebe für die Dämmerung später durch Herder gefördert wurde, besonders durch die Einführung in Hamanns Schriften, deren "zweideutiges Doppellicht" ihn anzog, wird von Goethe selbst bezeugt. Uns war es hier nur darum zu tun, zu zeigen, dass diese Stimmung schon vor der Bekanntschaft mit Herder bei Goethe vorwaltete.

Dass Herder Goethe gelehrt habe, die Gotik des Münsters zu verstehen und zu würdigen, wie Volbehr (S. 111 f.) behauptet, ist wohl wahr, jedoch in anderem Sinne als Volbehr meint. Die Stelle, auf die er seine Annahme stützt, lautet: "Was ich mir weder das erste Mal noch in der nächsten Zeit ganz deutlich machen konnte,

¹ S. 397.

war, dass ich dieses Wunderwerk als ein ungeheures gewahrte, das mich hätte erschrecken müssen, wenn es mir nicht zugleich als ein Geregeltes fasslich und als ein Ausgearbeitetes sogar angenehm vorgekommen wäre."

Die Frage, wann der Zeitpunkt dieser Erkenntnis gekommen sei, glaubt Volbehr zu beantworten, wenn er sagt: "Als Herder Goethe darüber aufklärte." Dafür gibt es weder in Goethes noch in Herders Schriften einen Stützpunkt. Die Frage wird von Goethe beantwortet¹ und zwar so: "*Je mehr* ich die Fassade desselben betrachtete desto mehr bestärkte und entwickelte sich jener erste Eindruck," u. s. w.

Die Erkenntnis kam ihm also allmählig, was ja auch das einzig annehmbare ist, denn unmöglich hatte die schwärmerische Begeisterung, die Goethe und der ganze deutsche Kreis, dem er angehörte, dem Münster entgegenbrachten ein volles halbes Jahr und noch länger dauern können, wenn sie ihm als einem Unverstandenen gegenüber gestanden hätten.

Dass Goethes Verständnis für die Gotik durch Herder vertieft wurde, davon ist ja schon der Aufsatz *Von deutscher Baukunst* Zeuge, hatte er ja auch im 4. *Kritischen Wäldchen* dem Untersucher des Schönen, das Studium der Baukunst angelegenlichst empfohlen.

Zusammenfassend sahen wir Goethe in der ersten strassburger Zeit als Schüler Oesers, Lessings und Winckelmanns, der wohl weiss, was griechische Schönheit bedeutet, als einen stark zum Mysticismus neigenden angehenden Stürmer und Dränger mit einem Zug nach dem Urwüchsigen und dem Nationalen. So erschienen ihm z. B. die Niederländer besser als das Rococo und die Schönheitsimpelei der Zeit. Und was konnte dem mystischen Zuge besser entgegenkommen als die in romantisches Halbdunkel gehüllte Tat des Meister Erwin!

Was Oeser ihn gelehrt, dass Anschauung mehr wert sei als Theorie, ging ihm beim Anblick des grössten Kunstwerkes, das ihm bisher vorgekommen, auf. Hier war das Werk, das Goethes eigenes Wesen in jener Periode am vollkommensten ausdrückte! Hier vor allem das Helldunkle der Dämmerung, hier das Männliche, das er dem verstorbenen Meister nachrühmt, hier die regellose

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrh.*, II, S. 270.

Willkür, wie sie der angehende Shakesperegänger, der Dichter des Götz liebte! Hier glaubte er auch, und mit ihm viele seiner Zeitgenossen, eine nationale deutsche Baukunst vor sich zu haben, weswegen er sie kurzweg die deutsche Baukunst nennt.

Wie verachtet die Gotik bisher gewesen, ist allbekannt. Nachdem durch Winckelmanns und Raphael Mengs Vorgehen die Antike den Barockstil abgelöst hatte, konnte die Gotik ebenso wenig zu Wort kommen als in der Zeit, da man gotische Kirchen in Porzellanfabriken umbaute und zierliche Spitzbogen mit Rococoornamentation überkleisterte. Es ist die Zeit, da Männer wie Mozart, Klopstock und Sulzer in Nürnberg nichts als eine altfränkische Provinzstadt zu sehen vermögen, und da selbst ein Lessing für die Gotik kein Wort übrig hat.

Die Gotik als grosse, echte und zugleich deutsche Kunst angepriesen und zum Ansehen gebracht zu haben, ist Goethes eigenste Tat.

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PAN'S PIPE, THREE PASTORAL ECLOGUES, WITH OTHER VERSES, BY FRANCIS SABIE (1595)

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary records relating to Francis Sabie are restricted, so far as is known at present, to the several entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, which are here reproduced from Arber's *Transcript*:

12 Junij [1587]

Edmond Sabie son of **FFRAUNCIS SABIE** of **LICHEFIELD** in the countie of **STAFFORD** Scholemaster: hathe putt him self apprentice to **Robert Cullen** citizen and Staconner of London for the terme of Seven yeres from the Date hereof [12 June 1587].¹

—ARBER, II, 146.

¹ This entry, it seems, was not noticed before Collier cited it in *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, London, 1865, I, xxxix*; New York, 1866, IV, 1-2. Collier observed that Sabie had dedicated his *Adam's Complaint*, etc., to the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Howland, and it must have been in an endeavor to discover "what claim he [Sabie] had upon that prelate" that this entry was found, upon which Collier's comment runs thus: "It is not stated whether the father was a clergyman as well as a schoolmaster: it seems probable that he was so, although we do not meet with Sabie's name in the records of either University." From this time on Francis Sabie is designated "Schoolmaster of Lichfield," as is at once shown in Hazlitt's *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, London, 1867. Sabie, however, had further relations with distinguished personages. The *Fisherman's Tale* is dedicated to "M. Henrie Mordant, sonne and heire to the Right Honorable the Lord Mordant," and *Flora's Fortune* is addressed to "M. Francis Tresham, sonne and heire to the renowned and vertuous Knight Sir Thomas Tresham." In this instance it is "great and immerited friendship" that emboldened the author "to present vnto your worship, this my vnpolished poeme, from which otherwise the imbecillitie of my skill in this diuine arte, and rudenesse of these my lines doe altogether dehort me" (*The British Bibliographer*, I, 494, 497-98).

Sabie's use of the place-name *Benefeldia*, in *Author ad Librum* (l. 3), may perhaps indicate something with reference to his personal history. It is, however, kindly reported by Rev. W. O. Richardson, rector of the church of Benefield (near Oundle), who acknowledges the assistance of Rev. R. M. Sergeantson, of St. Peter's Rectory, Northampton, that the registers of marriages, baptisms, and burials at the church of Benefield do not extend farther back than the year 1570, and that between the years 1570 and 1597 the name Sabie does not occur.

xxj Novembris [1594]¹

Richard Jones / Entred for his copie vnder the wardens handes. a booke intituled, *the fisher mans tale conteyninge the storye of CASSANDER a Gretian knight*.

—ARBER, II, 666.

iiij Januarij [1595]

Richard Jones / Entred for his copie vnder master warden Binges hand, a booke intituled *PAN his pipe / conteyninge Three pastorall Egloges in Englishe Hexamiter with other delightfull verses*.

—ARBER, II, 668.

As to the complete list of Sabie's works, no doubt has been attached at any time to the acceptance of the surviving four books as comprising all the compositions that this writer ever gave to the public. The list is as follows:

1. *The Fissher-mans Tale: Of the famous Actes, Life and loue of Cassander a Grecian Knight*. 1595. 4°.

2. *Flora's Fortune. The second part and finishing of the Fisher-mans Tale*. 1595. 4°.

3. *Pans Pipe, Three Pastorall Egloges, in English Hexameter. With Other Poetical Verses delightfull. For the further delight of the Reader, the Printer hath annexed hereunto the delectable Poeme of the Fisher-mans Tale*. 1595. 4°.

4. *Adams Complaint. The Olde Worlides Tragedie. David and Bathsheba*. 1596. 4°.

Each of these volumes was "Imprinted at London by Richard Jones," and none of them is known to have attained to a second edition; the *Fisherman's Tale*, however, was to be obtained either in separate form or bound up with *Pan's Pipe*. Moreover, there is no evidence that *Pan's Pipe* was first issued separately; it is always reported with the compound title-page, in which 'the further delight of the reader' is so generously considered.²

¹ In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Sabie," this date is misprinted "11 Nov.;" and that of the following entry is misprinted "11 Jan."

² The reviewer, J[oseph] H[aslewood], of the two separate books, the *Fisherman's Tale* and *Flora's Fortune*, in *The British Bibliographer* I (1810), 488-503, referring to *Pan's Pipe* and the *Fisherman's Tale* writes (p. 501): "Neither piece appears to have obtained a very favorable reception from the public, as Jones soon found it necessary, 'for the further delight of the reader,' to annex to the first 'the delectable poem of the Fisherman's tale.'" The probable truth in the first clause of this statement does not, of course, warrant the fabrication of bibliographic details. But Haslewood was not so much fabricating details as submitting to be misled by Warton (*History of English Poetry* [1781], III, 405, note n), who had cited the registration date and title of *Pan's Pipe* as the date and title of the published book: "In 1594, Richard Jones published

Not only did none of Sabie's books ever pass to a second edition, but one must believe also that the first editions were not large. All these books have long been scarce, and it has been the schoolmaster's fortune to become, on the one hand, a very much neglected author and, on the other hand, a very attractive "item" in the accounts of the "collector." Even the courtesy of reprinting old books has hitherto been denied him, except in the case of the capricious edition, limited to ten copies, of the *Fisherman's Tale* (both parts), "reprinted from a Bodleian manuscript," under the editorial direction of Halliwell-Phillipps, in 1867.¹

The present reprint of *Pan's Pipe* represents the text of the printed copy that has long been in the possession of the British Museum.² The unsettled orthography and the imperfect punctuation of the original have been reproduced with minute exactness. It is very

'Pan His Pipe, conteyninge Three Pastorall Eglogs in English hexameter with other delightfull verses.' Licenced Jan. 3. Registr Station. B. fol. 316, b.' Almost a century later this matter is still not clearly analyzed by W. Carew Hazlitt (*Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, 1867, p. 520): "No perfect copy of this volume," referring to the volume bearing the compound title, "seems to be known. The first portion—*Pan's Pipe*—is among the King's Books in the British Museum, and consists of 16 leaves; but it does not contain the *Fisherman's Tale*, which is nothing more than Greene's *Pandosto*, 1588, versified. Heber had the *Fisherman's Tale*, 1595, and it was sold among his books as a complete volume, no bibliographer seeming to have been aware that it really should form part of *Pan's Pipe*, being mentioned in the title of the latter." Here there is a twofold error, the denial of the *Fisherman's Tale* as a separately published book, and the failure to notice that the bibliographers had been misled by Warton. It must be added that H. Oskar Sommer (*Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888, p. 55) continues the error of dating the volume 1594, and retains a portion of the registration title. On the other hand, Katharina Windscheid (*Die englische Hirtendichtung von 1579–1625*, Halle, 1895, p. 39) avoids the pitfall and accurately transcribes the compound title from the printed book itself. That Sommer was unduly dependent on the bibliographers is to be inferred from an additional misstatement: "Der Name Sabbie geht aus dem 'Register of the Stationer's Hall' (Jan. 3d B. fol. 316b) hervor."

¹ See Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 55, and art. "Sabie," *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² But until recently this copy was incomplete, lacking the *Fisherman's Tale* which is required by the compound title. The completion of the volume is reported by Robert Edmund Graves, in *Bibliographica*, London (1897), III, 428: "The British Museum has by the dispersal of the Isham books been enriched by the most important additions in English literature made for many years . . . it has obtained copies of . . . Sabie's *Fisherman's Tale* and *Flora's Fortune*, 1595, completing that author's *Pan's Pipe*, which was already in the library." This list of acquired books includes also a copy of Sabie's *Adam's Complaint*, 1596. An account of the finding of these and other "choicest Elizabethan books" in a disused lumber-room at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, was communicated by the finder, Mr. Charles Edmonds ("of the house of Willis and Sotheran"), to *The Times* of October 4, 1867; and an article in *The Times* of August 31, 1894 (not 1895, as in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.*), entitled "Elizabethan Literature at the British Museum," contains a report of the sale of the Isham books, which is to be compared with Mr. Graves's later report in *Bibliographica*, cited above.

obvious that the shorter spelling of a word and the occasional symbol of contraction are often due to the want of space for a long line. The typography of the book is not of superior character. Most of the proper names that were to be in italics are, for lack of the proper supply of type, disfigured by having the initial letter from the Roman font. The uncouth form of these initial letters does not reappear in this reprint.

The principal interest of Sabie's *Eclogues*—to people who mention them at all—seems to be that they “constituted the first attempt in English at writing original eclogues in Vergilian meter.”¹ But there is another matter which deserves some attention, namely, the question of his sources; and the following notes may be of interest not only to readers of *Pan's Pipe*, but to students of the pastoral eclogue in general. Not that his sources were all very remote; indeed, when he took up his pen “to expell the accustomed tediousnes of colde winters nightes,”² he could find subjects for his verse even in the familiar instruments of his daily toil. Like his fellow schoolmaster Holofernes, he had a high regard for the Latin hexameters of “good old Mantuan.”³ When he attempted the elegiac couplet, he had his model in another favorite schoolbook, the *Tristia* of Ovid.⁴ And one of his shorter poems is based upon a bit of contemporary Latin verse.

1. Borrowings from Mantuan

The very theme of the first Eclogue, “the prosperous euent Of my loue” (36–37), suggests a rather large debt to Mantuan's first, *De honesto amore et felici eius exitu*. And it borrows freely from some of Mantuan's other eclogues as well, especially the second, third, and

¹ Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, p. 114. Mr. Greg adds, “and the injudicious experiment has not, I believe, been repeated.” So H. O. Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 55, “als einziges Beispiel von Eclogen in englischen Hexametern.”

² *The British Bibliographer*, I (1810), 498.

³ Dr. K. Windscheid, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41, pointed out that a passage of the first Eclogue, and a long passage of the third, are taken from Mantuan.

⁴ In 1582 the Lords of the Privy Council ordered Christopher Ocland's *Anglorum Praelia* to be used in the grammar schools, “in place of some of the heathen poetes nowe read among them, as Ovide *De arte amandi*, *De tristibus*, or such lyke” (Foster Watson, *Journal of Education*, London, June, 1899, p. 364; and *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, London, 1909, p. 81). But in 1588 William Kempe's *Education of Children in Learning* could still prescribe Ovid, *De tristibus*, for the fifth form, *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1904*, p. 684.

fourth. The opening lines (1-4) may be compared with the beginning of Mantuan's fifth:

Candide, nobiscum pecudes aliquando solebas
pascere et his gelidis calamos inflare sub umbris
et miscere sales simul et certare palaestra.

Ll. 18-24 are a paraphrase of Mantuan's third, 17-24:

aspice quo tenuem victum sudore paramus,
quot mala pro grege, pro natis, pro coniuge pastor
fert miser. infestis aestate caloribus ardet,
frigoribus riget hibernis; dormimus ad imbrem
cotibus in duris vel humi; contagia mille,
mille premunt morbi pecudes, discrimina mille
sollicitant, latro insidias intentat ovili
atque lupus milesque lupo furacior omni.

Ll. 27-32 are a paraphrase of Mantuan's first, 1-5:

Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores,
ne, si forte sopor nos occupet, ulla ferarum
quae modo per segetes tacite insidiantur adultas
saeviat in pecudes; melior vigilantia somno.

In l. 46 the name "Janus" is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth. The story of "Amyntas" (77-93)—which rather interrupts the narrative—is taken from Mantuan's second and third. "Under a shade" (*frondente sub ulmo*, ii, 63) he saw Galatea and "burnt in her love," and was thereafter "unmindfull quite of his heardling;" cf. ii, 107-8:

oblitusque greges et damna domestica totus
uritur et noctes in luctum expendit amaras.

Tityrus' prudent warning (81-82) is borrowed from Mantuan, ii, 115 ff.:

dic, age, si nosti quemquam, reminiscere si quem
videris hoc pacto ditescere, etc.;

and Amyntas' reply (83-91) from iii, 103-24:

o me felicem, si cum mea fata vocabunt,
in gremio dulcique sinu niveisque lacertis
saltem anima caput hoc languens abeunte iaceret;
illa sua nobis morientia lumina dextra
clauderet.

o nemorum Silvane pater, servate (precamur)
 collibus in vestris gelidisque in vallibus omne
 silvarum rurisque decus. circumdate saltus
 saepibus et prohibete pecus, ne floribus obsit.
 ista (precor) dominae servate in funera nostrae.
 tunc omnis spargatur humus;
*hic tegitur virgo cui nil quin diva vocari
 debuerit deerat, nisi dura fuisset amanti.*

The melancholy end of Amyntas (92-93 and 186-91) is told in Mantuan, iii, 147 ff. The story of the boy who fell into a covered wolf-pit while searching for his lost ram (97-101) is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth, 38-42 (cf. especially l. 42, *est caper in vinclis, puer est in carcere*); and with it comes the statement (118), "found I my Ram in a thicket tyde." Here the borrowing is rather careless, for while Mantuan's goat had actually been tied in a thicket (*viminibus validis inter dumeta ligarat*, 31), Sabie's ram was "caught in a thicket" (101) when chased by dogs. The rustic dance on "holie-day" (124-26) is suggested by Mantuan, ii, 63-65:

lux ea sacra fuit Petro: frondente sub ulmo
 mixta erat ex omni pubes post prandia vico
 ducebatque leves buxo resonante choreas.

And the experience of Tityrus, 123,

Shunning an outward heat, a fire I purchased inward,

is the experience of Mantuan's Amyntas, ii, 86:

exteriorem aestum fugiens intrinsecus ardes.

Phillida's beauty (134-38) is the beauty of Mantuan's Galla, i, 44-47:

namque erat ore rubens et pleno turgida vultu
 et, quamvis oculo paene esset inutilis uno,
 cum tamen illius faciem mirabar et annos,
 dicebam Triviae formam nihil esse Dianae.

Tityrus' father invites the confidence of the love-sick youth, and promises his help in the matter (162 ff.), much as Faustus' father behaves in Mantuan, i, 125-34.¹ The rustic wedding with its "great good cheere" and its piping and dancing (209-10) may be compared

¹ K. Windscheid, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

with the rustic wedding in the same Latin poem (157-71). And the closing lines of this eclogue (224-27) may be compared with the closing lines of Mantuan's second:

cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo
se agglomerent? oritur grando. ne forte vagantes
tempestas deprendat oves, discedere tempus;

or of Mantuan's third:

sed iam vesper adest et sol se in nube recondens,
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres.
cogere et ad caulas pecudes convertere tempus.

In the second Eclogue, 230-31, the expression "how many *Caribdis* . . . would I not easily go through" may be compared with Mantuan, Ecl. iii, 126-27:

per centum Scyllas ad te, per mille Charybdes
tranare laturus opem.

And in the third, Damon's "dittie," of the "stately progeny of heardsmen," is taken bodily from Mantuan's seventh, 9-39.¹

2. Borrowings from Ovid

In the second Eclogue, the model of Sabie's elegiac verses is the *Tristia* of Ovid. At l. 135,

But my time imitates Swans white and hoary feathers,

there is an interesting translation of *Tr.*, iv, 8, 1:

iam mea cyneas imitantur tempora plumas.

In ll. 178-79 there is an echo of *Tr.*, i, 3, 81-82:

'non potes avelli: simul hinc, simul ibimus,' inquit:
'te sequar et coniunx exulis exul ero.'

With l. 194, "neither ire of Gods, time an eater of all things," etc., one may compare Ovid, *Met.*, xv, 871-72:

quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas;

¹ K. Winscheld, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

also *Met.*, xv, 234, *tempus edax rerum*. In Faustus' letter "to his loyall Alinda," ll. 206-10 are due to Ovid; cf. *Tr.*, i, 5, 47-48:

tot mala sum passus quot in aethere sidera lucent
parvaeque quot siccus corpora pulvis habet;

also *Tr.*, iv, 1, 55-59; v, 1, 31-33; v, 2, 23-27; v, 6, 37-41; *Pont.*, ii, 7, 25-30. Ll. 214-17 are due to *Tr.*, iii, 4, 59-62:

coniugis ante oculos, sicut praesentis, imago est;
illa meos casus ingravat, illa levat.
ingravat hoc, quod abest: levat hoc, quod praestat amorem
impositumque sibi firma tuetur onus;

and ll. 220-21 to *Tr.*, iii, 3, 51-54:

parce tamen lacerare genas, nec scinde capillos:
non tibi nunc primum, lux mea, raptus ero.
cum patriam amisi, tunc me periisse putato:
et prior et gravior mors fuit illa mihi.

The closing message, l. 235, may be compared with the closing message, *Tr.*, iii, 3, 88:

quod, tibi qui mittit, non habet ipse, 'vale,'

or with *Tr.*, v, 13, 1-2; *Pont.*, i, 10, 2. A part of Alinda's reply is modeled on *Tr.*, iv, 6; cf. l. 243 with l. 15:

hoc etiam saevas paulatim mitigat iras,

and ll. 244-47 with the beginning of the same Latin poem:

tempore ruricolae patiens fit taurus aratri, etc.

See also Ovid, *A. A.*, i, 471 ff.; Tibullus, i, 4, 17-18. L. 260,

Earth shal beare starres, heauen shal be cleft with a coulter,
is a translation of *Tr.*, i, 8, 3:

terra feret stellas, caelum findetur aratro.

The motto which is set on Sabie's title-page is the first couplet of the *Tristia* (with the substitution of *arva* for *urbem*). In *Ecl.*, ii, 79-80, 106-7, there is a reminiscence of Ovid, *Met.*, i, 192-95:

sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica numina Nymphae
Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani:
quos quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore,
quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus.

Ecl. i, 43-44, may be compared with *Met.*, i, 481-82:

saepe pater dixit 'generum mihi, filia, debes.'
saepe pater dixit 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes;'

and i, 133 with *Met.*, i, 502:

si qua latent, meliora putat.

3. Borrowings from Virgil and Lyly

The introductory poem prefixed to the first Eclogue shows an acquaintance with Virgil's fourth Georgic. "Progne with her bloody breast," l. 9, is Virgil's *manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis*, l. 15. And the bees "with Thyme loding their thyres," ll. 18-19, are Virgil's bees *crura thymo plenae*, l. 181. At the close of the first Eclogue, 219-20, there is a paraphrase of two lines at the close of the second Georgic, 541-42:

sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

In the third Eclogue, stanzas 6-14 of "Thestylis Ode"¹ are a paraphrase of a Latin poem *Iovis Elizabeth*, which may be found in Lyly's *Euphuës and his England*.² One couplet may be quoted here, as a possible key to a hard saying in stanza 13 ("Venus kinned to me three waies"):

Tu soror et coniux Iuno, tu filia Pallas,
Es quoque, quid similem? ter mihi chara Venus.

¹ Sabie uses "Thestylis" as a man's name; but so does one of the "Uncertain Authors" in *Tottel's Miscellany* (Arber's reprint, p. 165): "Thestylis is a sely man," etc. In the second Eclogue, 253, he seems to make Perilla the wife of Ovid; but for this he had, or might have had, the definite statement of Petrus Crinitus, *De poetis latinis*, III, 46: "Minime dubium est, eundem habuisse tres uxores. . . . Successit his Perilla cuius egregiam formam atque probitatem pluribus locis extollit: neque tantum dilexit eam maxima fide et benevolentia singulari, sed in Poëtica etiam eruditiv magna cura excoluit. Quo factum est, ut Perilla exulanti marito aedem suam diligentissime servaverit." And after all he is probably quite as near the truth as the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XVIII, 84) who makes Perilla the daughter of Ovid. The "Tagus in Inde" of Ecl., ii, 229, may be his own.

² Ed. Bond, II, 216-17; Arber's reprint, pp. 463-64.

[Title-page.]

PANS PIPE, THREE PASTORALL EGLOGUES, IN ENGLISH
HEXAMETER. WITH OTHER POETICAL VERSES DE-
LIGHTFULL.

*Parue nec inuideo, sine me liber ibis in arua,
Hei mihi quod domino non licet ire tuo.*

FOR THE FURTHER DELIGHT OF THE READER, THE PRINTER
HATH ANNEKED HEREUNTO THE DELECTABLE POEME
OF THE FISHER-MANS TALE.

Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the signe of the Rose
and Crowne, neere to S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595.

[Author's Preface.]

To all youthfull Gentlemen, Apprentises, fauourers of the diuine
Arte of sense-delighting Poesie.

GENTLEMEN, expect not in this my slender volume, amorous passions
of some Courtly Louer, graced (as the custom is, with super fine rethori-
call phrases: look not here for some melodious ditties, descended from
the wel-tuned strings of *Apollos* sweet-sounding Cittern: here plainly
haue I presented vnto your view rusticke *Tyterus*, rehearsing in rude
countrey tearmes to his fellow *Thirsis* his happy blisse, and luckie for-
tune in obtayning the loue of his desired *Phillida*: Or clownish *Coridon*,
one while taking and giuing quaint taunts and priuy quips of and to his
froliking Copemates: One while againe contending for superiority, in
tuning rurall ditties on *Pans* pastorall pipe. Now Gentlemen, if with
Coridon, you shall find me not to play so well as the rest of my fellowes,
my sole and humble request is, that you would not foorthwith proceed
in condigne iudgement against me, but with wise *Faustus* conceale¹ your
opinion, which doing, you shall animate, other wise altogether discourage
a yong beginner.

Yours euer in curtesie.

F. S.

¹ conceale misprinted for conceale.

AVTHOR AD LIBRVM.

V Ade liber, rus dulce subi, pete pascua læta
 alba vbi depascunt agmina mille gregum
 Te læta accipiet pecorum Benefeldia diues,
 aduenies gratus montibus ipse suis.
 Vis vbi pastorum gelidis numerosa sub umbris
 fistula arundinea carmina læta canit,
 Ibit ouans Coridon te complexurus, Alexis
 accipiet, Thirsis te leget ore rudi.
 Laudabit doctus Dominum tibicine faustus.
 hunc hedera dignum Thestilis ore canet:
 Heu si forte via recta peregrinus aberres
 & Domino sumas orbis in vrbe locum
 Ridebit ciuis te, nescit rustica ciuis,
 rustica tu cantas, rusticus ergo legat.
 Formido nimium ne Momus itinere cernat
 mordebit dominum ferrea lingua tuum,
 Quam potes excusa, dic est herus exul, amica
 non datur huic requies, fert iuga, vade liber.

[Prologue to the first poem]

6 It was in the moneth of May,
 All the field now looked gay:
 Little Robin finely sang,
 with sweet notes ech greenwood rang.
 Philomene forgetfull then,
 Of her rape by Tereus done.
 In most rare and ioyfull wise,
 Sent her notes vnto the skies:
 Progne with her bloody breast,
 Gan in chimney build her neast.
 12 Flora made each place excell
 with fine flowers sweet in smell.
 Violets of purple hue,
 Primroses most rich in shew:
 Vnto which with speedie flight,
 Bees did flie and on them light.
 And with Thyme loding their thyes,
 18 Did it carie to their hiues.
 Some it tooke, which they had brought,
 And in combs it rarely wrought.
 Fish from chrystall waues did rise,
 After gnats and little flies:

- 24 Little Lambes did leape and play,
By their Dams in Medowes gay.
And assoone as *Lucifer*
Had expelde the lesser starres,
Tyterus and *Thirsis* hight,
Through a lettice-seeing light,
Which did come from *Ecus*¹ bright,
- 30 As they lay in drowsie beds,
Vp did lift their sluggish heads:
Hasting Sheep from fouldes to let
Sheepe which bleated for their meate.
Sheepe let out from place to place,
Greedilie did plucke vp grasse.
- 36 And by chance as heardes did meet,
Shepherdres did each other greete,
Thirsis looked verie sad,
As he some ill fortune had:
Tyterus first gan to speake,
And his mind in this sort break.²

EGLOGUE FIRST

Tyterus. Thirsis.

- Thirsis* what mean these heauy looks? thy face so besprented
with tears, shews il news, why? thou wert wont to be mery
Wont on a pipe to play, to grace our ioyfull assemblies,
With merie iests and sports, tel me why art thou so pensiuē?
- 5 *Th.* Ah *Tyterus*, *Tyterus*, how can I cease to be pensiuē?
One o' mine ewes last night, hard fortune, died in eaning,
One o' mine ewes, a great ew, whose fruit I chiefly did hope of,
Eaned a tidie lambe, which she no sooner had eaned,
But the Foxe did it eat, whilst I slept vnder a thicket:
- 10 Thus haue I lost mine Ewe, my lamb the Fox thus hath eaten:
Ah *Tyterus*, *Tyterus*, how can I cease to be pensiuē?
Tyt. Hard fortune neighbor, but what? wil heauines help you?
Wil griefe get your sheep againe? cast care away therefore,
Shun dolor, vse patience, patience in miserie profits:
- 15 To smile is wisdom when waspish destinie thunders.
Th. Good counsell *Tyterus*, but not so easily follow'd,
Man is borne in griefe, and griueth at euery mishap.
I thinke we shepheards take greatest paines of all others,

¹ *Ecus* misprinted for *Eous*.² This introductory poem is reprinted by H. Oskar Sommer, *Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 55, 56.

- Sustaine greatest losses, we be tyred with daylie labour,
 20 With colde in winter, with heat in summer oppressed,
 To manie harmes our tender flockes, to manie diseases
 Our sheepe are subiect, the thiefe praies ouer our heardlings,
 And worse then the thief, the Fox praies ouer our heardlings,
 Thus we poor heardsmen are pinchd and plagu'd aboue other.
- 25 *Tyt.* Truth, but I know not why, we do not only deserue it,
 But lets be content, sith Fortune hath so prouided,
 and rather heark to my tale, sith vnder this shadie valley
 Either of vs do sit, sith both our flockes be together,
 Lets now tell our ancient loues, least sleepe creepe vpon vs,
 30 And the craftie Foxe, who priuiliy lurks in a thicket,
 Or in these huge holes, our lambes should greedilie murther:
 Better is it to wake, then sleepe, what thing euer happens.
- Th.* Content, yet fro my mind this grieve yet cannot I banish,
 Begin first your selfe, you first made mention of it.
- 35 *Tyt.* Wel, Ile now begin, *Venus* aid me, sweet *Venus* aide me,
 Ayd me *Cupid* once my friend, the prosperous euent
 Of my loue to rehearse. Not far from hence in a village
 Was I borne, in a merrie towne rich in shadie valleys,
 Rich in grounds, in soyle fertile, in cattell abounding:
 40 With my father I liu'd, he was calde rich *Melibeus*;
 Rich *Melibeus* was my Sire, olde *Mepsa* my mother.
 Long time single I liu'd, long time vnmarried I was:
 He would oft to me say, when shall I be called a Grandsire,
 She would oft to me say, when shall I be called a Grandam:
 45 *Flora* doth hope for thee, the lusty daughter of *Aldus*,
Ianus hopes thou shalt be to his daughter an husband:
 I despising loue, hating the name of a woman,
 Would them both desire to let me single abide still,
 For loue I did detest, I did hate a libidinous *Hymen*.
- 50 But marke how't fell out, I fed my sheepe in a pasture
 Neere to the wood, twas summer time, and I very wearie,
 Downe all alone me laid, no sooner downe had I laid me,
 But sleepe shut mine eyes, neere to this wood abode hunters,
 Hunters, who let slip at an hare, the groue she recou'rd,
 55 And got away, the dogs returnde, and ran to my cattell:
 My sheepe from them ran, great harme they did to my cattel:
 They did a Wether kil, they kild a douty good Ew-lambe.
 Vp I rose, my sheep I mist, and nought but a carcasse
 Of my Wether I sawe, the clawes and skuls of an Ewe-lambe.
- 60 Out alas I cride, I am vndone, spoyled and vndone,
 Long time amazed I stood, one while false Destinie blaming,

- And drowsie sleep, who closd mine eies whilst merciles hūters
 Suffered hounds my sheep to deuoure, like *Mercury* sometimes
 On's sleep-aluring pipe who plaid, while he murdered *Argus*,
 65 *Argus* set with an hundred eies: or like to the Foulter,
 Who on a whistle playes most sweetly, whilst hee deceiueh
 Foolish birds: thus standing amaz'd, my neighbour *Alexis*
 Came to me, crying out, stroken also with the same arrow,
 He made doleful mone, seuē of mine Ewes be deuoured,
 70 And the rest are strayed away, sweet *Tyterus* help me,
 Help me (saith he) to seeke them againe, I laboured also
 Of the same disease, we two went sadly together
 Through desert mountaines, large fieldes, and arable pastures,
 Seeking our chac'd heards: at length in a brierie valley,
 75 Between two forrests, some of *Amintas* his heardlings
 Found we lying downe, and seeking still for his other,
 Vnder a shade by chaunce he saw *Galatea*, he saw her,
 And burnt in her loue, poor vvretch he cried, he sighed,
 Making skies resound his sad and pittiful ecchoes,
 80 And vnmindfull quite of his heardling, he wholly delighted
 In talking of her, and passing by her, I wild him
 To reiect this loue, which would bring beggery with it,
 He with a sigh gan strait exlame, O happie, thrise happy
 Should I be if when, the fates, and destinie cals me,
 85 In her lap mine head might lie, and her pretie fingers
 Might close vp my key cold eies: O wood-mightie *Syluan*,
 Keep I beseech thee all sweet hearbs, let not greedy cattell
 Plucke them vp, reserue them til my Ladie be buried:
 Then let al the ground be straw'd with sauourie blossoms,
 90 And write vpon her tomb, *Here lieth a maide, which a goddessse*
Would haue bene to her Loue, had she not bene ouer-austere,
Loug¹ thus he liu'd ie² deep despaire, al companie shunning:
 And at length (poore wreth³) his daies in misery ended.
 Back againe I return'd in an other field then I sought them.
 95 Like one half mad I ran, I found some hard by the milhedge,
 Some by the forrest side, my notted Ram stil I missed:
 Him I sent my boy to seeke, he wandered al day,
 In shady woods till night, and wearie thought to returne him,
 But twas darke, and making hast, a trench he fel into,
 100 Made to deceiue wild beasts, and could by no means get away thence,
 Thus my boy was in hold my Ram was caught in a thicket,
 Vp next morn I rose, musing where *Willie* remained,

¹ *Loug* misprinted for *Long*.² *ie* misprinted for *in*.³ *wreth* misprinted for *wretch*.

- Forth I went, twas holie-day, I asked of ech one,
 If they saw my ram, and if they saw little *Willy*,
 105 *Willy* no wher was found, I sought him through shady mountains
 Through vast caues and wood, I cride, I shouted, I hollow'd,
 But twas all in vaine, at length a stranger I met with,
 Into the pits to looke, who was new come to the forrest,
 Him did I aske also, but he saw not my little *Willie* :
 110 We two together walkt, when we came neere to the pitfall,
 Hearing vs two talke, like a mouse in a cheese he did exclame,
 Into the trench we look'd, who could not laugh to behold it,
 A Fox false therein, did stand with *Will* in a corner:
Will did feare the Fox, the Fox did feare little *Willie*
 115 Out we pluckt him first, his fellow prisoner after.
 Glad was *Will* he was out, and I was gladder I found him,
 Home we returnde, and as we returnd, loe destiny fawning,
 Found I my Ram in a thicket tyde, I greatly reioyced:
 Summer it was, it was midday, the Sun was at highest,
 120 *Will* led home my Ram, I softly followed after,
Will went through the fields, but I went through shady pastures
 Shunning *Titans* beams, but ah vnfortunat Heardsman,
 Shunning an outward heat, a fire I purchased inward.
 Vnder a tree, by *Demons* cloase, very many resorted,
 125 Maids and men did thither flocke, there merily piped.
Lucidas on his new bagpipe, then *Pollio* danced,
Ianus leapt and skipt, then thy young vncke *Amintas*
 Daunc'd I remember with many moe too long to repeat nowe.
 Here I staid, this crue I viewd, I spied *Alexis*
 130 Daunce with a Lasse, a gallant Lasse, me thought she did excel
 All the rest in beautie, in shape, in comelie behauiour:
 Phillida was her name, I thought each ioynt of her heauenly:
 Looke what parts lay hid, those I far fairer imagin'd.
 Ah, how she pleasde my mind, her cheeks wer ruddy like aples,
 135 With red streams besprent, her hair as browne as a berrie:
 Black were her eies, her hands did shew as was a good huswife,
 No want in her I saw, for where she squinted a little,
 That did grace her I thought, thus was I caught on a sudden,
 Ah, how oft I wisht my selfe in place of *Alexis*,
 140 He to dallie had learn'd, to daunce I neuer had vsed,
 And then I sham'd to begin. But marke what followed after;
Codra to daunce did come, the lusty daughter of *Aldus* :
 Her when *Alexis* espied espide,¹ he with all speed *Phillida* leauing,
 Caught her by the white hand, at this my *Phillida* frowned,

¹ *espide* erroneously repeated.

- 145 She did *Alexis* loue, but *Alexis Codra* desired:
 In stept I to her strait, I wild her not to be sorry,
 I will be thy loue (said I) care not for *Alexis*,
 I will a woing come, from me she flang in an anger,
 And with a scornfull looke, wel (saith she) some body loues me.
- 150 Home then I went dismaid, and sick, my countenance¹ heauie,
 Sotted were my sences all, my mind verie pensiuie,
 One while I laid me downe, of such idle fantasies hoping,
 That sleepe would me depriue, therein was I greatly deceaued.
 No sooner had sleep closde mine eies, but *Phillida* foorthwith
- 155 Into my mind did come, still I thought she daunc'd with *Alexis*:
 Ah how my mother greeu'd, when she did see me so pensiuie,
 She fetcht milke and ale, and for me she made a posset:
 She fetcht flower and eggs, and for me she made a pudding:
 But no meat would downe with me, my father as heauy,
- 160 Vnto the wise-man went, he was a physition also,
 He said I was in loue, some deuil had told it him, I think,
 Then to me forthwith he came, he charg'd me with it, he praid me
 To disclose my mind, and he would do what he could do:
 Then confest I my loue, tis (said I) *Phillida* father,
- 165 *Phillida*, *Damons* daughter it is, whose loue thus I burne in,
 Be content, my father said, her loue will I sue for,
 Well doth *Damon* know *Melibeus* chests be not emptie,
 At this I comfort tooke, rose, went int' field to my cattell,
 Both full of hope and feare. To *Damon* went *Melibeus*,
- 170 Tolde him all the tale, and for his daughter he prayed,
 I giue my consent, but I feare, quoth he *Phillida* wil not,
 She shall like and loue, for she hath very may² reiected.
 These newes brought to me as I sate alone by mine heardling:
 Sonne, saith he, go thy selfe, speake to *Phillida*, *Damon*
- 175 Will giue his good wil, if thou canst also get her loue.
 Home foorthwith I went, my self I finely bedecked,
 Comb'd mine head, I washt my face, my spruse-lether ierkin
 On did I put, my ruffes, my yellow-lether galigaskins,
 Then full of hope and feare I went, my *Phillida* spinning,
- 180 Sate by the doore, I went vnto her, I colde her, I kist her,
 Proferd her many gifts, but she refusde many profers:
 Crau'd of her, her good will, but she did flatly deny me,
 Wild me leaue my sute, and not proceed any further.
 Impatient of repulse, her three times after I wooed:
- 185 Gifts many pence me cost, three times againe she repeld me:

¹ countenance misprinted for countenance.

² may misprinted for many.

- Desperate altogether then with bewitched *Amintas*,
 Into the woods I went, and merrie company leauing,
 In vncouth mountaines, in deserts and shady valleyes,
 All my delight I tooke, I neuer look'd to my cattel:
- 190 They for a pray were left to the Fox, to the wolfe to the Lyon,
 And had I not bene helpt, I should haue dy'd with *Amyntas*.
 But now Fortune smilde, with *Alexis Phillida* dayly
 Vsde to sport and play, vnto him she dayly resorted,
 She brought him conserues, she brought him sugered almonds
- 195 He not louing her, but with her flattery mooued,
 Lay with her, and in time with childe poore *Phillida* prooued:
 He then fearing least he should her marrie by constraint,
 Fled from his Vncle in hast (for he remain'd) with his vncle
Phillida fearing least, she should be mocked of each one,
- 200 Look'd more blyth on me, as I sate vnder a Mirtle,
 She past by, me thought, and smyled vpon me,
 Her lookes fauour shewed, then againe my sute I renued,
 Went and wooed her againe, and far more tractable founde her:
 Next day to *Damons* house I went, and with me my sire,
- 205 There were cakes and ale, and each one greatlie reioyced:
 Then we were made sure, and wedding day was appointed,
 Which at length did come, the time long wisht for approached;
 We twaine were conioynd, that day we merrily passed,
 Great good cheare we made, *Licidas* and *Pollio* piped,
- 210 All th' whole countrie daunc'd: with credit thus was I wedded:
 Which when *Alexis* heard, with all speed home he returned,
 And see *Thirsis*, I pray, what a quiet wife haue I gotten,
 She yet neuer scowl'd she neuer frown'd on *Alexis*,
 But look'd mildly on him, though he so greatly abusde her,
- 215 Heele now come to my house, and sit with me by the fire,
 Heele now sit by my wife, whilst I goe looke to my cattel:
 We two be great friends, and to thee (*Thirsis*) I tel it,
 Thee for a friend I take, to my biggest boy is he father,
 But verie few do it know. A large ground now haue I plowed,
- 220 And tis more than time to vnyoke my wearied horses:
Thirsis, I haue to thee now declarde the history pleasant
 Of my loue: Rehearse yours, as you promised erewhile.
Th. Wel. I begin to declare't: O *Pan* melodious help me:
 But see neighbour I pray, *Tytan* is caried headlong
- 225 Into the sea, see, clouds covnite, a storme is a breeding:
 And pitchie-night drawes on apace, lets hastily therefore,
 Deuide our cattell, to the cotes lets speedily driue them.
Tyt. Let's run apace, til again we meet you shal be my debter.

[Prologue to the second poem]

- Glomie Winter rain'd as King,
 Hoarie frost did nip each thing:
 Fields look'd naked now and bare,
 4 Fields which like a Chaos were.
 Earth of grasse was now quite voyde
 Boreas each thing destroyd.
 Leauelesse trees seem'd to lament,
 8 Chirping birdes were discontent:
 Seeking food in vncouth lanes,
 Where they caught their fatall banes.
 Philomene did now recant
 12 Wofully sharp winters want:
 Progne fled to place vnknowne,
 Somewhere making doleful mone.
 Tereus pinch't with want did crie,
 16 Iustly plagu'd for villany,
 Fish in deepe themselues did hide,
 Daring not in foordes abide:
 Cattell bleated for their meat.
 20 Cattell found no foode to eate.
 Titan had his head lift vp,
 Lulde a sleepe in *Thetis* lap.
 When two Swaines were newly gone.
 24 *Melibeus* and *Damon*,
 Hungrie flocks to let from folde,
 Flockes half staru'd with want and colde.
 Heards had eaten mornings baite,
 28 Shepheards met together strait.
Melibeus, men report,
 Spake to *Damon* in this sort.

EGLOGUE SECOND

Damon. Melibeus.

- Goodmorrow *Damon*. *Da*. Goodmorrow good *Melibeus*.
 What? your comely daughter, whose loue so many desired
 Is now wedded I heare to a Citizen, is she so dainty,
 That none but Citizens will please her? or are ye so wealthie,
 5 That you scorne vs Heards, your mates and fellowes? I fear me,
 Once before she die, sheell wish she had wedded an heardsman.
Mel. Peace *Damon*, content your self, first heare the defendant,
 Ere you giue iudgement, lets sit down friendly together

- On this suuny¹ bank, whilst *Tytans* fiery glances
 10 Warm our limbs, and melt hory snowes, Ile tel the beginning
 And end of their loue, end, midst, and originall of it.
 When my girle was young, to *Cupids* fiery weapons
 And not yet subiect, then had my neighbour *Alexis*,
 A little sonne, both borne in a day, th' one loued ech other:
 15 As brother and sister, as twaine of one issue begotten:
 And as children vse, they two would dallie together,
 Sport & play, both went to the school, as years came upon thē:
 So their loue encreast, years made this amitie greater:
 Age made loue increase, and stil my neighbour *Alexis*
 20 (As most men are woont) esteeming worst of his owne arte,
 Set his sonne to the schoole, to scooles² of *Apollo*:
 Wholly in ioy he liu'd, what sportes, the cuntrey did affoord,
 What playes, what pastimes, those he vsde, al labor abhorring,
 Time brought choise of sports, each quarter sundry pleasures:
 25 In spring time when fields are greene, when euery bramble
 Looketh fresh, when euery bush with melodie soundeth,
 Of little birds rising, before bright *Tytan* appeared,
 Into the fieldes did he goe, which then faire *Flora* bedecked,
 With redolent blossoms, O how grateful to the sences
 30 Were th' odoriferous smels which when *Aurora* to *Phabus*³
 Gan to ope her gates, the fragrant flowers affoorded,
 O how to heare did he ioy the musicall harmony, which then
 Each little bird did make. He would go then with a spud staffe
 Vnto the leaue vwoods, the dens where Connies had hidden
 35 Their yong ones to seeke, to find yong birds he delighted:
 Greatly now did he ioy, the lightfooted hare to run after:
 With many yelping hounds, the swift-foot Deere by the forrest,
 To pursue with dogs, with an hauke to encounter a partridge:
 At this time the top, the tennis ball was a pastime:
 40 At this time no smal delight he toke in a foteball:
 When Lodie⁴ *Ver* had run her race, and *Phebus* ascending
 Vnto the highest, began to scortch vvith fiery glances
Floras fruites, and *Vers* gay giftes, when Rie with a sickle
 Down to be cut began, and emptie barnes to be filled.
 45 Then to the Chrystall lake and siluer riuier of *Alphus*
 Vsde he to goe (Good Lord) how greatly to bath him he ioyed
 In his running stream, what pleasure companie meeting,
 Took he to sport on's reedy banks: somtimes with an angle,
 And false shew of a bait glittering fish craftilie taken:

¹ *suuny* misprinted for *sunny*.³ *Phabus* misprinted for *Phebus*.² *scooles* misprinted for *schooles*.⁴ *Lodie* misprinted for *Ladie*.

- 50 Wold he twitch frō his waues, with nets oft times he deceu'd them;
 Now by the mountaines high, and forrests leauy to gather
 Strawberies and Damasens no smal delight did he count it.
 But vvhy recite I to thee these sports, thou these mery pastimes
 Knowst wel ynough, thou knowst what ioies the cuntery yeldeth.
- 55 *Winter*¹ & *autum* brought not a few ripe apples in *autum*
 Peares and nuts to gather he vsde, all which he reserued,
 Winters want to releue. When gloomie Winter appeared,
 When hoarie frosts did each thing nip, vvhen Isacles hanged
 on ech house, with milk-white snows whē th' earth was al hiddē
- 60 Forth vvith a fouler he vvas, to the vvellsprings & to the fountains
 & to the running lakes, vvwhose euer mooueable vvaters
 Frost neuer alter could, there for the long-billed hernshue,
 And little Snype did he set snares, vvith tvvigs craftily limed,
 Pitfals novv for birds did he make, the musical Ovvle,
- 65 The little Robbin and the Thrush now greatlie bewayling,
 winters want with doleful tunes did he strike with a stone-bow.
 Cardes and dice brought now great sport, sitting by the fire,
 Bowles full of ale to quaffe off, ripe peares and mellowed apples
 To deuour, to cracke small nuts, now he counted a pleasure.
- 70 But what need many words, least ouer tedious I should
 Vnto thee bee, many playes, and pastimes here I will omit:
 I will omit his gun, I will not speak of his hand-bow:
 Which with a twanging string, he so many times hath bended
 But to be brieve, his life, his greatest toyle was a pleasure.
- 75 And might I speake as I thinke, I would say boldly that he liu'd
 More in ioy than Gods, sprong of celestiall issue.
 But Fate is peruerse, Fortune a friend to none alwaies:
 This merie life of the gods, the country gods which inhabit
 Earthly seats did note, (for to them *Ioue* in *Olympus*,
- 80 Yet vouchsafes not a place) they saw't and murmured at it,
 Each one did complaine that he so merilie liued:
 Each one did complaine that he them neuer adored.
 Not far from thence in a wood, in a vast and briery forrest,
 There is a famous groue, with Oaks and pine trees abounding
- 85 which neuet² axe hath tucht, whose tops the clouds cut asunder
 These no star could pearce, no sun-beam could euer enter:
 Heere nere came *Boreas*, heere nere came fiery *Tytan*.
 Temperature here alwayes abides, the temperate aire
 Causeth a dayly spring, here blossoms dayly do flourish:
- 90 Hearbs are green, which a lake, & chrystal stream by the forrest:

¹ *Winter* misprinted for *Winter*.² *neuēt* misprinted for *neuer*.

- With myld-sliding¹ waues doth nourish with liquid humor,
 In midst of this groue the mild Creatresse of all things;
 Hath by woondrous arte a stately pallace erected:
 And from craggie rockes, great seats hath wisely created:
- 95 God *Sylnanus*² his haule, it need no carued vpholders,
 Nor stately pillers to vnderprop, his gorgious hanging
 Nought but heauen ouerhangs, *Atlas* himselfe doth vphold it.
 Hither al the Gods, hither al the progeny rurall
 In came, each tooke a seat, each sate by *Syluan* in order,
- 100 At the higher end of the haule in a chair with gems very costly
 With leauy wreaths on his head sat great *Syluanus* adorned.
 Next sate rusticke *Pan*, next him sate beautiful *Alphus*.
Alphus a riuer-god, next him God *Bacchus*, all hanged
 with red-streamed grapes, next him Lady *Ceres* arrayed
- 105 With eary wreaths of wheat: next her dame *Flora* bedecked
 With sweet-smelling hearbes: then sat nymphs, Fayries & half-gods
Syluans, Satyrs, Fauns, with al the rustical ofspring,
 Now giuing statutes, now rebels sharply reforming:
 And checking sinners, at length they found them agreeued
- 110 With sweet *Alexis* son, that he them neuer adored,
 Despisde their Deities, their gifts that he dayly abused:
 Foorthwith each god agreed to banish him from his empire,
 And kingdome for a time. Saith great *Syluanus*, he neuer
 Til seuen yeares be past, my fragrant empire hereafter,
- 115 Shall by my leaue sport in, thus am I fully resolued
 Neither saith God *Pan*, my realmes and flourishing empire
 Where many flocks do feed, til seuen years fully be passed:
 Shal he come in by my leaue, thus am I fully resolued.
 I banish him also fro my banks so redy, saith *Alphus*,
- 120 And I (saith *Bacchus*) fro my faire and beautiful Orchards.
 And I (saith *Ceres*) fro my fields and corn-bearing empire:
 And ful this seuen yeare shall he be (saith *Flora*) depriued
 Of freedome, and shal beare the seruile yoke of a maister,
 And dearly shall he smart for these his wanton abuses.
- 125 This the gods decreed, thus firmly was it enacted:
 And a day was set. They now inspired *Alexis*,
 And mooued him to send his son, his sonne little *Faustus*,
 Vnto the cittie to learne a trade, this he fully beleueed,
 Was done for his good. Th' appointed time now approached,
- 130 Now the day was at hand, good Lord what pittifull howling,
 Made that house, when he did depart, his father *Alexis*,

¹ There seems to be a trace of this hyphen.

² *Sylnanus* misprinted for *Syluanus*.

Now gan sad looke, and at this his heauy departure,
These most woful words with an hart most sorowful vttered.

- Thy dayes greene blossoms, thy yeeres yong plants do resemble,
135 but my time imitates Swans white and hoary feathers,
To labor and take pains, thy years do wil thee, my white haire
forewarne that death is readie to strike daylie:
Now therefore, O my son, these words I charge thee remember,
Which to thee thy father, so duty binds me speaketh,
140 Like litle Bees fro their hiues nowe must thou bee banished of Bees
and ants learn, they wil teach thee, my son, to labour:
They will teach thee to worke, lo the Bee, she gathereth honey,
and th' Ant corne, winters pennurie wisely fearing.
So must thou take paines, whilst time wil let thee, for old age
145 thy body, though now strong, wil very quickly weaken,
A raynie day wil come, crooked age wil (I say) creep vpon thee
enemies vnto worke, enemies vnto profit.
A trade thou must learne, now must thou dwell in a cittie,
which hath both vertues, and manie vices in it:
150 These thou must eschew, these must thou greedilie follow,
these bring perdition, those credit and great honour:
But first thy maker see that thou serue aboue all things,
serue him, he made thee, loue him, he will thee gouerne:
Be loyall and gentle, to thy maister trustie, thy duty
155 so requires, be to al affable, lowly, louing:
And marke this one thing, detest euil companie chieffie:
for it wil doubtlesse lead thee to follie: shun it.
Shun womens faire lookes, *Venus* is faire but to be shunned:
Shees hurtfull, of her flatery see thou take heed:
160 As to the net with a call smal birds are craftily allured,
with false shew of a baite, as little fish be taken:
Euen so womens looks entrap young nouices oft times,
see thou beware, they be naught, fie thē I warn thee, fly them
To know mens desire, medle not, but speak wel of each one,
165 so shalt thou get fame, and loue of all thy neighbours:
Shun playes and theaters, go to sermons, here many vices:
there thou shalt learne to magnifie God thy maker.
Both mony and counsell I thee giue, set more by my counsel,
Than mony, thou shalt be rich ynough if thou do thus:
170 More precious it is then gems which *Tagus* affoordeth,
then golden fleeces which *Phasis* Ile hap in it.
So fare well my sonne, God blesse and keep thee, remember
these things, and God wil surely preserue thee, Farewell.

- This once said, he shed many teares, his mother as heany,¹
 175 Shreeking out, did bid him adue, my daughter *Alinda*
 Seemed half mad with grief, she skies with dollorous ecchoes
 Made to resound, amōg many words, these sadly pronouncing
 I will with thee goe, I wil be banished also,
 Ile take also part of thine hard destiny, *Faustus*,
 180 But now must he depart, time vrg'd his heavy departure:
 Now needs must he go hence, farewell to the watery riuers,
 Farwel he said to the fields, to the woods, & greenleaued² Forrest
 And to the town whō he thought surely he shuld neueragain² see
 Now was he gone quite away, and at length came to the cittie,
 185 Where great god *Thamasis*, with an huge & horrible murmur
 Guideth his vncoth waues, here was the place where he rested,
 Here was he forste to abide the seruile yoke of a master,
 Here what euils he abode, what miserie sufferd, I need not
 Tel thee: needlesse twas to tel thee't *Damon*, imagine
 190 That many griefes he abode, much toyle and slavery suffred,
 Many reproches he bore, oft times my daughter *Alinda*
 Sent priuie gifts vnto him, he greeted her oft with a token,
 & which was most rare, their loue which whē they wer infants
 First began, neither ire of Gods, time an eater of all things,
 195 Nor proud waspish Fate, able was any whit to diminish,
 But the more fate, fretting time, and gods cruel anger
 Sought by threatning force, the same to cancell or alter,
 More greater it did waxe, she sent, I remember a napkin
 With needle wrought vnto him, wherein this posie she feined,
 200 *Though time fret, gods chafe, and peruerse destinie thunder,*
her mind yet neuer shall thine Alinda varie.
 This gift he receiu'd, and opportunity chauncing
 a thing to him rare, this wofull letter he framed,

FAUSTUS TO HIS LOYALL ALINDA.

- Faustus, infaustus*, forsaken, banished, exile,
 205 in these sad writings, sendeth *Alinda* greeting.
 Sooner my dear-loue each starre which shines in Olympus,
 each litle sand maist thou count by the watery sea-shore:
 Each bird which flyeth, each leafe in woods shady growing,
 each scaled fish which swims in a frothy riuier,
 210 Then halfe the miseries which thy poore *Faustus* abideth:
 Ah, but I feare too much, least thou be grieved at it.

¹ *heany* misprinted for *heavy*.² The lack of a hyphen in *greenleaued*, and of the spacing of *neueragain* is due to the want of space for the line.

- What ioy? what comfort haue I wretch? tis all in *Alinda*:
 Oh but that name oft much dolour also causeth:
 No sooner its named, but ioy of sence me depriueth,
 215 no sooner its named, but teares fro mine eies doe trickle.
 Ioy in that thou standst in such aduersitie stedfast,
 tears in that from thee, destinie me so withholds,
 But yet though fate frown, though gods pursue me with anger
 though Fortune plague me, penurie pinch me dayly:
 220 Greeue not *Alinda* for it, when I was exiled, imagine
 then that I died, I say, greeue not *Alinda* for it:
 And if in hope thou liu'st, say dearh¹ shal neuer hereafter
 take fro me a second loue, still will I liue a widow,
 And it may fall out, gods taking pittie, that once I
 225 shal to both our contents vnto thee safelie returne:
 Then what thing mortall, what thing celestiall each where,
 shal ioyful *Faustus* from his *Alinda* detain it:
 Not golden apples, which rich *Hesperia* yeeldeth,
 not little gems wherewith *Tagus* in *Inde* floweth,
 230 How many mo miseries, poore wretch, how many *Caribdis*,
 hoping to inioy thee, would I not easily go through.
 Be stable and constant, whatsoeuer destinies happen,
 thy *Faustus* wil stand, be stil *Alinda* stable:
 No gem I send thee, yet a costlie iewell I send thee,
 235 that which I want my selfe, farewell I send thee my Loue,

This to my daughter he sent, and opportunitie fitting,
 She this epistle framed, and to him priuillie sent it.

- Know'st thou my *Faustus*, by the superscription, or seale
 who to thee this dolefull and heauy dittie frameth:
 240 Tis thine *Alinda* my loue, which in this dittie saluteth
 her *Faustus*, whose griefes are to thy sorrowes equal.
 But feare not *Faustus*, liue in hope, *Ioue* doth not all times
 thunder, delay wil gods cruel anger abate:
 In time the Lyon his fierce seuerity leaueth,
 245 soft drops of water mollifie craggie pibbles:
 In time the heifer to the yoke is easily reduced:
 the stiffe-neck'd colt doth yeeld to the rusty bridle:
 Then feare not *Faustus*, liue in hope, frost doth not at al times
 each thing nip, time wil gods cruel anger asswage.
 250 The troian Captain, *Venus* offspring, faithles *Eneas*,
 in time outwore th'ire of great and angry *Iuno*.

¹ *deark* misprinted for *death*.

- Ile be *Penelope*, be thou my royal *Vlysses*,
 Ile be *Perilla*, be thou my trustie *Naso*.
 And be most certaine, my mind I wil neuer alter
 255 my fate whoseuer, *Destinie* please to varie
 But fire and water, cold, heat, loue and enuie, desire
 and hate shall first and sooner agree together.
 Stream-haunting fishes forsake their waterie channels,
 and in greene pastures, and shadie meadowes abide
 260 Earth shal beare starres, heauen shal be cleft with a coulter,
 then any but *Faustus* shal his *Alinda* couet.
Faustus adue, to the gods, thy trustie and faithfull *Alinda*,
 for thy safe returne prayes dailie, *Faustus* adue.
 This he receiu'd, and now the griefes and sorrowes he suffred,
 265 though greater and manie mo, yet now far lesser he deemed.

- Time now past on apace, hope was their anchor & hauen,
 And though great distance of space detaind them asunder:
 Oft times in letters yet they twaine priuillie talked:
 And last month his time was spent: to his father *Alexis*
 270 And to his friends he returnde, oh how my daughter *Alinda*
 Ioy'd at this, amongst friends, as his heauie departure,
 Each thing seem'd to lament, so each thing ioy'd his arriual.
 Now pray thee tel me *Damon*, who now so sharply reprouedst
 Should I remooue her loue, who was more trustie to *Faustus*,
 275 Then was *Penelope* the loyal wife of *Vlysses*.
Da. O rare fidelitie, O faith immooueable, worthy,
 Worthy to be rehearst to all posterities after:
 Shouldst thou remooue their loue, I tel the friend *Melibeus*,
 If thou shouldst, thou hadst deseru'd with *Tantalus* endlesse
 280 Paines to receiue. But loe, the withered grasse is all hidden
 With hoarie snowes, our sheep want meat. *Mel.* Let's hastilie
 therefore
 Go fetch them fodder, which bleat so greddie for it.

[Prologue to the third poem]

- Winter now wore away cold with his hoary frosts,
 And now sharp *Boreas* was made a prisoner:
 Now brought in Ladie *Ver* smels odoriferous,
 And with blasts verie calme *Zephirus* entred,
 5 Each bird sent merrily musicall harmonie:
 The Cuckow flew abroad with an ode vniforme,
 This time euerie thing merily welcomed,
 Swains with their silly truls sat by their heards feeding,

- One while telling of ancient histories,
 10 Now playing on a pipe rusticall harmony,
 And the ruddie Goddesses, her manie coloured
 Gates had scarce on a time to *Titan* opened,
 When three Swaines *Coridon*, *Thestylis*, and *Damon*,
 Hauing new fro the fieldes, their greedy flockes let out,
 15 Met by chance on a time vnder a shady tree,
 And who neere to the tree stood with his heard alone,
Faustus an aged man, master of harmony,
 These three mates when he saw speedilie came to them.
 Vp then rose *Coridon*, *Thestylis* and *Damon*,
 20 And prayd this aged heard to sit vpon a turfe.
 He sate, they sate againe, *Thestylis* and *Damon*,
 And clownish *Coridon*, each held a pipe in hand,
 Th' old man left at home his musical instrument
 And he much reuerenc'd for his age of the rest,
 First of all merily spake to the companie.

EGLOGUE THIRD

Faustus. Coridon, Thestylis, Damon.

- W**hat great thanks, neighbors, to the gods celestially owe we
 which such goodly weather haue sent for our ewes that haue eaned
 Se neighbors ech one, how finely *Aurora* saluteth
 Her louing *Tytan*, how pale and ruddy she looketh,
 5 Our weaklings doubtlesse this day wil mightily strengthen.
Co. O, tis a fine weather, a trim batling time for our heardlings,
 And lesse I be deceiu'd, this day will prooue verie faire too,
 What great thanks therefore to the gods celestially owe we?
Fa. Yea, *Coridon* for many mo things we be greatly beholding
 10 Vnto the gods, I my self haue seen a time when as heardsmen
 Could not vse their pipes, could not as we do together
 Sit thus far fro the flocks, the Wolfe which priuily lurked
 In these woods, the Beare which craftily croucht in a thicket,
 Both sheep and heards wold thē deuour, yea oft frō our herdlings
 15 We by force were pluckt, & wretches vrg'd to be souldiers,
 Seldom now doth a Wolf, the beare exilde fro the mountains,
 Doth neuer hurt our flocks, the gates of peaceable *Ianus*
 Be now barred fast, we need not feare to be souldiers,
 Nor feare souldiers force, we may now merrily pipe here.
 20 *Co.* *Faustus* tels vs troth, my sire and grand-sire oft times
 Told me the same, with many mo things, more mercy the gods shew
Pan doth fauor his herds, we may nowe merily pipe here.

Th. Yea *Coridon* thou maist securely kisse *Galatea*,
Vnder a shade, yea and more than that, if no body see thee.

25 *Co.* My *Galatea* no doubt, before your withered *Alice*
Shal be preferd, she lookes like an olde witch scortch'd in a kil-house.

Da. Wel *Coridon*, boast not too much of your *Galatea*,
Shortly your ewes wil (I fear) take you for a Ram, not a keeper.

Th. No, *Coridons* sweet pipe, which such braue melody maketh
30 Nill on's head suffer *Acteons* hornes to be ioyned.

Co. Ich wil pipe with you *Damon* or *Thestilis* either,
And let *Faustus* iudge whose pipe best harmony sendeth.

Fa. These reprochfull tearms should not be rehearsed among you,
You should not haue told him of his wife *Galatea* :

35 You should not haue told him of the deformity of his wife,
But let these things passe, *Coridon* euen now made a challenge
Wil ye with him contend, I wil giue reasonable iudgement.

Both. We be agreed. *Fa.* Begin *Coridon*, you first made a
challenge.

CORIDONS SONET.

40 Cupid took wings, and through the fieldes did flie,
A bow in hand, and quiuer at his backe:
And by chance proud *Amintas* did espie,
As all alone he sate by his flocke.

This sillie swain so statlie minded was,
All other heards he thought he did surpasse.

45 He hated Loue, he hated sweet desire,
Equall to him no wight he esteemed:
Manie a Lasse on him were set on fire,
Worthy of his loue, yet none he deemed.

50 Out from his sheath he pluckt a leaden dart,
Wherewith he smote the swain vpon the hart.

Forthwith he rose, and went a little by,
Leauing his heard, for so wold *Cupid* haue:
Faire *Galatea* then he did espie,
Vnder a shade with garland verie braue.

55 Straitwaies he lou'd, and burn'd in her desire,
No ease he found, the wag had made a fire.

He sigh'd, he burn'd, and fryed in this flame,
Yet sillie wretch, her loue he neuer sought,
But pinde away, because he did disdaine,
60 *Cupid* him stroke with that vn lucky shaft.

Long time he liu'd thus pining in despair,
Til's life at length flew into th'open aire.

- Cupid* abroad through shadie fieldes did flie,
 Now hauing stroke proud *Amintas* with his shaft:
 65 Poore *Coridon* by chance he passed by,
 As by his heard he sate of ioy bereft.
 Sicke, very sick was this lowly swain,
 Many that he lik'd, all did him disdaine.
- Cupid* him saw, and pittied him foorthwith,
 70 Chose out a dart among a thousand moe:
 Than which a luckier was not in his sheath,
 Wherewith he gaue the swaine a mightie blow.
 Strait rising vp, *Galatea* he espide,
 Foorthwith he lou'd, and in desier fride.
- Ah how she pleasse, pale and red was her face,
 75 Rose cheek'd as *Aurora* you haue seene:
 A wreath of flowers her seemly head did grace,
 Like *Flora* faire, of shepherds she was Queene.
 He passed by, and deemed that she laught
 80 Her verie lookes did fauour shew, he thought.
- Therefore in hast with rude and homelie tearmes,
 He did her woo, her hoping to obtaine:
 First she denide, at length she did affirme,
 She would him loue, she could him not disdaine.
- 85 Thus di'd *Amintas* because he was so coy,
 Poore *Coridon* his loue did thus inioy.

Fa. Wel, *Coridon* hath done, lets heare your melody *Damon*.

Da. Help me my chearful Muse, O *Pan* melodious helpe me,
 And wise *Apollo* to tune the stately progeny of heardsmen.

DAMONS DITTIE.

- 90 When *Ioue* first broken had the Chaos ancient,
 And things at variance had set at vnity:
 When first each element, fire, aire, and water,
 And earth vnmooueable were placed as you see:
 A plow-man then he made, he made a sheep-feeder,
 95 The plow-man he made of stonie progenie,
 Rebelling to the plough, like to the flinty field,
 Hard-hearted, full of hate: The noble sheepfeeder
 He made of a milde and lowlie progenie,
 Gentle and very meeke, like a sheep innocent,
 100 Oft times he to the Gods sacrifice offered,
 One while he gaue a Lambe, one while a tidy calfe

- Since that time sillie swaines and noble sheepfeeders
 Haue bene much visited and loued of the gods.
- Go to my merie Muse, sound out vpon a pipe
- 105 Shepheards antiquities, and noble progenie.
 A shepheard was *Abram*, *Lot* was a sheep-keeper,
 Great Angels, from aboue came many times to these,
 Yea *Ioue* omniregent leauing his heavenly seat
 Talkt with thē, men affirm, as they sate by their heards
- 110 Of them sprung valiant and noble nations,
 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie,
Paris sate with his flocke, in *Ida* redolent,
 When he was made a Iudge to *Venus* and *Iuno*,
- 115 And *Pallas* beautiful three mighty goddesses.
 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe
 Heardsmens antiquity and noble progenie.
Dauid sate with his heard, when as a Lyon huge
 And eke a Beare he slew, this little pretie swaine
- 120 Kild a victorious and mightie champion,
 Whose words did make a king & al his host to feare
 And he ful many yeares raign'd ouer Israell.
 Go to my merie Muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie.
- 125 *Moses* fed sillie sheep, when like a fiery flame
Iehouah called him out from a bramble bush,
 O what great monuments and mightie miracles
 In *Egypt* did he shew, and to king *Pharao*.
Iordans waues backe he driue, *Iordan* obeyed him.
- 130 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie.
 Angels brought (men afirm) to busie sheepfeeders,
 In fields of *Bethlehem* newes of a Sauieur,
 Before Magicians and noble Emperours,
- 135 Th'infant laid in a crib, *Ioues* mightie progenie,
 Mankinds ioy, life, and health cuntrie swains viewed:
 Cease now my mery Mnse¹ to tune vpon a pipe
 Heardsmens antiquity² and noble progenie.
- Fa.* *Damons* dittie is done, begin you *Thestilis* also,
 140 *Th.* Aide me, my pleasant muse, O *Pan* god musicall aid me.

¹ *Mnse* misprinted for *Muse*.² *Antiquitty* misprinted for *antiquitie*.

THESTILIS ODE.

A Stately scepter in a soyle most famous,
 Where siluer streaming *Thamasis* resoundeth,
 A Princesse beareth, who with euerduring
 vertues aboundeth.

- 145 ¶ With this pipe in her land, O muse, a famous
 Dittie recite thou: she deserues a Dittie:
 Her praises ecchoes do resound, and tel through
 euerie cittie.

- ¶ Nymphs from strange countries, water-haunting Naydes
 150 Leaue their faire habits, to behold her honour:
 We swaines thinke our selues to be blest, if we can
 but looke vpon her.

- ¶ In her land nymphs by *Helicons* fair fountaines,
 Make odes: on Citterne her *Appollo* ceaseth
 155 Not to extoll, *Pans* pipe by the shady mountaines,
 Her daylie prayseth.

- ¶ Abroad once walking with a traine like *Phebe*,
 They say that *Tytan* stood as one amazed,
 And as when faire *Lencothoe*¹ hee viewed
 160 on her he gazed.

¶ Then also *Iuno*, *Venus* and *Minerua*,
 Seeing her walking with a troupe so statelie,
 Each did her chalenge, she by right is mine, saith
 each noble Ladie.

- 165 ¶ She's mine, quoth *Iuno*, she's a Queene most royal,
 She's mine (quoth *Pallas*) sh'ath a wit notable:
 She's mine, quoth *Venus*, *Paris* her wil giue me,
 She's amiable.

- ¶ *Pallas* at this chaft, *Iuno* fretted and sware,
 170 In heauen proud *Paris* shal a iudge be no more,
 He loues faire *Hellen*, which he loues, he therefore
 beautie will adore.

- ¶ At which wordes Rose-cheek'd *Citherea* smiled,
 Her face besprenting with a sanguine colour:
 175 Then let *Ioue* saith she, be the iudge, thine husband,
 and noble brother.

- ¶ With al speed therfore, to the skies thē they posted
 And to *Ioues* chrystal seat in heauen approaching:
 Thus spake great *Iuno* to the mighty Lord and
 180 maker of each thing.

¹ *Lencothoe* misprinted for *Leucothoe*.

185 ¶ *Iupiter* hereat was amased and said,
To iudge this matter is a thing not easie,
But yet needs must it be resolued, or ye will
Fall out I feare me.
¶ My sister *Iuno*, thou my daughter *Pallas*,
190 And *Venus* kinned to me three waies,
She's not thine *Pallas*, *Iuno* she's not thine, nor
thine *Citherea*.
¶ But *Iuno*, *Pallas*, *Venus* and each goddesse
hath her in different, ' ye do claime her vainly.

195 This is my iudgment, sweet *Eliza*, Ladies,
shall be mine onlie.
¶ O what great and huge miracles *Iehouah*
Aiding, she hath wrought here, many yeares which prest vs,
From Romish *Pharaohs* tyrannous bondage, she
200 safely releas'd vs.
¶ Since that bright day-star shady night expelling,
Which hath brought day-light ouer all this Iland:
That *Moses* which her people through the sea led,
As by the drie land.

205 ¶ From craggie mountaines water hath she made
With *manna*, *nectar*, manie yeares she fed vs:
Thus hath she long time, noble *Ioue* assisting,
mightily led vs.
¶ O from what *Scillas* she preserued hath
From spanish armies *Ioue* hath her protected,
210 Thy force O Romish Prelate, and wiles hath she
wiselie detected.
¶ Her realme in quiet many yeares she ruled
Her subiectes saffie verie much regarding,
Punishing rebels, she reformeth vices,
215 Vertue rewarding.
¶ The plow-man may now reap his haruest in ioy,
Each man may boldly lead a quiet life here
We shepheards may sit with our heard in field, and
merilie pipe here.

¹in different misprinted for indifferent.

- 220 ¶ A Phoenix rare she is on earth amongst vs,
 A mother vs her people she doth nourish
 Let vs all therefore, with one heart, pray *Ioue* that
 long she may flourish.

- Faustus*, our Odes are done, you must giue reasonable iudgment,
 225 But speake as you think: who made best harmony, *Faustus*?

- Fa.* Ye haue pip'd all well, and I think, had sacred *Apollo*
 Heard you, he would haue praisde your tunes melodious also:
 But which of you made best harmonie, for me to tell you,
 Were but a needlesse thing, t'would breed but brauling among you
 230 Thē let this suffice, you haue al three pip'd very wel now

- Co.* Wel then I see you feare to offend this company *Faustus*,
 Had *Coridon* pip'd worst, *Coridon* should heare it I know wel.

- Fa.* Nay not so, but I loue to shun contention, I would
 Haue you agree, for if I should *Thestilis* harmony commend,
 235 You would at it chafe, and *Damon* also, so should I
 Get me surely two foes, but rather harke to my counsell,
 Lets to breakfast go, and lets drinke friendlie together,
 So this strife wil end, very bad is hatred amongst vs

Co. I am agreed. *Th.* And I. *Da.* And I will not say against it.

*Parcite Pierides, iuueni concedite vestro
 non Valet ad varios vnus arator agros:
 Musa vale, iuueniq; faue, dominoq; placere,
 & tibi, non valeo, Musa iocosa vale.*

FINIS

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CHAUCERIANA

I. THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS AND GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The subjoined passages in parallel columns show that Chaucer, in his *Book of the Duchess*, made considerable use of *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* by Guillaume de Machaut.¹ In a good many lines the resemblance amounts to a close translation.

It seems likely—since we find Chaucer using Machaut's poem for so many details—that the plan of the *Book of the Duchess* likewise owes something to Machaut. The scheme of *Le Jugement* is briefly as follows:

On a fine morning in spring, the poet wanders out into a park where there is many a tree and many a blossom. He sits down by a brook, near a beautiful tower, concealing himself under the trees, to hear the birds sing. A lady approaches, accompanied only by a maid and a little dog. She is met by a knight, who greets her politely, but she passes on, without heeding. The knight overtakes her, and addresses her once more. She apologizes for her inattention, remarking that she was buried in thought. They exchange courtesies, and the knight begs to know the cause of her pensive mood, promising to do his best to comfort her. He himself, he avers, is suffering from bitter grief. The lady consents, on condition that the knight will reveal the origin of his own sorrow. Accordingly, they exchange confidences, in the hearing of the poet, whose presence remains unsuspected.

The lady, it appears, has lost her lover by death. The knight's *amie*, on the contrary, is living, but has forsaken him. They dispute amicably as to which case is the harder. William reveals himself, and, at his suggestion, the question is submitted to Jean de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, who decides that the knight has the best of the argument.

Chaucer's meeting with the Knight in Black is reminiscent of the meeting of the Knight and the Lady in Machaut. Details of the conversation are imitated with some closeness.

¹ *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, publiées par Ernest Höpffner, Société des anciens textes français, I (1908), 57-135.

I wente and stood right at his fete'	502	Mais quant amis,	56
And grette him, but he spak noght,		Fu aprochiez de la dame de pria,	58
But argued with his owne thoght.	504	La salua.	60
		Et la dame, que pensée argua,	
		Sans riens respondre a li, le trespassa.	62

In both poems there are apologies for the unintentional discourtesy:

He sayde, "I prey thee, be not wrooth,	519	"Certes, sire, pas ne vous entendi	70
I herde thee not, to sayn the sooth,		Pour mon penser qui le me deffendi;	
Ne I saw thee not, sir, trewely."	521	Mais se j'ay fait	
		Riens ou il ait villennie ou meffait,	
		Vuëilliez le moy pardonner, s'il vous plait."	74
"Me thinketh in gret sorwe I you see;	547	"Triste vous voy.	88
But certes, sire, yif that ye wolde ought discure me your wo,		Mais je vous jur et promet par ma foy,	
I wolde, as wis god helpe me so,		S'a moy volez decouvrir vostre anoy,	
Amende it, yif I can or may."	550	Que je feray tout le pooir de moy De l'adrecier."	92
"Graunt mercy, goode frend," quod he,	560	Et la dame l'en prist a mercier,	93
"I thanke thee that thou woldest so,		Et dist, "Sire, nuls ne m'en puet aidier,	
But it may never the rather be do.		Ne nuls fors Dieus ne porroit alegier	
No man may my sorwe glade		La grief dolour	
That maketh my hewe to falle and fade."	564	Qui fait palir et teindre ma colour."	97
'The pure deeth is so my fo,	583	"(La mort) Qui a grant tort	196
I wolde deye, hit wolde not so."	584	Par devers moy, quant elle ne s'amort	
		A moy mordre de son dolereus mort."	198

Vss. 599-616 in Chaucer resemble vss. 177-87 in Machaut, but the resemblance need not be pressed. We may continue with really significant parallels.

"So turneth she [Fortune] hir false whel	643	"Et n'est estable,	1072
Aboute, for it is no-thing stable,		Eins est toudis changant et variable,	
Now by the fyre, now at table."	645	Puis ci, puis la, or au feu, a la table."	1074
"Good sir, tel me al hoolly."	746	"Dites le moy."	251
"Blythly," quod he, "com sit adoun;	749	"Moult volentiers, mais que vous m'escoutez,	253
I telle thee up condicoun		Et que vo cuer de tristesse gettez,	
That thou hoolly, with al thy wit,		Par quoy toute vostre entente mettez	
Do thyn entent to herkene it."	752	A moy oir."	256

The celebrated passage in which the Knight in Black tells Chaucer how he was devoted to Love before he became enamored of any

¹ Note that these lines are from another part of the poem. They are a part of the Knight's account of his lady's inconstancy. Chaucer has applied them to fickle Fortune.

particular lady, and how he prayed the God to "beset" his heart properly sometime, should be compared with two distinct passages in the *Jugement*, to both of which Chaucer is clearly indebted. One is a similar avowal on the part of Machaut's Knight (vss. 261-73), the other is a portion of a speech of the Lady's (vss. 125-33). Let us first compare Chaucer, vss. 759-77, with Machaut, vss. 261-73, italicizing the lines that correspond.

"Sir," quod he, "with first I couthe	759	"Dame, très dont que je me soe entendre	261
Have any maner wit fro youthe,	760	Et que mes cuers pot sentir et com-	262
Or kyndely understanding		prendre	
To comprehend (in any thing)		Que c'est amer, je ne finay de tendre	
What love was in myn owne wit,		A estre amez;	
Dredeles, I have ever yit	764	Si que lonc temps, pour estre amis	
Be tributary and yiven rente		clames,	
To Love hoolly with good entente,		Eins que mes cuers fust assis ne don-	
And through plesaunce become his		nes	
thral		N'a dame nulle ottolez n'assenez,	267
With good wil, body, herte, and al.	768		
Al this I putte in his servage			
As to my lord, and did homage;			
And ful devoutly prayde him to,			
He shulde besette myn herte so	772	A Bonne Amour	268
That it plesaunce to him were		Par maintes fois fu devoute clamour	
And worship to my lady dere.		Qu'elle mon cuer assetet a l'onour	
And this was long, and many a year		De celle en qui il fesoit son sejour,	
Or that myn herte was set o-wher,	776	Et que ce fust	272
That I did this."	777	Si que loange et gloire en receüst."	273

We observe that Chaucer has changed the order, so that his vss. 775-76, which correspond to Machaut's vss. 265-66, come after his vss. 771-74, which correspond to Machaut's vss. 268-73. We also note that Chaucer's vss. 764-70 do not correspond to anything in this passage of Machaut. In the other passage of Machaut (vss. 125-33), however, we find a striking parallel to Chaucer's vss. 764-70:

"Dredeles, I have ever yit	764	"Sire, il a bien set ans ou huit entiers	125
Be tributary and yiven rente		Que mes cuers a esté sors et rentiers	126
To Love hoolly with good entente,		A Bonne Amour, si qu' apris a ses	
		sentiers	
		Ay très m'enfance.	
And through plesaunce become his		Car dès premiers que j'eus sa congnois-	
thral		sance,	
With good wil, body, herte, and al;	768	Cuer, corps, pooir, vie, avoir et puis-	130
		sance	
		Et quanqu'il fu de moy, mis par	
		plaisance	
		En son servage.	
Al this I putte in his servage		Et elle me retint en son hommage."	133
As to my lord, and did homage."	770		

Thus it appears that almost every word in vss. 759-77 of the *Book of the Duchess* is accounted for either by Machaut, vss. 261-73, or by Machaut, vss. 125-33.

We may now pass to the account which Chaucer's Knight in Black gives of his first meeting with Blanche:

'It happed that I cam on a day Into a place ther I say, Trewly, the fairest companye Of ladies that ever man with yð Had seen togedres in oo place. Shal I clepe it hap or grace That broghte me ther? Nay, but Fortune, That is to lyen ful comune.	805 812	"Tant qu'il avint qu'en une com- paignie Ou il avoit mainte dame jolle, Jeune, gentil, joieuse et envoisie, Vins par Fortune, Qui de mentir a tous est trop com- mune.	281 285
Among thise ladies thus echoon, Soth to seyn, I saw oon That lyk was noon of the route; For I dar swere, withoute doute, That, as the someres sonne bright Is fairer, clerer, and hath more light Than any planete in heven, The mone or the sterres seven, For al the world so hadde she Surmounted hem alle of beaute, Of maner and of comlynesse."	817 818 822 826 827	Si en choisi entre les autres une Qui, tout ausi com li solaus la lune Veint de clarté, Avoit elle les autres seurmonté De pris, d'onneur, de grace et de biauté."	286 290
"I saw hir daunce so comlyly, Carole and singe so swetely, Laughe and pleye so womanly, And loke so debonaيري, So goodly speke and so frendly, That, certes, I trowe that evermor Nas seyn so blisful a tresor. For every heer on hir hed, Soth to seyn, it was not red, Ne nouthur yelw, ne brown it nas; Me thoghte most lyk gold it was. And whiche eyen my lady hadde! Debonair, goode, glade, and sadde,	848 852 856 860	"Car je la vi dancier si cointement Et puis chanter si très jollement, Rire et jouer si gracieusement, Qu'onques encor Ne fu vetü plus gracieus tresor. Car si cheveus ressambloient fil d'or Et n'estoient ne trop blont ne trop sor. Mais si dui ouell Furent riant,	297 303 312 316
Simple, of good mochel, noght to wyde; Therto hir look nas not a-syde, Ne overthwert, but beset so wel It drew and took up everydel Alle that on hir gan beholde. Hir eyen semed anon she wolde Have mercy,—fooles wenden so; But it was never the rather do.	861 862 866 dous, humble et atraiant, Et s'estoient clungnetant par mesure, Fendus a point, sans trop grant ouverture, Tout acquerant par leur douce pointure; N'a l'entreouvrir Ne se peüst nuls homs qui soit couverir Qu'en mi le cuer ne l'alassent ferir ¹ S' il leur pleüst, et pour euls retenir. Mais leurs regars	318 321 322

¹ Cf. also Chaucer, vs. 883: "But many oon with hir look she herte."

It nas no countrefeted thing;		Merci donnant par samblant, aus	329
It was hir owne pure loking,	870	musars	
That the goddesse, dame Nature,			
Had made hem open by mesure,			
And clos; for, were she never so glad,			
Hir loking was not foly sprad."	874	N'estoit mie folettement espars." ¹	330

Chaucer's Knight says that he cannot describe the lady's face (vss. 895 ff.). Machaut's Knight had given an elaborate description of nose, mouth, cheeks, teeth, and chin. Here Chaucer has deliberately departed from his model, and with good judgment. There is, however, still one reminiscence:

"But thus moche dar I seyn, that	903	"Mais a merveille	356
she		Fu sa couleur, des autres nomparelle,	
Was rody, fresh, and lyvely hawed;		Car elle fu vive, fraiche et vermeille.	358
And every day hir beaute newed.			
And negh hir face was aldir-best;	906	Tant fu belle, ² que je croy fermement,	397
For certes Nature hadde swich lest		Se Nature, qui tout fait soutilment,	
To make that fair that trewly she		En voloit faire une aussi proprement,	
Was hir cheef patron of beautees		Qu'elle y fauroit	400
And cheef ensample of al hir werk."	910	Et que jamais assener n'l sarroit,	
		Se l'exemple de ceste ci n'avoit	
		Qui de biauté toutes autres passoit."	403

Chaucer's phrase, "the noble yift of hir mercy" (v. 1270) occurs twice in the French poem:

Vous remerci	
Dou noble don de vo douce merci.	
—vss. 640-41.	
La merciay com vous avez of	
Dou noble don de sa douce merci.	
—vss. 669-70.	

The following parallel is sufficiently striking:

Our hertes wern so even a payre	1289	De nos deus cuers estoit si juste paire	166
That never nas that oon contrayre	1290	Qu'onques ne fu l'un a l'autre con-	
To that other, for no wo.		traire;	
For soth yliche they suffred tho		Ensois estoient	
Oo blisse and eek oo sorwe bothe;		Tuit d'un acort; une pensée avoient;	
Yliche they were bothe gladde and	1294	De volonté, de desir se sambloient;	170
wrothe:		Un bien, un mal, une joie sentoient	
Al was us oon, withoute were;		Conjointement,	
And thus we lived ful many a yere		N'onques ne fu entre eaus deus autre-	
So wel, I can nat telle how.	1297	ment,	
		Mais ç'a toudis esté si loiaument	174
		Qu'il n'ot onques un vilain pensement	
		En nos amours.	176

¹ In the punctuation of Machaut, vss. 329-30, I follow Höpffner's text. But Chaucer understood the French differently, taking "aus musars" with "par samblant." Probably Chaucer was right, and we should remove Höpffner's comma after "samblant" and put one after "musars."

² The subject is now the lady, not "couleur." In the intervening lines Machaut has given us further enumerative description. With vss. 361-63 of the French we may

Sandras has already quoted vss. 281-90 of Machaut's poem as the source of vss. 817-27 of the *Book of the Duchess*, but he credits them to the *Fontaine Amoureuse*.¹ He has also quoted vss. 166-67, 169-73 of Machaut's poem (with a correct ascription to "Jugem. du bon roi de Behaigne") as the source of vss. 1289-91, 1293-96, of Chaucer.²

"One might have imagined," writes Tyrwhitt of the *Book of the Duchess*, "that this poem, written upon a particular occasion, was in all probability an original composition; but upon comparing the portrait of a beautiful woman, which M. de la Ravilière [Poes. du R. de N. Gloss. v. BELEE.] has cited from Ms. *du Roi*, N° 7612. with Chaucer's description of his heroine [ver. 817, *et seq.*], I find that several lines in the latter are literally translated from the former. I should not therefore be surprized, if, upon a further examination of the Ms. it should appear, that our author, according to his usual practice, had borrowed a considerable part of his work from some French poet."³

The portrait of a beautiful woman which Tyrwhitt found in Lévasque de la Ravillière's note,⁴ credited simply to "Manuscrit du Roi, N° 7612," without indication of title or author, is a string of excerpts from Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*. It comprises the following verses of that poem: 281-82, 286-89, 297-322, 325-26 (substantially), 337-43, 348-400, 1234-38, 1249, 1253-55. Thus it appears that my results in the present paper have been in part anticipated by Tyrwhitt.⁵

compare Chaucer, vss. 939-47; and with vss. 364-82 of the French, we may compare Chaucer, vss. 953-60. In these two passages the resemblances would not be significant but for the parallels already quoted.

¹ *Étude sur G. Chaucer* (1859), pp. 292-93. Sandras adds "etc." to both passages, which shows that he saw further resemblances (cf. also p. 90). He remarks (p. 94): "L'éloge de Blanche est surtout tiré du ditié de *Remède de Fortune*" (p. 94). See also Furnivall, *Trial Forewords*, p. 47; Skeat, note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 805 (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 483). Cf. ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien* (1870), I, 7-8.

² Pp. 94-95. Cf. Skeat, note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 1288 (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 494).

³ Note on the Retraction in the "Parson's Tale," *Canterbury Tales* III (1775), 312-13.

⁴ *Les Poésies du Roy de Navarre* (Paris, 1742), II, 201-5.

⁵ Skeat is partly right in his conjecture that the verses quoted by Sandras, p. 293, as from the *La Fontaine Amoureuse* (we have found that they are really *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, vss. 281-90) "are, no doubt, the lines to which Tyrwhitt refers in his remarks . . . in a note to the last paragraph of the *Persones Tale*" (note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 805, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 483). On "Manuscrit du Roi, N° 7612," see Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, I, lxxiii.

The reader who is intimately acquainted with the *Book of the Duchess* will not fail to perceive that the imitations which the present paper designates, even when they are added to all that have been signalized heretofore, by no means discredit Chaucer's originality in that charming and generally underrated poem. If, for example, the whole description of the Duchess Blanche is compared with the whole description of the lost lady in Machaut, the freedom of Chaucer's hand comes out in the most striking way. For one thing, he has abolished the artistic formality of the French poet, and has given to the passage an appearance of artless inevitability that none but Chaucer could achieve.

II. "MAKE THE METRES OF HEM AS THEE LESTE"

The words of the God of Love to Chaucer in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, "Make the metres of hem as thee leste" (B, 562), have assumed a fictitious importance in the minds of Chaucerians. Clearly, it will not do to maintain that this permissive observation is either greatly or specially significant, unless we can feel sure that it is not a mere reflex of something that Chaucer had read. And that it is such a reflex appears, on the whole, rather probable. In fact, the line in question may easily be explained as a reversal of the injunction which the King of Navarre lays upon Guillaume de Machaut in *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.

Machaut, as we have seen, had made the King of Bohemia decide that a knight whose *amie* has forsaken him is in harder case than a lady who has lost her lover by death.¹ This was in the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, with which, as we now know, Chaucer was very familiar. Machaut finished the poem as early as 1346. Somewhat later, apparently in 1349, he began a palinode—*Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*—in which the former judgment is reversed. Machaut represents himself as accused of wronging the ladies in his previous poem.² The case is submitted to the King of Navarre, and is argued at great length. Machaut is found guilty on three counts, and the king passes the following sentence:

Il vous couvient, chose est certaine,
Faire un lay pour la premereinne

¹ See p. 465, above.

² See vs. 811 ff., 863 ff., 915 ff., and elsewhere.

Amiablement, sans tenson;
 Pour la seconde une chanson
 De trois vers et a un refrain
 —Oéz, comment je le refrain—
 Qui par le refrain se commense,
 Si comme on doit chanter a danse;
 Et pour la tierce, une balade.
 Or n'en faites pas le malade,
 Eins respondes haitiement
 Après nostre commandement
 De tous poins vostre entencion;
 Je fais ci ma conclusion.¹

There is a manifest resemblance between Machaut's situation in the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* and Chaucer's in the Prologue to the *Legend*. Both poets have offended in a similar way, and both are sentenced to make similar reparation. This resemblance alone, in view of Chaucer's fondness for Machaut, is enough to justify the conjecture that the plan of the Prologue to the *Legend* was suggested or influenced by the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.² But, quite apart from any resemblance, we have strong reasons for believing that Chaucer had read Machaut's poem before he wrote the Prologue. That he had read Machaut's *Fontaine Amoureuse* before this time has long been a matter of common knowledge.³ We now know that he had also read the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*. The last-named poem was written not later than 1346,⁴ the *Fontaine Amoureuse* between the end of 1360 and the end of 1362.⁵ The *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* appears to date from 1349 and 1350,⁶

¹ Vss. 4181-94 (*Œuvres*, ed. Höpffner, I, 281-82).

² The following passage in *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* bears a certain resemblance to the Prologue to the *Legend* (A, vss. 342-48; cf. B, vss. 364-69):

J'ay bien de besoingnes escriptes
 Devers moy, de plusieurs manieres,
 De moult de diverses matieres,
 Dont l'une l'autre ne ressamble.

—vss. 884-87.

Prologue A, vss. 326-32 (B, vss. 350-56) may also be compared with Machaut, vss. 827-38. But the argument does not depend on such resemblances, which may be accidental.

³ Since he used it in the *Book of the Duchess*. See *Sandras*, p. 294, n. 1; ten Brink *Chaucer: Studien*, I, 8 ff., 198 ff.

⁴ Höpffner, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, I, lix; Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, I, xli. The king was killed in the Battle of Crécy, August 25, 1346; the poem represents him as alive.

⁵ Höpffner, I, xxxviii-xxxix; cf. Chichmaref, I, li-liii.

⁶ Höpffner, I, xxx-xxxi, lxx ff.; Chichmaref, I, xlv.

that is to say, it falls between the other two. What we know about Machaut's manuscripts and his method of arranging his works¹ makes it all but certain that Chaucer found the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* and the *Fontaine Amoureuse* in a single manuscript, and that any such manuscript would also have contained the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*. Clearly, then—whether or not this poem had its influence on the plan of the Prologue to the *Legend*—nothing was more natural than for Chaucer to remember it when he was writing the conclusion of the Prologue, and for him, thus remembering it, to substitute for the stringent metrical orders given by the judge in Machaut a free-and-easy utterance "Make the metres as thee leste" on the part of the judge who settled *his* case.

These considerations are strengthened by a study of that extraordinary anonymous work the *Trésor Amoureux*, ascribed to Froissart, without good grounds, by Kervyn de Lettenhove.

The introductory part of this poem (or collection of poems) bears a general resemblance to the Prologue to the *Legend*. The author has a dream in which he finds himself in a beautiful garden where there are two splendid pavilions:

Mais tout ainsi que je pensoye
A ceste belle vision,
Il me vint en advision
Que je l'escrisoie en un livre
Pour en avoir mieulx à delivre
Remenissances ou retentive
Par memoire ymaginative,
Et disoie: "Je fay cy vers,
Lesquels ne sont pas trop divers,
Car ilz ne sont que coupletes
En fourme de lignes doubletes."²

—vss. 88 ff.

The poet is conducted into the presence of the God of Love, who is holding a court. Love takes him into his service, and observes with approval that he is writing an account of the vision.³ Love then gives him full instructions as to the making of the book. These include very minute directions about the different meters to be used.

¹ See Höpfner, I, xlv ff., and (especially) Chichmaref, I, lxxii ff.

² *Œuvres de Froissart, Poésies*, ed. Scheler, III, 55.

³ Vss. 508 ff. (III, 68).

Parmi ce que tu en as fait
 Seize cens couplettes feras
 Et en quatre pars les mettras;
 Ce sont quatre cens en chascune
 Partie de rytme commune.
 Entre les quatre pars espases
 Ara trois, se tu les compases
 Justement; et en ta premiere
 Espase, par bonne maniere,
 Des balades y veuil avoir
 Quarante quatre au dire voir;
 Et en l'espase du milieu,
 Que pour quarante n'i ait lieu;
 Et en l'espase derreniere
 Autel nombre qu'en la premiere.
 Des rondeaulz y veuil trente six,
 Justement entez et assis,
 Douze en chascun nombre des trois,
 Afin qu'il ne soit trop estrois.
 Douze balades estiras,
 Où les douze rondeaulz liras
 Quant tu les y aras entez.¹

It is quite possible that Chaucer knew the *Trésor Amoureux*,² and that, finding himself, in fact or fiction, intrusted with a commission somewhat similar to that of the author, he thought, with a smile, of the pedantic instructions given to his predecessor. This alone would account well enough for his representing the God of Love in his own vision as less rigorous in imposing metrical requirements: "Make the metres of hem as thee leste!"

However that may be, there is little doubt that Chaucer was acquainted with Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, and such acquaintance is all we need for our purposes. The author of the *Trésor* probably knew Machaut's poem; for everybody read Machaut. If Chaucer knew both poems, so much the better. If, indeed, it had actually become the fashion to say something about meter—then, best of all! Whatever hypothesis we choose to adopt, we are free at last from the necessity of contemplating Chaucer's line as a literary or biographical document of weighty importance.

¹ Vss. 734 ff. (III, 75).

² The date of the *Trésor Amoureux* is not exactly determinable, but there is no reason to regard the poem as later than Chaucer's *Legend*.

III. THE WIFE OF BATH

In al the parisshe wyf ne was ther noon
 That to the offring bifore hir sholde goon;
 And if ther dide, certayn so wrooth was she
 That she was out of alle charitee.

—Prol., vss. 449–52.

This passage is excellently illustrated by chap. 35 of Eustache Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. A woman is speaking to her son-in-law about his wife:

Et se moy et ses parens sommes
 A une grant feste au moustier,
 Elle me doit la compaignier
 Pour veoir qui fera la grande
 Et qui doit aler a l' offrande
 Devant ou moien ou derrain,
 Comment on se prant par la main,
 Et comment d'un autre costel
 On se flechist devant l'autel,
 En baisant l'estole du prestre,
 Auquel bout son siege doit estre,
 Comment on s'en doit retourner,
 Sa teste faire et atourner,
 Soy excusir d'offrir devant:
 "Passez.—Non feray.—Or avant!
 Certes si ferez, ma cousine.
 —Non feray.—Huchez no voisine,
 Qu'elle doit mieux devant offrir.
 —Vous ne le devriez souffrir,"
 Dist la voisine; "n' appartient
 A moy: offrez, qu'a vous ne tient
 Que li prestres ne se delivre.
 Certes l'en me tendroit pour yvre
 Et aussi bien sote seroye,
 S'en nul lieu devant vous offroye."
 La se tiennent lieue et demie:
 "Offrez.—Certes vel feray mie."
 Et au derrain va la plus grande
 Devant les aultres a l'offrande.¹

IV. "A FINCH EEK COUDE HE PULLE"

"And prively a finch eek coude he pulle" (Prol., vs. 652) was interpreted by Tyrwhitt as a proverbial expression. According to

¹ Vss. 3262–90 (*Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Raynaud, IX, 109–10).

him "to pull a finch" signified "to strip a man, by fraud, of his money,"¹ and in this erroneous gloss he has been followed by all the editors and by the *Oxford Dictionary*.² But, in the passage which includes this verse, Chaucer is not speaking of fraud: he is describing the Summoner's method in cases of fornication. And the context indicates the meaning of "to pull a finch" with perfect clearness:³

He was a kindly chap; there was no better comrade ["fellow"] in the world. For a trifling bribe he would allow one of his boon companions to keep a concubine for a twelvemonth, and then excuse him from appearing in the archdeacon's court. Indeed, on the quiet he himself could *pull a finch*; and he was always ready to explain to other good fellows of his own sort that, *in such cases*, there was no reason to fear the archdeacon's curse—for, if the fault were detected, a fine would settle the matter.

Obviously, *in swich cas* refers back to "pull a finch," and that, in its turn, is connected in thought with "have his concubin." To interpret the expression as equivalent to "cheating a greenhorn" simply destroys the continuity of the whole passage.

If the meaning of "pull a finch" is any longer in doubt, it may be settled by a reference to Michael Lindener's *Rastbüchlein*, where *federziehen* is mentioned as one of many "wunderbarliche setzamme nammen" for "das kindermachen."⁴ And if a genuine English example is required, we have but to look at the punning remarks about "byrdys" in *Piers of Fullham*, where one should read, "To helpe ete hem, rost[e], or pulle,"—that is, "to help to eat them, to roast them, or to pluck them."⁵ After this, it is scarcely necessary to refer to the gibe addressed to "l'amant discret" in various French songs which resemble the ballad of *The Baffled Knight*.⁶

¹ Glossary, s.v. "finch."

² S.v. "finch," 1; s.v. "pulle," I. 6.

³ Professor Child's pupils will not forget the delicately casual way in which he used to call their attention to the true meaning of Chaucer's phrase.

⁴ Ed. Lichtenstein, No. 1, p. 7.

⁵ Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, p. 127, ll. 6-11.

⁶ Child, No. 112, II, 479 ff. See pp. 480-82 for further parallels to this ballad, several of which contain the same turn.

Quand vous teniez l'alouette,
Il fallait la plumer.
Quand vous teniez la fillette,
Il la fallait baiser.¹

Quand on tenait la caille,
Il fallait la plumer.
Quand on tenait la fille,
Il fallait l'embrasser.²

Il fallait plumer la perdrix
Pendant qu'elle était prise.³

Mon beou mroussu, quand l'on la ten,
Fau plumar la gallino.⁴

V. CHAUCER AND "L'INTELLIGENZA"

Koeppel is inclined to think that Chaucer knew the Italian poem called *L'Intelligenza*.⁵ But the evidence, apart from the name

¹ Rolland, *Recueil des chansons populaires*, I, 28.

² Guillou, *Chansons populaires de l'Ain*, p. 102.

³ Bladé, *Poésies populaires en langue française recueillies dans l'Armagnac et l'Agenais*, p. 77.

⁴ Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence*, II, 92.

It is not denied that "to pull (or pluck) a pigeon" (or the like) often means "to cheat or strip a dupe." Besides the examples that have already been collected (Tyrwhitt, *Glossary*, s. v. "finch;" Skeat on Prol., vs. 649; *Oxford Dictionary*, s. v. "pigeon," 8b; s. v. "pluck," v., I, 6; s. v. "pull," v., I, 6), the following may be cited: "We wyll knowe who pulled the henne" (*A Pore Helpe*, vs. 251, Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, III, 261); "And these poor silly young birds are commonly caught before they be fledged, and pulled bare before ever they knew they had feathers" (Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny*; Arber, *An English Garner*, 1st ed., VI, 259); "Thou look'st like a poor pigeon, pull'd of late" ("The Three Ladies of London," Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VI, 319); "Then will relate how this great bird was pull'd of his rich feathers, and most finely gull'd" ("The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl," v, 1, Collier's *Dodsley*, VI, 389); "Was there ever green plover so pull'd?" (Ben Jonson, *Banholomew Fair*, iv, 1); "Pennyboy Senior: And what plover's that They have brought to pull? Broker: I know not, some green plover" (Jonson, *The Staple of News*, II, 1); "A religious house forsooth, where his plumes shall be well pulled" (Coryat, *Crudities*, 1611, p. 168, ed. 1776, I, 210). See also Molsant de Brieux, *Origines de quelques coutumes anciennes et de plusieurs façons de parler triviales* (Caen, 1874), II, 128.

But these phrases (as well as the familiar "to have a crow to pull, or to pluck, with one," in the sense of "to have a bone to pick," "a quarrel to settle") throw no light on the verse which we are considering. The summoner's functions are well described in the *Friar's Tale*, as well as the scope of the archdeacon's jurisdiction, and punishing "confidence men" does not appear in the list.

⁵ *Englische Studien*, XX, 156-57. Miss Hammond incautiously accepts the view that Chaucer used *L'Intelligenza* in *Troilus*, II, 19-21 (*Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, p. 83).

Analida (which proves nothing) consists only in the resemblance between the following passages:

Eek, though I speke of love unfeelingly,
No wonder is, for it no thing of newe is
A blind man can nat iuggen wel in hewis.

—*Troilus*, ii, 19-21.

E non si pò d'amor proprio parlare
A chi non prova i soi dolzi savori,
E senza prova non sen pò stimare
Più che lo ceco nato de' colori.

—*L'Intelligenza*, ed. Gellrich, st. 5.

The comparison has no force. The Italian author does not (like Chaucer) pretend to be an outsider in the affairs of love. On the contrary, he represents himself as a connoisseur and remarks that love is a subject that cannot be made intelligible to those who have not felt its charms. As to the blind man's lack of judgment in colors, that is a very common proverb, popular for centuries and of European currency.¹ It occurs, for example, in the *Confessio Amantis*:

The blind man no colour demeth,
But al is on, riht as him semeth (vss. 2489-90),²

and in Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, vs. 994: "The blynde man of colours al wrong deemeth."³ And the mediaeval Latin "*Cecus non iudicat de coloribus*" occurs as a marginal gloss in both Hoccleve and Gower. Later examples are numerous (as in Greene, *Ciceronis Amor*, 1589: "Thinke me not then so blind but I can judge of coullors"⁴), but need not be multiplied.

VI. "NO MAN CASTE HIS PILCH AWAY"

What shul thise clothes many-fold
Lo! this hote somers day!—
After greet heet cometh cold;
No man caste his pilche away.

—*Proverbs* (Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 407).

¹ See Haackel, *Das Sprichwort bei Chaucer*, No. 94, p. 29 (*Erlanger Beiträge*, VIII); Walz, *Das Sprichwort bei Gower*, No. 72, p. 25.

² Paull, II, 210; Macaulay, III, 15.

³ Ed. Wright, p. 36; ed. Furnivall, *Works of Hoccleve*, III, 36.

⁴ Grosart, VII, 143.

Cf. *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, No. 44 (ed. Tobler, p. 20):

Cil qui se desgarnist
 Dou sien, on l'escharnist,
 Quant il n'a mais que prendre;
 Tost va avoiers et vient.
 Mais hon qui honte crient,
 N'i s'i lait pas souzprendre.

Et par pluie et par bel tens doit on porter sa chape,
ce dit li vilains.

Fecunda Ratis, vss. 613-14 (ed. Voigt, p. 119):¹

Byrrum, si sapias, adhibebis sole sereno;
 Fac utrum libeat pluuvia independente, viator.

Voigt quotes *Proverbia Heinrichi*: "Byrrum sole ferat: licet, est si nimbus, omittas." The proverb is also well known in French and German.²

VII. "CAST UP THE GATES"

With that gan al her meyne for to shoute,
 "A! go we see! Caste up the yatis wide!
 For through this strete he mot to paleys ride."

—*Troilus*, ii, 614-16.

The reading *yatis* is thoroughly established by manuscript authority; but Professor Skeat (followed by Professor McCormick) rejects it, substituting *latis* ("lattice"), on the strength of Harleian 3943 (a very poor manuscript).³ He describes "the ordinary reading 'gates'" as "ludicrously wrong."⁴ But it is perfectly correct, and should stand. Cressid's household wish the porter to open the gates of her mansion in order that they may stand in the gateway (or go out into the street) so as to see Troilus as he passes. "Caste up" of course means "open" (cf. *dup*, and Ger. *aufmachen*)—a sense which the *Oxford Dictionary* seems to have missed. The following passages will suffice to illustrate this meaning:

¹ Cited by Tobler.

² See Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Proverbes*, 1st ed., II, 126; 2d ed., II, 174; G. Paris *Journal des Savants*, 1809, pp. 567-68; I. v. Zingerle, *Die deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter*, p. 99 (all cited by Voigt or Tobler).

³ I know of no other MS that has anything but *yatis* in some form or other. Professor Lounsbury's characterization of Harleian 3943 as "much the worst that has been printed" (*Studies in Chaucer*, I, 398) is richly deserved.

⁴ *Oxford Chaucer*, II, lxxii.

Leit down the bryg, kest wp the zettis wide.—[Blind Harry,] *Wallace*, iv, 483 (ed. Moir, p. 63).

Cast up my gates baith broad and wide.—Child's *Ballads*, No. 197, st. 2 (IV, 50).

Cast up my yetts baith wide and braid.—Child's *Ballads*, No. 300 l.10 (IV, 175).

Cast up the door.—Var. lect. in *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, ed. Hecht, p. 151.

VIII. "DREDE FOND FIRST GODDES"

The epigrammatic utterance of the skeptical Cressid, "Eek drede fond first goddes, I suppose" (*Troilus*, iv, 1408¹), is well known as a doubtful fragment of Petronius² ("Primus in orbe deos fecit timor") quoted by Fulgentius,³ and as occurring also in Statius, *Theb.*, iii, 661. Miss Petersen notes it from Holkot, *Super Libros Sapientiae*, lectio 164: "Petronius lacedonum: primus in orbe deos fecit inesse timor."⁴ It should be observed that Holkot's quotation is from some elegiac poem, since it is a pentameter, whereas in both Petronius (Fulgentius) and Statius the words (without *innesse*) begin a hexameter.

We may compare Peter Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, cap. 93⁵ ("Talis enim cum philosopho dicit: Primus in orbe deos fecit timor") and Johannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos*⁶ ("Quid aliud, ait, quam quod poeta Virgilius sentiebat: Primus, inquiens, in orbe deos fecit timor"). In Herbert's French version of the *Dolopathos* we find:

Virgiles dist outreiemant
Que si fait deu premieremant
Furent par grant paor troveit.⁷

Herbert's editors quote *Aeneid*, viii, 40–41:

Neu belli terrere minis; timor omnis et irae
Concessere deum.

¹ Not in the *Filistrato*.

² Frag. 37 Bücheler. See also Bücheler-Riese, *Anthol. Lat.*, No. 471, I (1894), 345.

³ *Mythol.*, i, 1.

⁴ *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 10), 1898, p. 116.

⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCV, 271 C.

⁶ Ed. Oesterley, p. 93.

⁷ Vss. 12,371–73, ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, pp. 413–14.

IX. CHAUCER AND GEOFFREY DE VINSauf

Tyrwhitt long ago identified the Nun's Priest's "Gaufred, dere mayster soverayn"¹ as Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and showed that Chaucer was acquainted with the lamentation for Richard Cœur de Lion in that rhetorician's *Nova Poetria*, vss. 366 ff.² Equally certain, though hitherto unrecorded, is Chaucer's use of Geoffrey at an earlier date, for the odd figure of the "hertes lyne" in the first book of the *Troilus* is clearly borrowed from the *Nova Poetria*.

For every wight that hath an hous to founde
Ne renneth nought the werk for to beginne
With rakel honde, but he wol byde a stounde,
And sende his hertes lyne out fro withinne
Alderfirst, his purpos for to winne.

—i, 1065-69.

This is an almost literal translation of the following lines from Geoffrey's poetical handbook:

Si quis habet fundare domum, non currat ad actum
Impetuousa manus: intrinseca linea cordis
Praemetitur opus.³

—vss. 43-45.

Chaucer, it is manifest, read *currit* (perhaps rightly) instead of *currat*; but he mistook *praemetitur* ("measures beforehand") for *praemittitur* or *praemittetur*—or else his manuscript was wrong.

Perhaps we may also recognize the influence of the *Nova Poetria* in the *Squire's Tale*. The knight who came with the steed of brass was a practised orator:

He with a manly voys seith his message
After the forme used in his langage,
Withouten vyce of sillable or of lettere;
And, for his tale sholde seme the bettre,
Accordant to his wordes was his chere,
As techeth art of speche hem that it lere.

—F, 99-104.

Pertinent directions are given by Geoffrey at the very end of his treatise (vss. 2024 ff.). He insists that tongue, countenance, and bearing should all be duly studied by a speaker:

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, B, 4537.

² *Leyser, Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, 1721, pp. 882 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 864.

In recitante sonent tres linguae: prima sit oris;
Altera rhetorici vultus; et tertia gestus.

—vss. 2024–25.

Vultus et gestus gemino condita sapore
Vis venit a lingua.

—vss. 2052–53.

The whole passage (vss. 2024–59¹) is well worth reading, though it is too long to quote. Chaucer's "chere," it will be noticed, is broad enough to cover both *vultus* and *gestus*.

X. "MARCIA CATOUN"

Professor Tatlock² argues against the derivation of "Marcia Catoun"—in the Prologue to the *Legend*³—from St. Jerome and thinks that Chaucer learned about her from Dante (*Inf.*, iv, 128; *Purg.*, i, 78–81). He takes Chaucer to refer to Marcia, the wife of Cato of Utica, not to "Marcia Catonis filia minor" (St. Jerome). I have no doubt that Mr. Tatlock is right in supposing that Cato's wife is meant, and that Chaucer had Dante in mind rather than St. Jerome; but Dante does not tell Marcia's story in the *Divine Comedy*.⁴ Besides, Dante does not afford the expression "Marcia Catoun." It is worth noting, then, that Geoffrey de Vinsauf has this very expression in vs. 1775: "'Dalida Sansonis' vel 'Marcia' pone 'Catonis.'"⁵ Geoffrey is simply giving examples of different turns of phrase, and has nothing further to say about Marcia. From his association of "Marcia Catonis" with "Dalida Sansonis," however, it is fair to infer that he means "Marcia, Cato's wife." Since the passage about the "hertes lyne" proves that Chaucer knew Geoffrey's treatise when he wrote the *Troilus*, there is of course no difficulty in believing that he had read "Marcia Catonis" in this same treatise before he wrote the "ballade" in the Prologue. Still, a common rule of grammar (for which the modern schoolboy's example is "Hectoris Andromache") may have furnished him with the form of his

¹ Leyser, *op. cit.*, pp. 974–76.

² *Modern Philology*, III, 368–70; *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 101.

³ B. vss. 252–53 (A. vss. 206–7):

Penalopes, and Marcia Catoun,
Make of your wythod no comparisoun.

⁴ He does tell it in the *Convito*, iv, 28; but there is no evidence that Chaucer was acquainted with the *Convito*.

⁵ Leyser, p. 962.

phrase. Possibly the association with Delilah in Geoffrey's line was proverbial in the schools—the good wife set over against the bad. It remains to determine where Chaucer read any account of Marcia's devotion. Was it perhaps in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, ii, 326 ff.—a very famous passage? Note, at all events, the following lines:

Da foedera prisci
Inlibata tori, da tantum nomen inane
Conubii, liceat tumulo scripsisse *Catonis*
Marcia.

—ii, 341-44.

Deschamps (*Miroir de Mariage*, vss. 5435 ff.) celebrates "Marcia, la fille Cathon." Perhaps Chaucer, after all, did not keep the two Marcias quite distinct in his mind.

XI. CHAUCER AND ALANUS DE INSULIS

The curious figure of a "Muse" conceived as "rusting"—in the *Envoy to Scogan*—is a reminiscence of Alanus de Insulis, though Alanus is not responsible for Chaucer's (half-jocose?) metaphor.

Ne thinke I never of sleep to wake my muse,
That rusteth in my shethe stille in pees.
Why! I was yong, I putte hire forth in prees.

—vss. 38-40.

Cf. Alanus' poetical preface to the *Anticlaudianus*:

Auctoris mendico stylum, phalerasque poetae,
Ne mea segnitiae Clio dejecta senescat,
Ne jaceat calamus, scabra rubigine torpens.¹

Note also the prose preface to the same:

Non enim timor [l. tumor] superbiae intus eructuans, ut exiret in populum, me hujus operis coegit ad fabricam, . . . sed ne meus sermo contraheret de curae raritate rubiginem.²

No one will forget the mention of "Anteclaudian" in the *House of Fame* (vs. 986) or the citation of "Aleyn in the Pleynt of Kinde" in the *Parliament of Fowls* (vs. 316).

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¹ *Migne, Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 488.

² *Ibid.*, cols. 487-88.

GERMAN PAMPHLETEERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I

DER GESTRYFFT SCHWITZER BAUR

Über die auf den folgenden Blättern aufs neue zum Abdruck gebrachte Flugschrift aus der Reformationszeit, welche nach Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II², 221, in Basel bei Gengenbach im Jahre 1522 gedruckt wurde, bemerkt Panzer, *Annalen*, II, 122, folgendes: "Der gestryfft Schwitzer Baur: Dissz büchlin hat gemacht ein Baur ausz dem Entlibûch, Wem es nit gefall der küssz iñ die brûch. Unter obigem Titel steht ein grosser Holzschnitt, welcher einen Landmann, mit einem auf einem Esel reutenden Mönchen, an einem Baum sich unterredent, vorstellt. Sie soll, wie in der *Hallerischen Bibliothek*, 3. Th. S. 72. bemerkt wird, wider Murnern gerichtet seyn. Dieses mag wohl seyn; aber dasz sie daselbst eine schändliche Schrift genennt wird, ist vollkommen vnrichtig. Vielleicht mag der Titel zu diesem Urteil Anlass gegeben haben. Die Schrift selbst ist, nach unserem Erachten, in aller Betrachtung lesenswürdig.

"Es ist eigentlich eine Widerlegung des Mönchen, welcher dem gemeinen Mann das Lesen teutscher Schriften als eine schwere Versündigung, in einer seiner Predigten vorgestellt hat. Die, im *Allg. Litter. Anz.*, 1799. Nr. 51. S. 510, unter dem Titel: 'Der gestryfft Schwitzer Baur' (1521) angezeigte Schrift, wird vermuthlich die nemliche seyn."

Die Schrift hat für uns in erster Linie sprachlichen Wert, daneben ist sie aber auch kulturgeschichtlich interessant. Sie betont die Abneigung der Kirche gegen die Anwendung der Vulgarsprache in religiösen Fragen. Luthers und der Reformatoren Verdienste um die deutsche Sprache werden dadurch in ein ganz besonders grelles Licht gerückt.

Was der Verfasser unter dem "gestryfft" versteht, wird ersichtlich aus den Erörterungen auf Seite B 2 v. Ein gestryffter ley 485]

wäre darnach die spöttische Bezeichnung der Mönche und Prediger für einen Laien, dem durch die Lektüre deutscher theologischer Schriften der Kopf verdreht worden ist. Diesen Vorwurf weist der Verfasser aber ganz entschieden zurück. Er will die Bezeichnung vielmehr angewendet wissen auf die Gleissner und Pharisäer unter den Schriftgelehrten.

Angenehm fällt in der kleinen Schrift das würdevolle Masshalten im Ausdruck auf im Gegensatz zu dem polternden und derben Tone anderer Schriften aus dieser Zeit.

Neuhochdeutsche Formen und Ausdrücke begegnen hie und da; im übrigen ist die Sprache noch ganz dialektisch alemannisch gefärbt.

Der Originaldruck befindet sich in meinem Besitze und ist identisch mit demjenigen auf der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin, Cu. 8808, beschrieben von Panzer, *Annalen*, II, 122.

DER GESTRYFFT SCHWITZER BAUR: DISZ BÜCHLIN HAT
GEMACHT EIN BAUR AUSZ DEM ENTLIBÜCH, WEM
ES NIT GEFALL DER KÜSZ IM DIE BRÜCH

Vff das jederman erkenn vnd merck war vff disz büchlin gemacht
sy / vnd vsz wz grund / so nemendt hie ein kleinen bericht.
Jn dem vergangen jor / Als man zalt. M. D. XXj. hat sich
begeben / das ein prediger münch hat geprediget in der
5 fasten in eim fläcken in dem schwitzer land / vnd hat aber
allwegen jn siner predig gerürt die gestryfften leyen / die do täglich in
den teütschen bücheren läsen / vnd gesprochen es sy ein verführung vyler
menschen / dann sy es nit können verston. Nun solich predig hat gehört
vnd flissiglich vff gelost¹ ein güter einfeltiger schwitzer Baur / der do vyl
10 derselben bücher hinder im hat / dar durch er täglich sein hauszgesind
vnderwyszt vnd lert / als dann ein jeden huszvatter zü gehört / hat dise
vnd ander me gethone predig zü herten genummen vnd gedacht. All-
mächtiger got / du bist allein ein erkenner aller herten nun hab ich doch
mein gesind neüß bösz gelert / sunder allein dz do dient zü der liebe
15 gottes vnd desz nächsten / vnd gesprochen zü sinem gesind. Hilfft mir
got das ich zü disem münch kum / so will ich doch von im erfahren vsz
wasz grund er hab das ein ley nit soll teütsche bücher läsen / vnd dar
nach sich kurtzlich zü jm gefügt / vnd im für gehalten als ir hâr nach
werden hören.

¹ Losen = horchen, aufmerken; Bayer. Wb., I, 1515.

By dem Münch verstand den falschen Propheten Balaam / vnd by dem Esel den geschryfften schwitzer Bauren.

EIN VORRED IN DISZ BIECHLIN

ICh armer vnwürdiger / vnflüssiger vnd sündiger diener Jhesu christi / Embüt den liebhaberen der Teütschen bücher / welche vnsz ziehen zů rechtem glouben / liebe gottes vnd erkantnusz siner gebotten. 5 Durch welche als vyl vnd vnsz mit den genoden gottes müglich ist / mögen theilhaftig machen der fröid der ewigen sáligkeit / minen grúsz in christo Jesu vnserem herren.

VSerwelten brüder vnd schwestern in dem namen Jhesu christi. Eüch ist zů wissen wie der hochfliegend adler / zwölfbot vnd 10 ewangelist sanctus Johannes schreibt iff ersten Capitel siner ewangelischen leer. In dem anfang was das wort zē.¹ Vnd das wort ist flaisch worden (verstand mensch worden geboren in dyse wált von der vnbelecten vnd reinen juncfrawen Marie / vnsz armen 15 sündler also zů erlösen vnd sálig zů machen (Aus dem wort das ist vsz christo dem brunnen der ewigen wiszheit) ist geflossen alle weisheit vnd verstandtnusz der heiligen geschryfft. Wár aber Jhesus christus nit geboren / so wár die geschryfft nit heilig genempt. Die wyl aber aller propheten leer ist erfüllt worden in dem leben Jhesu christi vnd ist ewiglich werend / vnd sich táglich alle fromme menschen dar von 20 mögen bösseren. Dann sie ist der wunniglich flusz desz wollustigen paradisz desz hohen hymmels der do durchfúchtet vnd fruchtbar macht yn disem jomer thal das wirdig Paradisz der helgen christenheit vnd christglóbtigen menschen / die sich dar von alle tag mögen besseren vnd lernen nach volgen vnserem lieben herren Jhesu christo / das ist vnsz 25 táglichen wisen / (Aij) die heylig geschriff / als es vnsz jetzund not ist vnd ouch nie so not hat gethon / vff dz der einfeltig mensch werde dester stercker in der vernunft / sich zů hüten vor sünden / vnd sich üben in der liebe durch ein rechten glouben / do mit wir dester basz mögen halten die gebot gottes. Dann die ewangelische leer / welche sunderlich 30 do genempt wirt die helge geschriff / welcher wir ouch in sunderheit schuldig sind vsz den gebotten christi an zů hangen vnd nach zů volgen. In welcher wir gnúgsamlich finden on alle glosz oder expositz / alles das jhenig das vnsz noturftig ist zů der seel sáligkeit / vnd lond eüch nit irren / das do ettliche eigengesúchtig / hoffertig / nydig / endchristist 35 prediger / múnch oder pfaffen predigen ein ley soll nit lāsen túsche bücher / als Ewangelia vnd andere meer der glichen bewerte bücher / dann sy mögens nit verstō. Vff solichs sag ich vnd halts festiglich / welcher christen mensch die wort desz helgen Ewangelis schlecht nach dem text lāsz vsz rechtem glouben liebe vnd zůversicht gottes / das dyser 40 gnúgsamlich verstand alles das jhen das jmm nutz vnd noturftig ist zů

¹ Meaning: etc.

siner seel sâligkeit. Vnd gloub das christus Jesus vnser sâligmacher
 ein jeden christen menschen/er sig wie schlecht er well/der ausz
 demût festem glouben/rechter lieb vnd zûversicht die wort des helgen
 ewangelis auch andere helge vnd bewerte leer liszt/dz disem gott durch
 5 sein grosse barmhertzigkeit verlich solchen verstand durch insprechung
 desz helgen geists/als hand gehabt die einfeltigen fyscher sine lieben
 apostlen/vnd nit dôrff dar zû der prediger/welche do wellen das heilig
 ewangelium vnd die helge geschryfft bewerren ausz den heidnischen
 geschrifften vnd philosophy. Als dann schreibt ein heiliger byschoff
 10 von Tolleran geheissen Theodoricus zû den brüderen Ryffi. O ir
 christenen männer wachen/hôrend vnd sind behûtsam/das tüwere
 hârtzen nit vmbgeben werden mit den betrûgnüssen vnd irtummen der
 Sophistry/vff das ir nit abzogen werden von der waren wiszheit (das ist
 christus iesus). Dann alle die/die anhangen den betrûglichkeiten vnd
 15 verfûrungen der Heydnischen leren bisz vff ir hôchst alter/sind nit
 allein zû straffen/sunder zû verschmahen vnd vnder zû trucken von
 allen menschen. Dann sie sind aller wyszheit beroubt/aller stanhaff-
 tigkeit oder stercke emplôsztvnd mit aller vnwiszheit geziert/vnd
 werden ouch yn jhener wâlt gleich mit den heiden geschetzt Aber so dise
 20 doctores sterben/werden sy innen ob sy die Aristotelisch leer/oder die
 wiszheit Platonis môg erlôsen von den henden der holschen hunden.
 Darumb minen lieben brüder keren etûch zû dem herren Jesu christo vnd
 zû siner göttlichen wiszheit/wann do ist nût süssers/neût fruchtbarers/
 neût heyligers/neût frôlichers/neût basz schmeckenders/neût sâligers
 25 dann die göttliche geschryfft stâts betrachten vnd bedencken. Wz ist
 sicherers wann die ewangelische leer fleissiglich zû leren Darumb ir
 allerliebsten erman ich etûch fleissiglich dz ir etûch wellen zû der waren
 weiszheit schicken so ir noch iung sind/vnd verlassen die falschen
 betrûgnissen der Sophisten vnd Poetischen gedichten/vff das ir nit
 30 fallen als Origenes/der do was von Seuero sinem vatter vnd Juliana
 siner mûter christenlich geboren. Als nun diser Origenes hat .xij. jor/
 ward er entzündt in semlicher² hitz der liebe gottes/das er jetzund
 bereit was zû disputieren vnd zû beschirmen christlichen gelouben oder
 darumb zû liden den todt. Verhiesz auch sinen brüderen wann sy wolten
 35 vmb christen glouben vnd vmb christo willen sterben/das ewig leben/
 das er ouch am aller ersten willig was zû thûnd wer der vatter nit dar vor
 gesin. Do er nun kam vff dz .xiiij. jor/ward er verschickt in Alex-
 andriam/do er in kurtzer zyt in allen künsten der aller durchletchttest
 doctor ward/vnd erfûr vyl Platonischer leer/dar durch er satzt die vffer
 40 (Aiiij) stendtnûsz desz flaisch wer natûrlich. Vnd das im auch die
 Aristotelisch leer liebet/satzt er dz ausz nûtz nût wurd vnd nût werden
 môcht/vnd beschlosz da mit dz die wâlt ewiglich wâr gewâsen/vnd
 kam dar zû innerhalb eins jars/das er kam in ein solche jrthûmb. Dz

¹ Samlich, semlich = eben solch, dergleichen; *Bayer. Wb.*, II, 276.

er leſignet die vrſtendi¹ Jheſu chriſti / vnd ſprach das imm ſacrament
deſz altars in keinerley wäg wer der lyb Jheſu chriſti / vnd kam imm dar
zû / das er wenig hielt von got dem vatter / minder vom ſun / aller minſt
vom helgen geiſt. Denen lieben brüder ſöllen ir nit nachfolgen. Dann
ſo bald ir eüch werden erheben in hochfart / gytikeit² vnd vnküſcheit / ſo
wirt von eüch wichen der geiſt der wyſzheit. Dann diſe göttlichen ding
ſind den wiſen dyſer wält verborgen / vnd werden allein geoffenbart
den kleinmütigen vnd demütigen. Nun lieben brüder hören wie ſanctus
Jheronymus ſchribt in einer Epitel man find das Origenes hab ſächſtu-
ſent vnd meer bücher gemacht / vnd geſetzt vnder ſinen irthumen / das
die vferſtendung deſz flaiſch neüt ſy. Auch witer das in den letzten
tagen / nit allein den verdampten ſunder ouck den teüfflen die do in dem
böſen verheret ſind got die ewige ſäligkeit well verlyhen. Aber als diſer
Origenes jetzund vmbgeben was mit todts nöten / verbracht er mit
groſſem ſchmärtzen vnd weinen diſe wort / We mir mein vſzerwelte
müter / die do hat geboren in dyſe wält ein erfarnen man aller geſatz
vnd rächten / vberträffend all ander / glycher wyſz als ein hoher thurn /
aber ſchnell biſz vff das ärdtrich zerſtröwt. Nim war der fruchtbar
boum iſt abgehowen. Nim war die lüchtende ampel iſt vſzgelöſt. Nim
war das geſtirn iſt von dem himmel gefallen. Nim war die ſunn iſt
verdunckelt vnd der mon gybt nit ſin liecht / wâr iſt doch der / der
minem haupt gâb das waſſer / vnd meinen ougen den brunnen der
träher / vff das ich meine ſünd möge beweinen. Weinen vber mich ir
prieſter vnd leſiten. Hülent über mich alle iunckfrowen vnd eeleüt.
Weinen vnd beweinen mich meine jünger die ich auſz der moſſen lieb
han gehabt / ſchlahen vnd verzeren minen lyb vnd werffen in für die
hund / wann ich vyl ſchnöder vnd böſer bin dann ſy. Dann do ich hab
ander wellen erlüchten / hab ich mich verduncklet. Vor zyten weint ich
vber Salomonem vnd bin vyl ſchnöder vnd böſer erfunden. Jch hab
auch geweint vber alle ſünder / vnd nemend war ein forcht gottes bin
ich worden. Samſon verlor ein zopff von hor / ſo hab ich verloren die
kron mines haupts. Jn betrog ein wyb / ſo hat mich min kunſt mit
miner zungen geführt in abgrund der hellen. Darumb ir kleinen mit den
groſſen zerträtten vnd zerknütschen mich vnwiſz thorecht ſaltz / vnd
rüffen vff zû dem vatter der barmhertzigkeit / das er durch den groſſen
verdienſt ſins bitteren lydens vnd ſtârbens mich wöll zû imm berüffen.

Nun ſehen vnd hören minen lieben brüder / wie dyſer hochgelerter
man vnd doctor / den vff dyſe zyt noch die chriſtlich kirch an vyl
enden ſeiner bücher halt vnd jetzund wider hârfür gezogen wirt betrach-
ten ouch die lange zyt die verſchynen iſt / dann er hat mit den erſten
doctoribus der chriſtenlichen kirchen gelâpt / vnd ſind Jheronymus vnd

¹ Auferſtehung.

² *Bayr. Wb.*, I, 958: geiticheit, giticheit = (1) avaritia, concupiscentia, Habgier, (2) ambitio.

Augustinus nach imm kumen / wie dyser hochgelert man so schwärlich
 betrübt ist worden / von der üppigen vnd verführlichen leer / do mit er ein
 böste zyt vertriben hat / vnd nit angehangen der ewangelischen vnd gött-
 lichen leer. Was meinendt ir wie es jetzund gestanden sy by .ccc. jaren vnd
 5 me / wie so vyl nūwer lerer sind vffgestanden / so vyl gschribenten /
 welche do haben geschriben vber die wort christi / die do ein jeglicher
 vszgeleit hat nach siner hoffart vnd gytigkeit. Jr hand gar wol gesāhen
 bisz har / wie sich vnser predicanten erblosen¹ hand so sie vff die kantzel
 sind kumen / mit grossem zerthānen² vnd lutem geschrey / als ob der
 10 heylig geist nummen wurekte wañ sy lut schruwen / hart vff die kantzel
 schlugen / vyl schmāchwort triben. Das hat sy Christus nit gelert / er
 hats ouch nit getriben / sunder miltiglich vnd senfftmtiglich das volck
 vnderwyszt. Aber das ist bisz har ir predig gewāsen / so einer hat sōllen
 das wort gots verkünden / hat er ausz dem ewangelio genummen dry
 15 oder vier wort / vnd die zū latin gesprochen. Dar nach in teütsch ouch
 gesagt / vnd glich dar vff begert ein gemein gebāt / mit anrūffen der
 iunckfrawen marie / das sy imm gnod erwerb umb ir kind. (Nun mer-
 ken wie hofflich er inher fart.) Disz sind die wort meins anfangs / vsz
 welchen worten fürter fruchtbarlich zū reden mag ich nit verbringen on
 20 sunder hilf vnd genad des almächtigen gottes. Dann kein mensch mag
 nützlichen volkommen / verfencklich vnd verdienstlich sein on erletū-
 tung der genaden gottes. Hierumb so hālfen mir anrūffen die hoch-
 wirdige himmel künigin die mūter gottes Mariam / die auch ein mūter
 der barmhertzigkeit ist / das die genad erwerb von vnserem lieben herren
 25 Jesu christo mir verfencklich zū reden vnd etūch fruchtbarlich zū hōren.
 Grüssen die mit dem engelschen grūsz. Aue maria.

N Vn hōren wie sie do begeren von dem gemeinen volck ein gebāt / vff
 das sy got vnd der heilig geist erleticht durch fürbittung der
 junckfrawen Marie vnnd verlassen aber die wort des heiligen ewangelis
 30 von stund an / vnd nemen für sich die natürlichen meister. Aristotelem /
 Platonem / Senecam. Desz glichen Schotum / den meister von der
 hohen sinnen zē. Disz sind ire helgen geist. Zū glicher wysz als kōnt
 man die wort christi nit verstōn / dann durch sy vnd ander scholastici
 doctores / dar durch sy dann die wort christi glichfōrmig machen einer
 35 wāchszenen nasen / einer der krūmpt sie har / der ander dōrt hin / der
 helt disz / der ander ihens / vnd machen dz arm volck zū gānsz. Als
 dann ein mol ein einfältiger baur zū mir sprach / mich bedunckt das die
 gelerten vyl grōsser narren syen dann wir / ich bin hūt an dryen predigen
 gewāsen / vnd hat keir das ewangelium vszgeleit als der ander. Nun
 40 han ich nie gehōrt das die ewangelisten ein misz verstand haben dar inn
 gehabt / oder einer die wort christi anders ausz geleit hab dann der ander.
 Vff solichs sprach ich. Jch gloub dz ein jetlicher nach dem er gnad hab
 von got die wort christi verstand. Desz wir gūte anzeigung haben

¹ Aufblasen.² Zetern.

Matthei am xvj. Do christus sprach zû Petro. Blût vnd fleisch hat dir das nit geoffenbart / sunder mein himelscher vatter. Wie könten aber ettliche die genod haben. Dann manche predigen meer das sy gesehen werden vor anderen / als mit grossem pomp / mit übung schöner gezier- 5 ten Worten. Dar wider ist Gregorius vnd spricht. Ein christenliche predig bedarfft nit hoffartiger noch gezielter Worten. Es sprechen auch Jheronimus vnd Richardus. Allein der dingen der wir gewisz sind / sollen wir predigen dem volck. Nun sagen mir an was ist gewisser dann das heilig ewangelium. Was thünd aber vnser prediger / sy land dz ewangelium fallen / vnd predigen von der höhe desz hymmels vnd der 10 fröiden dar inn. Ouch von der tieffe der hell vnd der pyn dar inn. Deszglichen von den selen imm fâgfür / wie die selben durch den ablasz gelediget werden (ich sprach gern wie ein hund der flöch) Doch hab ich in das nit vor übel. Dann wo das fâgfür nit wâr / wurden sie nit so vyl hoher ros z ryten / so grosz büch vnd feiszt backen haben / vnd sunst 15 von vyl zwýfelhaften dingen predigen sy auch / als do sy von disputieren inn den schülen / vnd ist doch ir endtlicher beschluß allzyt ein sufficit (das ist als vyl als kumpst vnd bringst (B) nüt) vnd lond das gewisz da hinden blibet / vnd weren vnsz armen leütén teütsche Ewangelia auch andere bücher zû läsen / vnd sprächen wir verstanden sy nit. 20 Wolt ich gern wissen was sanctus Petrus geprediget hât / do er so vyl volcks zû dem glouben bekart / anders dann das Ewangelium on alle glosz / vnd ward von allem volck wol vestanden (Was soll ich aber sagen / ein gûter boum bringt gûte frucht vnd ein böser böse) so aber vnser prediger ouch also weren / zwýfflet mir neüt ir predigen wurd ouch frucht 25 bringen. Solt aber niemandt predigen dann die doctores vnd die hochgelerten der geschryfft (in irem sinn) vnd solt sunst niemandts mögen die wort christi verstön zû siner seel sâligkeit / dann durch ir vszlegen vnd exponieren / so wurd der hunderst theil der menschen nit behalten.¹ Wo kemen dann die frummen leüt vff dem land hin / welcher priester 30 kaum können inen das ewangelium zû teütsch sagen / ich wil geschwigen zû exponieren. Deszglichen auch so vil hundert menschen an einer predig sitzen vnd kum dz drit wort behalten / solt denen teütsche bücher verboten sin zû läsen / dar inn sy mit der wyl möchten betrachten was inen gût wer zû der seel sâligkeit. Wâr es doch wider die wort christi 35 do er sprach. Wachen vnd bâtten das ir nit ingefürt werden in versuchung / dann der geist ist schnell vnd dz flaisch ist kranck. Christus hat ouch gesprochen Marci am .xiiij.c. am end. Was ich etlich sag das sag ich allen menschen. Was ist bâtten anders dann sich üben in gûten wârcken / als mit läsen vnd erfüllen die sâchs wârck der barmhertzigkeit / 40 vnd was ist gewacht anders dann sich hûten vor sünden. Nun spricht sanctus Hieronymus / so der mensch traurig ist / soll er sich üben in der

¹erlösen, erretten.

letzen¹ der helgen geschryfft / so empfacht er trost den imm niemandt mag genemen. Er spricht auch sie sy ein leiter desz himmels vnd ein spiegel göttlicher wiszheit / dar inn man billich sūchen sol das heil der seel / das ist erkantnūsz des hārtzens / vnd durch soliche erkantnūsz mag
 5 der mensch kummen zū göttlicher forcht vnd liebe / das doch die höchste kunst ist. Vnd sy mit gantzen begirden vnsz der herr geoffnet zū teütsch vnd in all sprachen. Als er vnsz verheissen hat durch den propheten Ezechielem / vmb das wir vnsz wūsten zū hūten vor den vorbotten / das sind die / die do weren der ley soll nit lāsen die helge
 10 geschryfft in teütscher sprach / darumb sie billich heissen vorbotten desz Endchrists.

N Vn das wir witer kummen vff die rechte warnung sich zū hūten vor denen die solichen rat vnd wāg desz heils zerstören vnd nidertrucken mit verspottung vnd ab dem rechten wāg wisen mit worten vnd mit
 15 wercken. Mit worten / das ist / so sie weren der frumm ley soll sich nit ūben in der helgen geschryfft / darumb das sy teütsch ist / mit disen worten wysen sy vns ab mit schlechtem vorbild / sy solten vnsz vor gon mit worten vnd mit wācken / als sy der herr lert imm ewangelio Matthei am. v. Nun hören ein clein byspil dar durch ir den verführeren
 20 dester basz mögen entgon / vnd eüch vor yn hūten. So ein bilger wil wandern von sinem vātterlichen heimat / ist min rot das er sich versāch vff den wāg mit geschūch vnd mit gewand vnd alles das imm sicherheit bringt / ouch das er imm vff zeichne vff einen zedel alle stāg vnd wāg der strosz do mit er aller gewissest mög gon den wāg do er hin begārt
 25 vnd nit irr gang / vnd wer es sach dz ein falscher brüder zū imm kem vff dem wāg vnd wolt in abwysen vff ein anderen wāg / so nām er sin zedel fur sich vnd besāh in wol / vnd lasz sich nit abwisen von sinem gūten wāg / vnd gedencck imm bald kein gūter weiszt ab von dem gūten / aber die gefallenen sehen gern vyl fallen / vff das ir fal nit verspōt werde.
 30 Nun lieben brüder mercken wer dise falschen brüder sind / die vnsz wellen hinderen oder abwysen von der rechten gots stras (Bij)sen / sind ettliche verlaszne / eyngengesūchige / vnnūtze hirtē / die kein liebe haben zū iren verirten schoffen / allein sūchen die woll vnd nit ir heil. Jnen wol zū lūden den vntrāglich burden / dar von der herr redt Mathe am
 35 .xxiiij. da er spricht. Sie legen vff schwere vnd vntrāgliche burden vff ire schulteren / vnd rūrens sys mit dem minsten finger nit an. Das sind die hirtē die allein ire wāreck thūnd / das sy dar durch gesehen werden von den menschen. Nun soll unsz nit bekūmmern ir thūn vnd lon. Ob aber die falschen brüder dir wolten din gewarsame / das ist din denck
 40 zedel der helgen geschryfft ab fordern oder nemen / das wūssen des rechchten wāgs vszrūten mit gespōt vnd abwysen / als dann geschicht so die selben verlasznen hirtē weren dem frummen leyen zū lāsen in dem

¹ Bayer. Wb., I, 1546: Letz, Letzen, Letzgen, Lectio, Lection; Aufgabe im Buch für das Schulkind, "Lesung" (Grimm, Wb., VI, 807).

rechten denck zedel der heiligen geschrift / vnd sprechen er soll gar nit
 teütsche bücher läsen / vnd nemen¹ in ein gestryffter ley. Das sind
 auch die hirtten von denen christus seit Luce am .xj. We etlich erfarnen
 des gesats / die do hand hin genommen den schlüssel der wyszeit vnd
 erfarnheit vnd sind selbs nit ingangen / vnd die do sind ingangen haben 5
 irs verboten. Also thünd jetzund vnser geschrift gelerten / sy mögen
 nit liden das ein ley läse tütsche bücher / dar durch er erkenn den wäg
 der ewigen sälligkeit / vnd verbietens täglich. Von denen seit ouch wol
 christus ihesus vnser behalter Mathei am .xij. We etlich schriben
 phariseieren vnd gliszneren / welche do beschliessen das rych der 10
 hymmel vor den menschen. Nun hat christus hie eygentlich vnser zu
 verston geben wär gestryfft geheissen soll werden der ley oder die
 gelerten der götlichen geschrift. Wär woren die gelerten desz gesats
 die phariseier vnd geliszner anders dann gestryfft. Jch wolt gern
 wüssen was ein glyszner anders wer dann ein gestryffter / der do eim 15
 zeigt wisz do es schwartz ist / vnd blow do es grün ist / vnd braun do es
 gäl ist. Also thetten die gliszner vnd phariseier ouch. Si verstünden in
 der geschrift vnd wusten dz Jhesus christus der war got was / vnd gaben
 den einfältigen das widerspyl für. Also thünd auch jetzund vnser
 gelerten / so sy schon wol wissen den rechten wäg des helgen ewangelis 20
 vnd der geschrift / lond sis nit dar by beliben / sunder zeingen vnser
 blow vnd wisz / grün vnd gäl / vnd machen mancherly stryffen vber
 die wort desz helgen ewangelis / hie mit Aristotelischer vnd Platonischer
 leer / dört mit Poetischen gedichten vnd Philocopischen argumenten /
 hie mit menschlichen satzungen / dört mit erdichten exemplen vnd mår- 25
 linen / vnd wirt die ewangelisch leer also gestryfft mit diser üppigen
 leer / das sy nit anders sicht / dann als das antlütz Jhesu christi / als er
 ausz dem hausz Pilati gieng / vnd ich gloub das vnser das ein figur sy
 siner götlichen leer / das sy ouch also vermoszget² sölle werden vnd
 vnerkantlich die ir nit wirdig sind. Jch gloub ouch das sy glichen lon 30
 werden empfohen mit denen die imm spuwten vnder sein antlütz. Disz
 sind die / von denen Petrus schribt in siner anderen Epistel die do ver-
 lassen den rechten wäg vnd nachfolgen dem propheten Balaam. Vnd
 zü gleicher wisz als dz Eselin Balaams in menschlicher stimm redt vnd
 verbot die vnsinnigkeit vnd vnwissenheit des Propheten Balaams. Also 35
 zü gleicher wisz jetzund die leyn stroffend die blindtheit vnd vnwissen-
 heit der priester vnd gelerten / die do verlassen hand den rechten wäg
 desz helgen ewangelis / vnd nachfolgen dem falschen propheten Balaam.
 Doch will ich hie nit gestrofft haben die frummen hirtten (der do wenig
 sind) Aber alle hirtten die do wissen wellen wie sy sich halten söllen 40
 gegen iren schäfflin die läsen Ezechielem am .xiiij. ca. so finden sy

¹ Nennen.

² Nicht in den Wörterbüchern. Wohl zu moschen = meischen zu stellen. Also so viel als vermischt.

clorlich wz christus von inen fordert / auch wie sy ire schäfflin sollen weiden in dem wort christi / nit in dem roub. Als dann christus selber inen hat ein exempel geben. Als sagt Johan(Bij)nes am .x. ca. Das ein gûter hirt soll setzen sin seel für sine schäfflin / als er ouch selb
 5 hat gethon. Nun ein gûter hirt sicht gern sine schäfflin feiszt werden / das ist zû nen¹ in göttlicher liebe wiszheit vnd tugenden gegen got vnd sinem nächsten. Er thût ouch täglich pflantzen die weid der verdorbnen schäfflin (das sind wir armen vnweisen) mit volkommnem lâben wie das geschicht oder geschâhen môcht / durch die helge geschryfft oder leer /
 10 vnd mit gûtem vorbild / das leider etstliche hirtten nit thûnd / von den der prophet seit als obstat / vnd sich zôigen mit iren Worten vnd wercken / als ob inen glich gult das alle weid / ist leer vnd bûcher verbrênt wurden / vnd inen nût dest minder ir nutz ingieng vnuersert. Als der götlich mund meldet Matthei imm .xxij. capi. Das sy für grosser
 15 schaden oder sünd achten abgang des opffers dann zerstörung des husz gottes vnd des altars. Nun durch sôliche vntrew vnd verlaszne hirtten ist not das der frumm ley es sy man oder frow sich selbs kôr durch den götlichen rat zû dem glantz vnd schyn göttlicher warnung / vnd sûch rat zû dem nûwen hirtten / ist der verstand der helgen geschryfft / gemelt
 20 in dem obgedachten propheten / den du witer hõren wirst.

§Hie hebt sich an red vnd widerred des Prediger Mûnchs vnd des gestryfften Schwitzer Bauren

ES hat sich begeben das vff ein zyt ein mûnch hat geprediget in einer stat ein gantze fasten vnd hat in allen sinen predigen vnd leer sich erzôigt ein hasser vnd benider aller der die tûtsche bûcher lâsen / vnd hats gar on als mittel für ein grosse
 25 sünd vnd irrsal vnd gar verworffen gehalten / als ob es kâtzery sy / desz ist bewegt worden ein baur der mit flysz vff sôliche siner verkerung gelost hat dz er im kûnd antwurten zû fûglicher zeit / als dann geschach als bald die zeit der Osteren kam / do fûgt sich der gestryfft schwitzer baur zû dem prediger mûnch vnd redt zû imm dise wort. Herr ir hand
 30 dise fasten etich hâfftig geûbt an der kantzel vnd grosz arbeit gehen mit predigen. Der mûnch antwort. Ja wolt got das die menschen sich alle gemeincklich dar von gebessert hâtten / so ruw es mich nit. Der bur antwort / Herr ich wôlt etich gern etwz frogen vnd mit etich reden on allen zorn / so es etich gefellig wâr. Solichs ward imm nach gelassen
 35 von dem mûnch. Do sprach der bur. Herr ir hand geprediget wir sôllent das gots wort behalten vnd vnser lâben dar zû ziehen / das wir leren lâben nach sinem willen. Herr so ist not das ich flisz an leg das zû behalten. Darff ich ouch vff schriben tûwer predig dz ich ir nit vergâsz / dann sunst zû behalten ist mir zû schwâr von vyle miner arbeit /
 40 so ichs aber in gschryfft het wurd ichs dester minder vergessen. Der

¹ Druckfehler für: nemen.

münch sprach. Du magst das wol thûn / wan ich nüt geret hab desz ich
 mich schemen. Fragt der Baur / ob er dörfft die geschryfft do heim lāsen
 vor synem huszgesind / das hab nit alle tag mögen zû seiner predig
 kummen. Antwort der münch du darfft es wol thûn / vnd dar durch din
 gesind vnderwysen. Dann ein jetlicher husz vatter ist schuldig sin
 gesind zû behalten in christenlicher übung mit allem flysz. Sprach der
 baur. Wann ich das thât so wurden ir sprāchen ich hât teütsche bûcher
 gelesen / vnd wer nach tûwer leer oder red vnrecht. Antwort der Mûnch.
 Du magst wol schriben vnd lāsen was du von wir hōrst / ist nit vnrecht.
 Dar ab sich der baur verwundert vnd sprach. Hōrr ich hōr wol das ir
 eüch vermāssen allein ein lerer der christenheit zû sein. Dann so hätten
 sich vnützlich geübt / der heilig sant Jheronymus / Augustinus / Ambro-
 sius vnd andere lerer / die do all roten man sōll flysz ankeren zu verstōn
 die helgen geschryfft / vnd haben niemand vsz geschlossen / als ir
 sprechen / der ley sōll nit bruchen in teütscher sprach die helge ge-
 schryfft. Ouch lert vnsz sanctus Paulus / das wir christen menschen
 sōllen durch die geschryfft leren verstan den willen gottes vnd dem nach
 volgen / die hand ir all tag gewert zû lāsen in teütscher sprach / vnd
 sprāchen aber ich dōrff wol etwē leer in teütsch lāsen / ir hand verkert
 vyl frummer menschen / die do vermeint haben vff soliche tûwer red / sy
 wellen nit meer teütsche bûcher lāsen / dann sy haben nit gewüst das es
 so vnrecht sy als ir sagen. Sie haben gemeint wann sie sich vyl beküm-
 merten mit dem lyden Jhesu christi / vnd von vnser lieben frowen / vnd
 allen heiligen / es wurd in bringen vyl andacht vnd götlicher liebe /
 dann durch erfahrung wachsz die liebe zû gott / wann sein by wonung ist
 stercken den geyst. Dann Christus hat selb gesprochen / wo man sein
 gedēck well er dar by sin. Vnd ir hand das teütsch so fast gescholten /
 als ob es dem glouben vnd götlicher liebe nit gezām / dar durch dann
 tûwer predigen meer schad ist dann nutz. Antwort der münch. Du
 legst vyl zû vyl dar vff vnd magst yn diner vernunft nit verstōn / darumb
 hab ichs geret. Der baur sprach. Jch leg nit dar vff hohe vnd subtile
 künst / als ir bruchen in den syben fryen künsten / die bruchen vyl sinn
 vnd arbeit nit all zû heil der seel. Der heilig Paulus lert vnsz nit
 glorieren in der zungen / sunder zû buwen vnd stercken den geist in der
 kilchen. Jr thûnd gelych als der vntrew hirt tût / so er sicht dz sine
 schaff gond in gûter weid / so vertrit ers mit sinen füssen. Jch mûsz
 euch witer fragen vnd bit eüch ir wellen nit zûrnen. So ir priester nun
 teütsche sprach gar verachten / als ob sy der vernunft nit gemāsz sy /
 vnd ouch der göttlich will vor dem leyen sōll beschlossen sin. Frag ich
 eüch / do got der vatter den ersten menschen Adam beschûff / ob er in
 nit volkummenlichen hab beschaffen mit siner vernunft von stund an die
 zû brauchen vnd zû offenbaren in einer natürlichen sprach. Antwort
 der münch. Got der vatter hat Adam also volkummenlich beschaffen

mit solicher vernunft vnd erkantnisz als sunst keinen menschen der ye
 geboren ward. Fragt der baur / hat nun got den Adam so vollkommen
 beschaffen vnd geben in siner vernunft ein sprach sy zû offenbaren
 sinem somen in ewigkeit / so halt ich / so doch got imm in siner sprach
 5 hab erloubt die vernunft zû bruchen vnd zeûben / so sy es dem leyen
 nit so vnrecht als irs achten. Antwort der mûnch. Du hast aber nit
 in diner vernunft vnd ûbung / das du môgest verston hoch vnnnd subtile
 ding. Der baur sprach. Mag ich aber nit verstan als vyl als Petrus/
 Andreas die do gût einfältig fischer sind gewâsen / welcher vernunft
 10 vnd verstand sy gefûrt hat in die hôhe desz hymmels / so zû fôrchten
 ist das die subtilikeit vyler hochgelerten doctoribus sy hab gefûrt in
 abgrund der hollen. Antwort der mûnch. Jo du magst als vil verston
 als Petrus / so dir got die gnod thût. Sprach der baur. Der gnoden
 gottes müssen wir all gelâben. Jch begâr nit zû studieren in den syben
 15 fryen kûnsten / das ich sûch ist göttliche lieb / vnd erfahrung sines willens.
 Der mûnch frogt den bauren / ob man auch machte doctores in der
 teütschen sprach. Antwort der baur. Es ist war in teütscher sprach
 macht man kein doctor / Aber in der latinischen sprach krönt man vyl
 esel vsz der tâschen on erfahrung desz geist mit grosser hoffart / nit in
 20 solicher demût als vnsz Paulus lert. Nun hören wie Augustinus schrybt
 in einer epistel zû Valentio wie der christenlichen lerer lâben soll sin /
 vnd spricht also. Vnsere lâben soll sin ein spiegel aller menschen / vnd
 ein liecht in der leer des gloubens vnd der warheit / das wir nit allein
 verglicht werden der sunnen sunder auch dem gantzen gestirn. Vnd
 25 zû gleicher wysz wie sich ein schyffman regiert durch das gestirn das er
 môg kummen zû einer heylsamen porten. Also zû gleicher wysz sollen
 wir armen einfeltigen ouch regiert werden durch (C) vnserre geschrift
 gelerten vnd vnserre hirten. Solten wir aber nachfolgen iren gûten
 wârcken vnd gûtem exempel / fôrcht ich wir wurden kein heilsame pfort
 30 erlangen / sunder in ein wûsten stinckenden hafen faren. Aber wie ire
 wârck / das sind ire stârnen leüchten (ich jech gern wie ein träck¹ in eir
 laternen) Also gesehen wir armen einfeltigen schâfflin / dann wenig
 göttlicher kunst ist by inen zû sûchen / ich wil geschwigen ein geistlich
 vorbild zû tragen dasz sie schuldig sind by irem ampt. Jch mein ob ein
 35 solicher blind wurd / er lit dz in ein ley fürte als me beschâhen ist. Als
 dann die helge junckfraw Katherina mit der göttlichen kunst vberwand
 zwen vnnnd fünfzig hochgelerter männer / die mit grossem pomp gestu-
 diert hatten. Es ist nit alle kunst der wâg in das hymmelrych / darumb
 ich hoff der gloub mit der liebe sy vber all kûnst vnd die wore thelogy.
 40 Als vnsz das christus an vyl orten anzeigt. Solt dann der gloub göt-
 liche lieb vnd erfahrung götlichs willens nit geûbt werden / besorg ich es
 wurden wenig lût behalten. Hat der mûnch gesprochen. Jch hab

¹ = Sordes, excrementum, coenum; Wachter, *Glossarium Germanicum*, 304.

besorgt du wurdest dich annemen hohe vnd schwere ding zû erfaren
darumb ich das hab geret / vnd hab nit gemeint dz selbs gewachsne
vernunft wurd so vyl erkantnusz vberkommen. Der baur Antwort.
Die wil du mich ye fatzen¹ wilt. Sprich ich das Paulus mir vnd dir
verbüt hohe ding zû erfaren / sunder sollen wir allwegen inn der forcht 5
gots ston. zû den Rômeren am .xj. ca. Auch so ist got ein begaber vnd
teilt ausz eim jetglichen nach siner noturfft als Paulus spricht. Sicht
nit an die person / sähen wir wol in den einfeltigen leyen die er hat
genummen zû zûgen desz christenlichen gloubens / vnd nit die erfarnen
der geschriff die allzyt hung² mischen mit gyfft. Darumb lieber brüder 10
wundert mich nit dz der vngotzförchtig priester ist hassen das läsen der
helgen geschryfft in siner sprach / wann göttliche kunst hat dry fyent.
Der erst ist hochfart / des läbens. Der ander / wollust desz lybs. Der
drit tragkeit des gemüts vnd erkaltung göttlicher lieb. Durch dise dry
wirt verstanden der hasz von den gedachten hirtten über die leyen / vnd 15
hand forcht der ley erfar dz nit gnûg thûn der oberen irem ampt. Dann
wo die dry fient hōrschen in den obren / so hat mangel der ley. Dann
wann von inen geübt wurd die liebe irer vnderthon / vnd geoffenbart
wurd die liebe ires nächsten. Do von Paulus wol schrybt zu den
Rômeren am ersten .ca. So wurd vns leyen nit verbünstiget³ zû erfaren 20
die helgen geschriff dar vsz der gloub / die hoffnung vnd die liebe
gezwiget⁴ wirt / wann on die dry stafflen mag niemandt behalten werden.
Darumb ist not brüderliche liebe / das ein jetlicher mensch dem anderen
vnderwysung gāb als obstat. Der mūnch sprach. Jch mūsz witer mit
dir reden / mir gefalt wol din red vnd der verstand / aber eins gefalt mir 25
nit / das du so vil emblōst vnd vff thūst das laster der oberkeit / vnd in
doch der gwalt ist geben von got / gezimpt dir nit sy also zû straffen.
Antwort der baur. Herr ich gedacht eūch witer zû bewegen. Jst nit
wor / wann einer gewalt hat der lat in nit so lichtlich. Darumb so frag
ich eūch ob der gewalt aller sy geben von got. Antwort der mūnch ja. 30
Der baur. So hōr ich wol / das der vnrecht vnd der gerecht sind glich
in eūch gefestiget. Dz gloub ich nit. Dann do vnser herr jesus Petro
die schlüssel gab zû binden vnd entbinden / hat er imm nit empfolhen
den zû verkouffen vmb gelt vnd dz vppiglich verthūn / als es dann leider
jetz geschicht. So ich aber den ewangelisten vnd zwōlffbotten Mattheum 35
lizz inn siner ewangelischen leer im .x. capitel. So hat der herr
gesprochen / vergābens haben irs empfangen (das ist vsz gnod) vergeben
sollen irs ouch wider hyn geben. Dz lasz ich jetzund rūwen / aber ich

¹ Bayer. Wb., I, 780: durch Scherz und possenhafte Rede jemand zum Besten haben oder ärgern; Grimm, Wb., III, 1363 ff.

² Hung = Honig.

³ Nicht bei Grimm. Verbünstig adj. misgünstig, neidisch. verbünstigen also = misgönnen.

⁴ Mnd. zwigen, swo: (a) pfropfen, (b) Zweige treiben, (c) erhören. Hier etwa gleich stärken, nähren.

- müsz etlich ein glichnusz sagen. So ein gantze gemein in einem dorff oder in einer stat einen hirtten zû dem vych bestelt zû hûten vnd (Cij) dinget¹ imman er soll das fych mit trûwen weiden das es bald feisz² wârd / vnd so sich etwas zyt verloufft / vnd die gemein sicht das / das fych nit
- 5 zû nimpt / sunder mager wirt / klagens sie dem obern / der selbig oberer ret dann mit dem hirtten von wegen der gemein / dz er das fych basz weide oder er müsz vrloub han. Dise trôwung thût ouch gott der vatter zû den hirtten durch Ezechielem spricht also. Jch wil etlich heissen vffhören / das ir fürbasz nit meer werden hûten miner schâfflin. Darumb
- 10 lieber herr verston ich das der vnrecht gewalt nit so sicher geordnet ist als der gerecht / und aller zytlicher gewalt ein end nimpt. Der mûnch sprach. Ob aber sôliche widerspânigkeit³ geschâch von schlechten vnweisen durch grobkeit vnd nit ausz eim solchen grund / was bedunckt dich. Der baur antwort. Jch hör leider dz deren so vil sind
- 15 die do betrûben vnd vertrâten die rechte ewangelische leer / aber wenig sind der die bekûmmern well das abfallen in geistlichen dingen / das ich besorg es müsz der vnschuldig der schuldigen engelten als vor meer ist beschâhen. Der Mûnch: Es ist war / ich hör wol dz noch nit vffhören ist zû studieren so die leyen also weit sûchen. Der baur.
- 20 Gespôt mag ich liden / aber göttliche kunst zû üben vnd danach zû lâben / bringt vnsz alles heil der seel vnd lybs / dann wo sy recht gebraucht wirt in göttlicher lieb / nit zû rûm vnd zû grosser glory der zungen als Paulus schribt / man sôll nit glorieren aber buwen die christenlich kirch. Vnd wâr die liebe nit hat / der ist ein hasser der
- 25 helgen geschryfft sie sy latin oder teütsch / dann sie wirt nit gewert von den liebhaberen gottes / dann das reich gottes ist nit geteilt in imm selber spricht got / wann wer got volkommenlich lieb hat / es sy in latin oder teütsch / ist imm gût. Wie wol das ettliche vngotzffôrchtigen weren mit gespôt vnd falschen argumenten / vnd ist ir forcht dz der ley vernem ir
- 30 üppigkeit als obstat vnd werentz vor den schlechten lûten als ob sy es in gûtem thûnt / vnd sprechent der ley môgs nit verstan / wir sôllen schlechlich lâben vnd einfeltig sein / als vnsz Paulus leer im andern bûch zû den Corintheren das wir sôllen einfältiglich wandlen / vnd wissen die esel aber nit das ers den gestriiften verführeren vor geprediget hat / die do die
- 35 leer christi vnd pauli verachten vnd für ein tandtmâr⁴ halten / vnd wellen got sine vrteil vnd willen ab errotten vnd den einfeltigen da mit blenden. Warumb thûnd sie aber das / allein darumb das der ley nit verstand wo mit sie vmbgangen vnd ir üppigkeit nit an tag kumm / do durch sy dann vyl frummer hârtzen zerstören vnd ire gûten schâfflin gantz vnd gar irr
- 40 machen / vnd ist das die grôste irrung dz sy inen verbieten die helge geschriff in teütsch lâsen / die doch vnsz allen den rechten wâg zeigt / die gûten weid die vnsz erlernen ist an der seel / vnd das gût wasser das

¹ Dingen = bestimmen, festsetzen.² Feisz = fett.³ = Ungehorsam, Auflehnung.⁴ Posse, Lüge.

vnsz laben ist. Als anzeigt der Prophet Ezechiel / do er spricht. Wee
 etlich hirten an der seel / ir weiden etlich selber / wo werden dann geweidet
 mine schäfflin / dz ist dz gemein volck. Vnd meer spricht er. So ich
 inen zeig die guten weid / so verträten irs mit tüweren füßen. Das ist
 so er vnsz offenbart die helgen geschrift / vnd sy es weren zû läsen / ist 5
 das verträten die fruchtbarlich leer vnd vnderwysung. Vnd weren also
 das güt vnd zeigend das bösz mit iren wercken / das ir vorbild schier ist
 ausz dörren vnd erkelt den glouben vnd göttliche lieb in dem
 schlechten volck. (Dann es ietz ein sprüchwort ist / wer es als sy sagen
 sie thätten es nit selber) Vnd in dem selben trüben wasser werden dann 10
 getrenckt die armen schäfflin. Darumb spricht wol der herr durch den
 propheten. Ich will etlich heissen vffhören / das ir fürbasz nit me sollen
 weiden mine schäfflin / vnd will sy ziehen von tüweren handen / vnd will
 inen erquicken einen nütwen hirten Daud minen knecht / vnd nempt in
 sinen knächt auch sinen sun / dar vmb dz der güt Daud mit kraft (Cij) 15
 sines gemüts hat sich erkant mit volkommnem rüwen / vnd mit allen sinen
 krefftigen göttliche liebe yn imm selbs vff gepflantz / desz hat in erwelt
 Jesus vnser erlöser / das von sinem geschlecht solt geboren werden der
 nütw hirt christus / vnd alle die imm nachfolgen / sind die schäfflin die
 do gehören in das rych der hymmlen / me so verstond den grossen ernst 20
 vnd flysz desz helgen Daudts den er täglich hat angekert mit begird vyl
 zû lernen vnd zû wissen den willen gots. Darumb so hoff ich mir sy nit
 sünd ouch vyl zû erfahren der guten vorgenger / er bit ouch got den
 vatter vyl in sinen psalmen vmb leer und vnderwysung vnd erkantnusz /
 dz hat er alles gethan in siner eignen sprach. Darumb mein ich / mein 25
 sprach die mit mir auff gewachsen ist / sy mir wäger¹ dann ein andere /
 dann die angeborne sprach ist allwegen behärtziger. Wår sy aber so
 arg als die verachten vor genempt / so wer Daud nit so volkommenlich
 verhört Wann sine wort die er gebraucht hat zû bitten / loben vnd zû
 dancken / sind alle dem gemeinen menschen vnergründtlich. Darumb 30
 wer da spricht dz die natürlich sprach schad sy dar inn zû erfahren das
 gots wort / säch an den helgen Daud / vnd volg nup fürbasz dem helgen
 Paulo der vnsz vyl mol lert in sinen sendbrieffen / vnd sunderlich spricht
 er zû den Corinthiern. im .xiiij. ca. Der nit weisz vnd nit wissen wil /
 den wirt got in sinem rych nit wüssen / wann er erzeigt sich sein der 35
 vnfruchtbar boum / vnd den knecht der dem herren wider gab sin pfund
 vnd das nit braucht in sinen gewin. Darumb welcher seim herren fyend
 ist achtet nit vyl siner eren. Dar by ist wol zû mercken vyl zû fragen
 nach güter leer ist ein wares zeichen göttlicher liebe / wirt wol verstanden
 durch den helgen iohannem do er spricht. Wår vsz got ist der hört gern 40
 das gots wort / vnd wår gern dz gots wort hört es sy imm läsen oder an
 der predig der hat got lieb / vnd wår got lieb hat der blibt in got vnd
 got in imm. Nun als ich vor hab gemeldet / dz götliche kunst hab dry

¹ lieber.

fiend mit vyl anhangs di do weren vnd niderlegen das es volkommen-
 lichen geprediget wirt/das doch ein jeder hirt oder pfarrer solt thûn
 an eim suntag oder gebannen¹ fyrtag/vnd sôllen wir das hôren by einer
 todt sünd/vnd sind disz die zwen fyend. Der erst ist der bauren
 5 hochfart. Der ander der pfaffen gytigkeit Der baur hôt gern das man
 im offenbar sin gûthât vnd sein hochfart/ So hylft der gydt des pfaffen
 das thûn vmb das imm die presentz werd/vnd sùcht táglich darin
 sinen nutz. Wie wol durch sùchung eigens nutz vyl rich zerstôrt sind
 worden. Ist wol schein gewâsen by den gliszneren vnd schribere vnd
 10 ir oberkeit. Hâtten sy nit besorgt abgang des zeitlichen gûts/gewalt
 vnd eren/christus wâr von inen nit getôdt worden. Dar von ret
 christus wol Matthei. im .xxiiij. do er die acht We vber sy schribt.
 Wie meinend ir aber jetzund wann die leer Martini Luters inen nit
 schaden brâcht an gewalt/eren/imm seckel/kâller vnd in der kuchin/
 15 sie wurden nit vyl dar wider reden/wurden ouch vnsz nit verbeiten
 teütsche bûcher lâsen. Jnen wurd glich gelten ob wir nûmmer bychten/
 mâsz oder predig horten. Der bapet nem gâlt vnd liesz als noch/als er
 dann biszhar gethon hat/vergeben zûkûnfftige sünd. Dise sind nit
 hirten als Dauid gewesen ist/der do nit hat gesùcht sin eignen nutz
 20 sunder grossen flisz an gekôrt wie er allzyt môg woll gefallens thûn got
 dem herren/vnd allzyt grossen rûwen gehabt über sine sünd/vnd sinem
 find gûts umb arge gethon. Darumb in dann got erhôcht hat vnd im
 geben vernunft/wiszheit/gûd vnd eer/vnd zû imm gesprochen/du
 bist mein sun ich hab dich hût geboren. Darumb so Dauid in siner
 25 eignen sprach so hoch erleûcht ist/bin ich in hoffnung mir sôll mein
 eigne sprach nit verboten sin noch geleidet/dann ich erkenn das allein
 dz hârtz mit gott redt durch gnod/vnd durch vil ûbung mit lâsen/so
 wachs ouch etwas witer erkantnûsz/das ich durch sôliche erkantnûsz
 môcht kummen zû warer liebe/durch die in ein waren rûwen/vnd als
 30 göttliche liebe sterckt den geist/so mag ich dester basz kûmme zû
 einem bûszfertigen lâben/desz helff vnsz allen got.

NVn ist mein rat dz der genante ley sich nit lasz ab triben ab der
 helgen geschriff/so sy doch vnsz allen verheissen ist/als ir
 wol gehôrt haben von dem propheten Ezechiele in dem .xxiiij.
 35 capitel. Witer so der mensch wil bald kummen zû warer lieb/
 so ûb er sich stâts in göttlicher leer/vnnd hab ein festen glouben vnd
 vertruwen in got vnd in sin wirdige mûter Maria. Dann Christus lert
 vnsz durch den helgen zwôlffbotten vnnd ewangelisten Johannem. jm .iiij.
 capitel. Welcher vsz got ist der hôt gern von got reden. Witer spricht
 40 Mattheus. Wo zwen oder dry sind versamlet in minem namen/bin ich
 mitten vnder in. Darumb lassen eûch nit bekûmmere/das die hassere
 der teütschen bûcher/welche vnsz wisen den rechten wâg sprâchen alle
 die/die do da heimen in iren hûseren irem gesind vor lâsen teütsche

¹ = gebotenen; Bayer. Wb., I, 243.

bücher vnd sie vnderwysen vnd leren / es sien winckel prediger vnd sy
 verspotten sprechende es gehörs inen nit zû / das ich inen nit vor tibel
 hab / dann sy dick dar durch werden geschandt vnd jetzund me dann
 vor ye beschâhen ist / dann jederman ist jetz geneigt vff tûtsche bücher
 vnd gründtlich alle ding zû erfahren / dz dann jetzund ougen schinlich 5
 ist / dann man findt jetzund ein leyen der sin ewangelium am suntag
 basz vszwendig weist wann sin pfarrer inwendig lâsen kan. Deszglichen
 wo jetzund ein priester zû den leyen kumpt vnd er gefrogt wirt durch
 ein einfältigen leyen es sy im nûwen oder alten testament / dodurch er
 in solt underwisen / dar vmb er sin narung hat / so sitzt er wie ein gans 10
 vnd ist der hirt narrechter dann sine schâfflin / vnd werden also zû spot.
 Was thûnd sy aber wann man sy zû vyl fragen will das sie nit verant-
 worten können / sprâchen sy ein narr fragt me dann hundert wysen
 mögen verantworten vnd allegieren Salomonem in Prouerbijs. Nun
 wolt ich gern wissen ob der einfeltig solt frogen oder der wisz. Oder ob 15
 der narr ein frog thût / die der wysz nit verantworten kan / welcher der
 wysest wâr / sprich ich der froger. Aber durch dyse spotwort spürt
 man wol die fyent der göttlichen kunst. Als vor gemâlt ist. Hie wirt
 ouch wol verstandem / das sie sich allwegen fürchten man sag von yn /
 vnd richt sy ausz mit ir meyerschafft / das doch nit vil gebraucht 20
 wirt / sunder wo sich vereinen die frummen leyen vnd die got lieb
 habenden menschen. Sie gedencken aber der rechten winckelprediger
 nit / die do schânden vnd lestern die frummen mit den anderen vnd dar
 zû die ordnung der christenheit / das sind die groben vnwissenden leyen /
 die spyler vnd prasser / deren gesellen sy sind in dem spyl vnd by dem 25
 wyn / vnd wellend sie nit erzûren. Dyse thûnd gelich als Cayphas vnd
 Annas / die hatten ouch lieb soliche schergel /¹ vff das sie christum desz
 basz verschmâchten durch ir hilff / wann aber christus het wellen
 angentz² rechen / es wâr inen nit also geroten. Das nun der gût ley lot
 bliben. Meer ist zû verston die grobkeit der selben ir gesellen vnd 30
 schergel / glichen sich den groben vngotzfôrchtigen in der wûsti den die
 hymmel spysz nit gefiel / vnd wunsten allwegen wider in egypten / da zû
 lâben nach lybs lust. Dar by was wol zû verston / das sy nit hatten
 götliche lieb vnd erkanten nit ire wûrckung / so sie aber hâttten gehabt
 götliche liebe / hâttten sy ouch erkant den koch vnnnd die spysz. Jch 35
 sprich das hymmel brot sy vnsz die helge geschryfft / wann sie vnsz die
 seel spyst / vnd spyset ein ietlichen andechtihen menschen gantz nach
 sinem willen vnd findt dar innen allen trost. Das himmelbrod ist ouch
 gemein gesin. Zû gleicher wisz gibt got der heilig geist den verstand
 der helgen geschryfft ausz in al(D)len sprachen / in welcher sy geûbt wirt 40
 in rechter liebe / der findt darinn das imm schmeckt nach allem sinen

¹ Fehlt bei Grimm, Schmeller, Sanders. Hier die winckelprediger; -schergel < scherger, nach Analogie von Büttel, Waibel.

² Angents < angehends. Vgl. Frisch, *Deutsch-Lat. Wb.*, I, 28.

5 willen/er findt auch darinn dz recht liecht/er ist ouch gern hören dz
 gots wort. Es ist ouch gar natürlich das ein jetlicher gern hört von dem
 das er lieb hat/wie wol sy sprächen/der ley red er mög nit hören
 predigen/er kön es selb wol läsen/ist nit war/dann ein jeglicher der
 10 gern die helge geschryfft lyst/der hört ouch gern dar von predigen.
 Auch ist dz ryck nit geteilt durch der sprach willen. Darumb gloub ich
 in wz sprach got gelobt wirt ist imm angenehmen/was do geschicht vsz
 fester hoffnung vnd rechter liebe. Witer so gibt vnsz Paulus ein rot/
 do er schribt zû den Corinthern im .xij. vnderscheid. Nit welt
 15 werden kinder in den sinnen/aber sind klein in der boszheit/disz ist
 geret worden wider die da sprechen man soll einfältiglich wandlen/dz
 begryfft allein hie dz wüssen/so die menschen wellen wüssen/dar durch
 sy geschandt werden. Aber das einfältig wissen des gloubens vnd der
 liebe berürt es nit. Ich wolt gern wissen eb ouch ein grössere liebe wår
 20 dann die natürliche einfeltige zû got vnd grösserer gloub/dann der
 schlächt welcher behart. Witer spricht Paulus. Got will dz ir sine
 gebot wissen/vnd welcher die nit weisz/der wirt ouch nit gewüsz.
 Aber schribt er zû den Römern imm elfften vnderscheid Brüder ich will
 nit dz ir nit wissen die heimlichen ding vmb dz ir nit wissen syent by
 25 etlich selber/wann die blindheit ausz einem theil in Jsrahel durch nit
 wissen sy hat verunreiniget so lang bisz die volkommenheit der heiden
 in gieng mit schand. Witer schribt Paulus zû den Römern im .xv. ca.
 Alles dz geschriben ist/ist geschriben zû vnser leer/das wir durch die
 gedult vnd durch den trost der helgen geschryfft habend die zûuersicht.
 30 Got aber der gedult vnd desz trosts/well etlich geben vnder einander das
 selbig zû wissen nach Jesu christo/vff das ir einhälliglich eins mundts
 eren got vnd vatter vnsers herren Jesu christi. Vnd hat in keiner siner
 leer die teütsche sprach vsz geschlossen. Witer spricht er zû den
 Corinthern im .xij. Brüder ich wil nit dz ir nit wissen von den geist-
 35 lichen dingen/ir wüssent wol do ir waren heiden nach dem do ir geführt
 wurden zu den stummenden abgötten zc. Aber lert er vnsz vsz zû rüten
 die vnwissenheit/in dem so er spricht zû den Corinthern im .xij. Do ich
 klein was/do redt ich als ein kleiner/ich wust als ein kleiner/ich
 gedacht als ein kleiner. Aber so ich bin worden ein man/so hab ich
 40 vsz gerütet die wårck des kleinen. Aber spricht er zû den Galatern
 imm .vj. capitel Wir sollen vyl begeren zû wissen das der selen heyl
 ist/vnd spricht also. Was einer säye/das werd er mägen/¹ (verstand in
 ein vernunft vnd in sein hartz) säien wir flaischliche ding dar in/so werden
 wir flaischliche dar vsz mäien zû vnser zerstörliche.² Säien wier aber
 45 geistlich ding dar in/so werden wir geistliche dar vsz mäien zû vnser
 seel sâligkeit. Aber redt er zû den Ephesiern im v. ca. Jr sollent nit
 werden truncken von dem win/in dem do ist die vnküsheit. Aber
 werden erfüllt mit dem helgen geist/reden von den psalmen vnd allen

¹ = mähen, ernten.² = Zerstörung, Verderben.

den dingen / die etlich vndewisen mit got sich fröwen in dem spiegel der
helgen geschriff / wann sy ist vnsz warnen vor allem laster. Aber thut
vnsz der Paulus leren so er schrybt zu den Colosenserem im .iij. ca. Das
wort christi sol wonen in etlich benüglich¹ in aller wiszheit / lernent vnd
manent etlich selber alle tag in der helgen geschriff / in den psalmen 5
vnd in aller geystlicher fröid. Er ist vnsz gar trüwlichen leren vnd
warnen vnd manen vnser selen heil zů sůchen / vnd vnsz nit lassen irren
die verachter vnd hasser der teütschen sprach / wann der lystig versůcher
ist ein fyand aller dern sich neigen zů dem gůten. Es sind vor meer
irrunge gewesen vnder den die hand gemeint recht zů leben / aber on 10
erkantnisz der helgen geschriff. Als vnder den jungeren sancti Pauli
zů den Corinthiern am meisten an der ersten sendung. Also dz die (Dij)
einen satzten iren glouben vff Paulum / die anderen vff Appollo / die
dritten vff Cephe / die vierden vff christum. Har über ist sin leer vnd
vor ein frag ob christus geteilt sy oder ob jemandt in Paulo getöufft sy. 15
Jch sprich das allein ein gloub ist vnd ein touff in allen sprachen vnd
vnser gloub recht sy / vnd kein sprach vszgeschlossen / als dann ettliche
bisz har hast gehört / weren die teütsche sprach. Jch sprich wann die
teütsche sprach hāt ein anfang ausz der sprach die Balaams esel ret / so
wār nit ein wunder das mans also verwurff vnnd sprāch es wār ein esels 20
sprach / wie wol man ouch findt grosz esel in der latinischen sprach / man
sicht darin leider gar vyl der blinden hirten. Als der herr spricht. Nun
ist mein frag. Wie kan ein blind den anderen fůren mit sicherheit on
fallen? Darumb ist not das der ley selbs leer den wāg den vnsz zeigt
vnser erlöser das ist christus in sinem helgen ewangely. Aber der wol 25
gesāhend vnd frumm hirt oder priester gesicht gern dz sine vnderthanen
solichen flysz hand sich vil zů ũben in göttlichen dingen. Disz sind die
hirten von denen got redt Matthei am .xv. Jr sind das saltz der erden.
Die wil aber dz jetzund nit ist / so bedunckt mich not sin das alle
menschen sůchen selbs den nůwen hirten / ist die heiligen geschriff die 30
vnsz tāglich eroffnet wirt vnd vnsz got der vatter verheissen hat durch
Ezechielem / zů geben ein nůwen hirten / das ist Daudid minen knācht.
Ouch spricht er / ich will etlich heissen vffhōren das ir fůrbasz nit meer
werden weiden mine schāfflin nach etlich selbs. Wann aber das
geschāhen soll vnd geschāhen wirt / werden ir bald hōren / dann got lot 35
kein ũbels vngestrofft vnd kein gůts vnbelont. Es ist aber ein gemein
sprůchwort wann die geisz wol stot so scharret sy. Wol spricht der
kűniglich prophet Daudid imm .xlvij. psalmen. Do der mensch in eren
was hat ers nit erkant vnd ist glichfōrmig worden den thieren. Dar by
so nemendt war ir hirten vnd geistlichen prelaten in was eren vnd 40
würden ir sind / vnd wie ir bisz har gelāpt haben / das nit diser spruch
an etlich erfüllt werd / dann die geylheit vnd hochfart hat vber wachszsen

¹ Fehlt bei Grimm. Gleich benügig = contentus, modestus, vergnügt, genügsam; Grimm, *Wb.*, I, 1477.

die demütigkeit / vnd die verlassenheit die gerechtigkeit / vnd leit der
hirt vnd schlafft. Darumb ist not das got selbs zû sinen schâfflin lûg /
als er dann spricht durch Ezechielem. Jch will selbs weiden mine
schâfflin / vnd will etlich heissen vffhören / wz es etlich nit gnûg ir assen
5 die milch vnd wurden bedeckt mit der wollen / ist zu verston / sy niessen
die arbeit der vnderthonen vnd werden bekleidt von inen / darumb solten
sy vnsz tågliche mit dem aller höchsten flysz leren vnd vnderwyssen mit
worten vnd mit wercken / mit einem gûten vorbild / nit imm spyl / nit
imm weinhusz / die ersten in aller tûppigkeit / vff das durch ir gût vorbild
10 der einfeltig ley ouch gûts môcht von inen lernen / wo derselb nit wol
kônd verston die leer vnd predig / so kônde er sich aber besseren
ab dem gûten wandel der oberen. Dann wo wort vnd wârck glich
 weren / do wûchs ein starcker gloub vnd ein volkommene lieby.
Aber so von inen nit wirt gesehen das lâben nach den worten / so
15 schwachet der gloub vnd reûcht¹ vsz götliche vnd brüderliche liebe. An
dem allen hand sie nit gnûg / sie weren mit gespôt den frummen leyen
in zû gon vnd machen ein nûwen verkerten / vnd so sy in gemachen /
machen sy in ein kind des hõllischen flammen. Darumb minen lieben
brüder vnd schwesteren will ich etlich ermant haben / das ir etlich nit
20 wellen lassen abweisen von allem dz etlich fûrt zû götlicher liebe vnd desz
nâchsten. Hûten etlich vor inen / es sind die wõlff von denen der gött-
lich mund redt Matthei im vij. vnderscheid. Jn iren frûchten werden ir
sy erkennen. Das sind auch die von den do redt der wysz man imm
bûch der sprûch im ersten vnderscheid. Sie werden niessen die frûcht
25 irer tag. Witer spricht er. Der frûchten sins mûndts wirt ein jetlicher
erfült. Kõnen ir nun (Diij) wol mercken was dyse frucht bringen / es
sy mit dem mund oder mit den wercken / ouch wie sie ir geniessen
werden ersetiget vnd erfüllt / lasz ich jetz bliben / sie müssen rechnung
geben für ire schâfflin.

30

DER BESCHLUSZ²

N Vn mein vszerwelten brüder vnd schwestern / ir hand nun gehört
red vnd widerred zwischen mir vnd dem prediger mûnch. Vnd
haben vnder allem gehört / dz sein ernstliche meinung ist kein ley soll
teûtsche bûcher lâsen / wann sie imm bringen hindernûsz am glauben /
vrsach wir môgens nit verston. Dar zû sag ich also. Christus Jesus
35 vnser schöpffer erlöser vnd behalter / hat vnsz geben zwo leer / durch
welche wir môgen gon in dz ryche der hymmel / finden ir Matthei im
.xxij. vnderscheid / do auch dyser glyszner einer (als noch vyl vff erden
sind) kam zû dem herren Jhesu / sprechende. Meyster was ist das
grôst gebot yn dem gesetz. Antwort der heer. Hab lieb dinen got vnd
herren / vsz gantzem hârtzen / vsz gantzer seel / vnd ausz allen dinen

¹ Rauchen, Grimm, Wb., 8, 245: fumigare = räuchern, dim. von räuchen.² Original: beschlusz = Druckfehler.

krefftē. Vnd hab lieb din nächstē als dich selbs. In den zweien
 stucken stot das gantz gesatz vnd vnser behaltñusz.¹ was wend wir dann
 witer fragen. Wz dörfen wir grosse künst erfaren. Was bedörfen wir
 grosser doctores dar zū / die ir zyt vertriben haben in menschlichen satzun-
 gen. Vil seckel canones allegieren. Das ist min rot erfar sich ein jeglichs
 selbs in disen zweien stucken. vnd werd imm dar inn selbs ein doctor /
 dz ist dz höchst doctorat / welches got selbs krönt es darff nit vil dis-
 putierens noch arguwierens dz ich lasz jetzund also bliben / ich will in
 minen sendbrieffen so ich schriben wird zū Hans knüchel von knutwil
 witer dar von schriben. Aber witer ermant vnsz sant Paulus zū den
 Corinthiern vnd spricht also. Eim jetlichen wirt gegeben die offenba-
 rung des geists zū siner nutzbarkeit. Eim gibt er den geist der wiszheit /
 dem anderen den geist der kunst / etlichen die gnad der gesuntheit vnd
 sterck / ettlichen die wärck der tugent / vnd sind der goben vyl on zal do
 mit er die menschen begobt. Aber vnder denen sind ettlich / den gybt
 er den geist des gloubens / das ist die erkantñusz seins göttlichen willens.
 Nun wo ein rechter gloub ist do ist ouch die ware lieb. Mit diser gob
 hat er sunderlich meer begabt die einfältigen vnd demütigen / dann die
 hochfertigen / hochgelerten vnd nasz wisen. Desz gybt vnsz gezeñgnusz
 Abraham. Gefñ .xv. Luce .x. Die junckfraw Maria. Centurio. Matthei
 .viiij. Jona .j. Regum .xiiij. Daud .j. Regum .xviiij. Aza. Paralippomenon.
 .xiiij. Machabeus .j. Machabeorum .iiij. Josaphat. Paralipomenon .xx. Nee-
 mias. Neemie .iiij. Dry kinder. Dañ .iiij. Deszglichen so finden wir.
 Matthei am .xxj. Marci. am .xj. was got denen zū seit / welche eins
 rechten gloubens sind. Der wassersüchtig bezetigt dz ouch Luce .v. Dz
 Chananeisch fröwlin. Matthei .xv. das fröwlin dz do beschwärt was mit
 irer krankheit. Luce .viij. Deren on zal ist / mir hie zū vyl erzelen. Darumb
 lieben brüder lond etlich nit bekümmern das sy sagen wir verstandens
 nit / der geist desz gloubens vnd der liebe wirt nit eim eiglichen ver-
 lichen nach der leer sancti Pauli. Aber aller meist den die do sind eins
 einfeltigen demütigen hartzens. Welchen geist vnsz ouch verlyhen
 wöll Jesus christus der am krütz sin blüt für vnsz vergossen hat / vnd
 gestorben / das wir wider läbendig wurden. Dem sy lob vnd danck
 geseit in ewigkeit. Amen.

ERNST VOSS 35

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

¹ Luther überset: "und die Propheten." Vgl. Grimm, *Wb.*, I, 1324, unter "behaltenis." Hier wohl Rettung, Erlösung, Befreiung.

THE COMEDIA RADIANA OF AGUSTÍN ORTIZ

INTRODUCTION¹

Agustín Ortiz and his *Comedia intitulada Radiana* have been known to bibliographers since the publication of the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, in 1834-36, where it is mentioned in Part VI, under number 2818, *Poesias Espagnoles*. This collection contained fifty-nine detached pieces bound in one volume, the twenty-fifth of which was the *Comedia Radiana por Augustin Ortiz*. When Schack² became acquainted with the work, it had passed into the library of Henri Ternaux-Compans, at Paris. Later it is to be found in the *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, No. 1337, where a description of the print and an adequate synopsis of its contents are given. Salvá had the play rebound separately, and in this form it made its way through the library of Heredia (*Catalogue* No. 2313) to the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, where it is now catalogued as R—5006.

Nothing is known of the life of the author,³ and no other work bearing his name has come down to us.⁴ The only known copy of the play is without date or place of printing, but the text itself offers valuable material for fixing its date. In lines 8 ff. of the *introyto* it is made clear that the King is in need of soldiers for an expedition against the Moors, and in ll. 17-30 a single individual

¹ I wish to acknowledge my particular indebtedness to Professor Karl Pietsch, upon whose time and vast store of bibliographical material I have been privileged to draw freely during the preparation of this work. My gratitude is due likewise to Professor T. A. Jenkins for valuable criticism on the notes and the Introduction as they were being prepared for the press. To them and others of my instructors belongs much of the credit for this study; any faults to be found in the choice of subject, arrangement of material, and conclusions drawn are wholly my own.

² *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (1845-46), I, 195, note.

³ In the *Bibliotecas Antigua y Nueva de Escritores Aragoneses de Latassa aumentadas y refundidas* . . . por Miguel Gomez Uriel (1884-86) is found the following: "Ortiz (Don Agustín). Este escritor, á quien con algunos sólidos argumentos se puede suponer que nació en Aragón, escribió y dió á luz, quizás por los años de 1525, en Zaragoza, una obrita con este título: *Comedia intitulada Radiana*." This statement is based wholly on a supposition, which is commented on later, found in article 1337 of the *Catálogo Salvá*.

⁴ The anonymous *Comedia Clariana* is assigned to Ortiz in Mérimée's *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole* (1908), p. 198. On the authorship of this piece see Barrera, *Catálogo del Teatro Antiguo Español* (1860), pp. 298, 535.

is the object of a series of imprecations. Although the enmity of the Spaniards toward the Moors was long continued, there were, during the time to which our play might reasonably belong, but two periods when such references would be particularly appropriate. The first was during the period of preparation for the expedition mentioned below against Tunis, the second during the two years preceding the attempt to capture Algiers in 1541. Against the theory that the play falls within the second of these periods may perhaps be urged the rudimentary plot of the play itself, which leads one to place Ortiz among the earlier imitators of Torres Naharro, and the more convincing evidence indicating that the work was printed before that time.

The events of the first period are given in sufficient detail for present purposes in Edward Armstrong's *The Emperor Charles V* (1902), I, 268 ff., from which the following citations are made. Charles had reached Spain

in April 1533, and ever since had given his main attention to the North African problem which he had hitherto almost set aside, but which imperatively claimed an immediate solution.

When the elder Barbarossa was killed in 1518, his younger brother was made Bey, and a piratical war was carried on largely in the eastern Mediterranean.

Barbarossa took advantage of the Franco-Imperial conflict in Italy to create a strong North African territory with Algiers as its capital. . . . Availing himself of palace crimes in the weak native dynasty of Tunis under pretext of aiding the dispossessed king, he conquered the town, strongly fortified the territory, and, as at Algiers, extended his power far into the Interior (1533). . . . No feat could be more welcome to Charles's Spanish and Italian subjects than a crusade for the conquest of Tunis, and upon this the Emperor therefore set his heart. . . . Charles sailed from Barcelona on May 30, 1535. All Spain in its enthusiasm seemed to converge on the Catalanian port; all classes, and both sexes, strove to get aboard the ships.

The conditions here described are such as would naturally give rise to the reference in our play. Barbarossa was well known to the Spaniards, and there was a widespread interest in the expedition

against him. A line or two in passing might have been insignificant, but our author would scarcely have dwelt at such length on his subject unless he had a point to make. In the light of the general interest in a popular campaign that would naturally be aroused in a political center like Valladolid, his purpose becomes apparent. The play must then have been written not earlier than 1533 nor later than 1535.

The most convincing document on the date of printing is the *Cancion hecha por luys del castillo* (Cat. Salvá, No. 12), which reads in the colophon: "Fuy impresso en La muy | noble villa de Medina del | campo en Corral de buyes. | Año de MD&XXXV." Three of the four woodcuts on the title-page of this *cancion* are found among the ten figures that appear on the title-page of *Radiana*; and these cuts, which would soon show the effects of wear, are in about the same condition in the two works. The type, moreover, seems to be the same, and the manner of setting (punctuation, ornamentation, etc.) is identical.¹ Pérez Pastor² accounts for but one printer in Medina del Campo after 1532 and before 1541, Pedro Tovans, "impressor de libros que biue á corral de bueyes 15XXXIIIj." I was not able to place side by side with *Radiana* for careful comparison a book bearing the name of this printer. It is not impossible that a competitor whose name has not come down to us was established in the Corral de Bueyes; yet all the existing documents are in favor of Tovans. Salvá likewise does not hesitate to assign to him the edition of the *Cancion de Luys del Castillo* mentioned above.

It is not without importance for the date of printing that *Radiana* formed part of a large volume of originally separate works that seem to belong to the same period. The titles in this volume are listed in the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Vol. VI, No. 2818. Only five of the works are dated. These are, No. 9 (1535); No. 54 (1537); No. 56 (1535); No. 58 (1536); No. 59 (1534). No. 7 is entitled *Coplas*

¹ In the *Catálogo de Salvá*, No. 1337, under *Radiana* is the following statement: "El ser las laminillas de la portada iguales á las empleadas en la *Tesorina* y *Vidriana*, induce á creer esté impresa por el mismo y tal vez en Zaragoza." The author of these plays, Jayme de Guete, is of Aragonese origin, as he states on the title-page of *Tesorina*, but I see no reason for thinking that his plays were printed in Saragossa.

² *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo* (1895). The quotation is taken from article No. 6.

por Alonso de Toro Cozo, sobre la abundancia del Vino que Dios ha dado en el año de XXXI y en el año de XXXII, and this refers, I presume, to the years 1531 and 1532. If the history of this volume were known, one would probably find that it was formed within a short time after the latest date mentioned. It would not only have been very difficult to bring together even a decade later the fifty-nine pieces mentioned under the number cited, but it is improbable that a late collection of such varied content would have shown so little variation in date.¹

The language of the author is Castilian. The dialect put into the mouths of the shepherds had become too artificial to assume that it represents the peasant speech of the writer's province, and I have not been able to attach with any certainty to one locality the names of the saints mentioned. It is of no significance that Bilbao is named in l. 1458, but the two references to Valladolid (l. 38 and ll. 89 ff.) where Juanillo places himself by saying, "Aqui me han burlado," furthermore, the knowledge of the city shown in ll. 37 and 48, and finally, the printing of the play in the neighboring city of Medina del Campo, all lead to the conclusion that the author was living in or near Valladolid when he wrote this play.

Radiana forms one of a group of plays already classified by Schack,² Menéndez y Pelayo,³ and others, as direct imitations of Torres Naharro and the *Celestina*. While but little of the content of these plays comes from other sources than the *Celestina*, the plays of Encina, and especially those of Torres Naharro, and while the form is wholly that of the latter author, insufficient stress has been laid on the fact that a very definite type of love and intrigue comedy that was essentially different from these models was developed before or during the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. When this type was once formed, the individual plays owed more to the other works of the group than they did to their prototypes. Until the

¹ A similar collection in Munich described by Ferdinand Wolf (*Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-Hist. Class.* [1852], VIII, 114 ff.) bears dates ranging from 1547 to 1554. One statement of Wolf (p. 116) is of interest here: "Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, das solche für das Volk geschriebene und von dem Volke dargestellte Stücke von geringerem Umfange, gleich den fliegenden Blättern durch Verbrauch und Nichtbeachtung dem Verderben preisgegeben, sich in nur sehr geringer Anzahl erhalten haben."

² *Op. cit.*, I, 195.

³ *Estudio Preliminar to the Propaladia*, pp. cxlvi ff.

chronology of the period separating Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda is somewhat settled, it cannot be known what authors were chiefly influential in the development of the type.

Beyond the general resemblances already indicated, I have noted the following details illustrating Ortiz' indebtedness to his predecessors.

The first act of *Radiana*, which Cotarelo y Mori¹ calls useless, appears to have been inspired by the lament at the beginning of Gil Vicente's *Comedia del Viudo*.² While there is but little verbal similarity between the two passages, their extreme likeness in other respects makes it seem improbable that they are of independent origin.

Torres Naharro's *Himenea* must have exerted a direct influence on *Radiana*. Turpino's conversation with Marpina, ll. 358 ff., is wholly in the manner of that between Boreas and Doresta (*Propaladia* II, 45-48, *Libros de Antaño*), and when Turpino says, "Si vienen diez, que mi espada los despierte el morir," the author has in mind a passage earlier in *Himenea* (p. 19) where Eliso says, "Vengan diez, cuerpo de Dios, Que no se irán alabando" (cf. note to ll. 383-85). In both plays, likewise, the successful lovers reward their servants in much the same manner (cf. ll. 932 ff., and note). Lireo's plot to catch the lovers was probably suggested by that of the marquis in *Himenea*, while Cleriano, like Himeneo, averts the tragedy at the critical moment by proving himself an eligible suitor. It would be unwise to insist too strongly on a direct influence between these plays in each case of general resemblance between scenes which, by their very nature, must abound in all drama of intrigue, yet, taken as a whole, the similarities noted form conclusive evidence that Ortiz was well acquainted with the *Comedia Himenea*.

Shepherds with their horseplay and coarse jests were stock characters of the Spanish drama of the early part of the sixteenth century. Torres Naharro used them rather sparingly, but it is evident that the *hortelanos* in his *Comedia Aquilana* furnished material for one of the shepherd scenes in *Radiana* (cf. l. 760, note).

Lastly, Ortiz followed Torres Naharro in his liking for the popular

¹ *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España* (1901), p. 198.

² For evidence that separate plays of Vicente were in circulation before the publication of his collected works, see A. L. Stiefel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXIX (1907), pp. 192 ff.

proverb. Several of the proverbs common to both are cited in the notes (cf. ll. 93, 323, 401). The list of these parallels is not intended to be exhaustive, and I have given them merely to show the method of the earlier author continued in the later.

The literary merits of *Radiana* are small. The author's diction is often obscure, his verse lacks elevation,¹ and too often his choice of words seems guided by the needs of the rhyme rather than by the sense. Very little originality is displayed in the creation of characters or in the construction of the plot, and the comic devices² are merely commonplaces of the time. Yet because of his lack of originality, Ortiz was all the more fitted to construct a play that is characteristic of the period to which it belonged. Thus, in spite of its mediocrity as a piece of literature, the light that *Radiana* may throw on other dramatic works of the period seems to justify the labor of an apprentice in bringing out this new edition.

The strophe form, counting one final unaccented syllable, is 4a—8a—8b—8a—8b. Acts I and III begin with five full octosyllabic lines rhyming a—b—a—a—b. At the commencement of Acts II and IV the short line is omitted, as also between ll. 1343—44 and 1372—73.

Unlike Encina and Torres Naharro, Ortiz took great liberties with the short line. Hiatus is especially frequent, and the rhyme-accent often falls on the fourth syllable. For these reasons I have not taken this verse into account when treating questions of meter.

In regard to vowel combinations within the word, but few points need be noted. In the inflectional endings of the imperfect and conditional *ia*, is monosyllabic in the following cases: *teniamos* 722, *decia* 778, *avia* 837, *removia* 1176, *oya* 1227, *haria* 294. The old monosyllabic *ie* is found in *avie* 716 and in *hazie* 784. *Ea* is monosyllabic in *sea* 1271, 1332; in *trae(s)* 125, 808, 851; *traere* (unaccented) 1453; in *reales* 707; and in *ea!* 739. *Diabros* 661, 721, 867, 1077, 1080, 1390, 1440, contains a monosyllabic *ia*, contrary to the usage at this time as found by Robles.³ *Cleriano* is trissyllabic in l. 112, but elsewhere *ia* is always dissyllabic in *Cleriano* and in *Radiana*.

¹ Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España*, p. 198.

² Cf. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Advertencia to the Comedia Tibalda of Perálvarez de Ayllón* and Luis Hurtado de Toledo (1903), p. ix.

³ *Ortología Clásica de la Lengua Castellana* (1905), § 520.

Elision before initial *h* from Latin *f* in an accented syllable is rarely permitted. The only examples are 699, 1212, 1486. The first of these is easily corrected, and the last is a repetition of the refrain of 1477 and 1479 with an additional introductory *que*. Some ten elisions are found with an unaccented vowel. About forty lines show hiatus between vowels. Many of these cases are accounted for by rhetorical pauses within the line (cf. 34, 473, 834, 1131). Of purely metrical nature, however, is the desire to separate two accented syllables. This effort to keep intact what Morel-Fatio¹ calls the *mouvement binaire*, is here strongly marked for all parts of the line (cf. 213, 326, 1276, 1327, 1446). In *El Mágico Prodigioso* the hiatus is used to separate the last two accented syllables of the line only. Yet our author's system is not perfect, for rare instances are found (cf. 414, 978, 1262) where accents are brought into contiguous syllables by elision. A few lines remain in which hiatus must be ascribed to poetic license (cf. 472, 1005).

When all possible allowances have been made for hiatus and elision, there still remain a few incorrect lines. No emendations based on faulty meter alone have been introduced into the text, but attention has been called to deficiencies, and such changes as seemed worth while have been suggested in the notes.

The rhyme word is often repeated; cf. *reues:reues* 167-69, *suerte:suerte* 226-29, as also 473, 703, 834, 1238, 1468. Assonances occur in *gente:entre* 143-45, *pies:diez* 381-83, *tres:diez* 825-26, *respingo:digo* 1116-18, *alguno:culo* 1384-86. Such cases as *Valladolid:alli* 38-40, *Turpino:maligno* 276-78, *paresce:acaece* 1294-95, *es:perdoneys* 1348-49 fail to accord in spelling only. Many of the rhymes were distorted by the printer, but fortunately the needed correction was generally evident.

In the treatment of the text I have tried to be conservative. The orthography of the original is reproduced without change, but the printer's abbreviations (the most common one being the bar over a vowel to indicate the omission of a following *n*) have been resolved. In the old print the names of the speakers were represented by a single letter or at most two letters. These have been somewhat expanded for the sake of easier recognition. Beyond these changes no letter

¹ Cf. Morel-Fatio, *El Mágico Prodigioso* (1877), pp. lvii ff.

which is not duly indicated has been intentionally added to, or taken from, the text. Evident errors have been corrected, but nothing has been assumed to be wrong for which justification could be found. Words or letters inclosed within brackets are additions of the editor. Other faulty readings have been relegated to the notes when it has seemed possible to restore, with some degree of certainty, the author's text. Punctuation is almost wholly lacking in the original, and words are joined or separated in a chaotic manner. The changes that have been made in the division of words for the sake of clearness or uniformity have been indicated only in doubtful cases. The text is here punctuated in accordance with my interpretation of its meaning. Naturally, cases are to be found where a different interpretation is possible.

Words and meanings not to be found in the latest edition (1899) of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy have been treated in the notes, but inflectional forms of the sixteenth century which are easily found in treatises on historical grammar have generally been passed without notice. The lack of critical texts and adequate dictionaries has made the explanation of dialect material difficult and uncertain. I have, however, attempted to explain every serious difficulty, and even where I was far from satisfied with the result, have offered suggestions that are open to criticism in the hope that they may aid another to succeed where I have failed.

LIREO ¹	RICRETO	RADIANA	MARPINA	CLERIANO
TURPINO	GIRADO ²	PINTO	JUANILLO	SACRISTAN

COMEDIA INTITULADA Radiana

compuesta por Agustín Ortiz, en la qual se introduzen las personas siguientes: primeramente vn cauallero anciano llamado Lireo y su criado Ricreto, y vna hija deste cauallero llamada Radiana y su criada Marpina, y vn cauallero llamado Cleriano y su criado llamado Turpino, y tres pastores Girado³ y Pinto y Juanillo, y vn Sacerdote. Repartese en cinco jornadas breues y graciosas y de muchos enxemplos. Entra Juanillo⁴ con el introyto y dize:

¹These names appear in the order given above the (wood-cuts which represent the characters in the play. A reproduction of the title-page below the cuts is to be found in the *Catálogo Salvá*, No. 1837.

²*Sirado*.

³*Lirado*. This correction has been noted already by Salvá (*Catálogo*, I, 473). With the exception of the two spellings on the title-page, the name is written *Girado*, *Jirado*, or *Xirado*.

⁴In the plays of Torres Naharro the speaker of the prologue does not reappear on the stage; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudio Preliminar to the Propaladía*, II, xcvi.

INTROYTO

[Fol. 1v]

Juan. Sant Silbestre
 y el macho del acipreste
 decienda sobre vosotros,
 y el su bordon vos atieste
 5 y os de paz con sus quillotros;
 si cudiera
 que tanta gente estouiera.
 O prega a el alto Dios
 de hazer ora siquiera
 10 que parays cada una dos;
 porque aya
 harta gente con que vaya
 nuestro rey contra llos moros,
 y con su gran atalaya
 15 llos acose como a toros,
 y bien huerte;
 y para que den la muerte
 aquel traydor can cerbero
 que nos trata de tal suerte
 20 (el bellaco majadero
 hendo daños)

2. This line may allude to the poem of Juan de Mena, "Sobre un macho que compró de un archipreste." Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, I, 287-90.

2. *dela cipreste* (sic). *Acipreste* is a form often found in older Spanish. For example of this period see Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II (1900), 8, "Quiero her un acipreste."

4. *el*. Archaic at this time in Castilian; cf. Gessner, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVII, 333.

4. *vos*. Archaic also; cf. Gessner, *op. cit.*, XVII, 4.

5. *quillotros*. Cf. *quillotre*, 732 and 851; *quillotrazo*, 733. For a discussion of this intranslatable word see the vocabulary to Cañete's edition of Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Églogas* (1867).

6. *cudiera*. The infinitives *cudar* and *cudiar* are found beside *cuidar*. The *e*-preterite of *cudiar* would give *cudíamos*, *cudiestes*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés* (1906), p. 53, and Navarro Tomás, "El Perfecto de los Verbos -ar en Aragonés Antiguo," *Revue de Dialectologie Romane*, I, 110 ff. *Cudiera* must have developed by analogy to these forms of the preterite.

8. *prega* = *plega*; cf. Cuervo, *Apuntes Críticos sobre el Lenguaje Bogotano*, 5th ed., §731.

8. *a el*. Cf. Keller, *Historische Formenlehre der spanischen Sprache* (1894), p. 29, and Bello-Cuervo, *Gramática Castellana*, 11th ed., §272, note.

13. *llos*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, pp. 31-32.

14. *atalaya* = *army*, a meaning not found in the dictionaries.

18. *aquel* = *a aquel*; cf. Fitz-Gerald, *Verseification of the Cuaderna Via* (1905), pp. 49 ff.

21. *hendo* = *haciendo*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 68.

- 25 y Dios le de malos años
al bellaco engañador,
y para cegar sus caños,
Dios nos de huerte favor.
Ver do corre
aquello con que socorré
a la seta que a tomado,
y duna muy huerte torre
30 le veamos nos colgado.
Que hareys
si os digo con que holguezs
con prazeres muy tamaños?
Escucha, entendereis;
35 assi os de Dios buenos años.
Yendo vn dia
junto ala pasteleria,
passando en Valladolid
dos por dos en romeria,
40 vi que vienen por alli,
muy en hiestas,
dessas putas rabetiestas
que saben muchos refranes,
y muy bestidas de fiestas.
45 Llas lleuauan dos rufianes.
Va en conierta
que las dexan ala puerta
del Campo junto a su casa.

27. *aquello*. Misprint for *aquello* = *á* *aquello*.

32. *li* for *si*. Misprint or broken type, as also in l. 293.

34. *escucha*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual Elemental de Gramática Histórica Española*, 2d ed., §115 (3).

37. With the means at hand I have not been able to locate the *pastelería* of the early sixteenth century. Time or the disastrous conflagration of 1561 may have driven it to new quarters. The following passage from a print of 1739 is perhaps immaterial but not uninteresting. Don Eusebio and Don Jacinto had entered Valladolid "por la puerta del Campo grande." The next morning they went sightseeing: "luego fueron á la Plazuela Vieja, donde despues que por su dinero, comió cada uno un panecillo de zaratán, y una torta de leche, se tragaron con los ojos un millar de ellas, porque en aquel sitio son apetecibles á los satisfechos, qué hará á los hambrientos?"—Antonio Muñoz, *Aventuras en Verbo y Prosa* (ed. Balst 1907), p. 85.

42. *rabs tiestas* = *rabituestas*. For *tiesto* see the vocabularies to Lucas Fernandez, and to Rouanet, *Aulos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI* (1901). Interchange of pre-tonic *e* and *i* is frequent: *implea* (200), *inuesible* (291), *intincion* (365), *ceuil* (871, 1405), etc.; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §16.

48. "Atravesada ésta que pudléramos calificar de *ante-ciudad* y un puentecillo sobre el Esgueva, introduce á la población un arco titulado de *Santiago* y sustituido á la antigua puerta del *Campo*."—José Quadrado, *Valladolid, Palencia y Zamora* (1885), pp. 14-15.

- 50 Hutras ellas boca abierta,
callente hecho una brasa,
yo yua alla.
Vino la una hazia ca
llamando me con señuelas.
Yo, contento della ya,
55 lleuola a las callejuelas.
Por San Pego,
vino la bellaca luego,
antes que yo començasse,
mas encendida quel huego,
60 diziendo que la pagasse
en buen dinero,
"o pesete a Sant Ceruero,
pues hagamos la hazienda."
Dixo ella, "par Dios, primero
65 me daras dinero o prenda."
Por mi mal
le di en prendas un real,
y luego empeço a dar gritos.
Con su espada y su puñal
70 vino vno de sus espritos
para mi,
y dixola: "Vos dezi,
que os a hecho este villano."
Dixo ella: "Trajo me aqui,
75 y ora haze del tirano."
Vino el,
saca su espada y broquel,
y hazeme treynta fieros
que me quebrara la hiel,
80 o le diesse mas dineros.
Dile poco.
De vn ducado dio me troco

[Fol. 2r]

49. *hutrás*. If the form is correct, this is for *fui tras*; cf. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum* (1897), p. 182. This form for *ser* is found in Torres Naharro, *Propaladia I* (1880), p. 225; "Quando yo hu vñadero," and in the *Recopilacion* de Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, II (1886), p. 26: "Luégo yo hu la engañada." A preposition would give a smoother reading here, and we may have a printer's blunder for something like the "*y tras esto*" of l. 106.

52. *ca* = *aca*.

55. *callejuellas*. A misprint.

64. *par*. Cf. Cornu, *Romania*, X, 93-95.

70. *espritos*. This form is found several times in Rouanet, *Autos . . . del Siglo XVI*; cf. Vocabulary.

- 85 para beuer vn chinflon,
 y dixo: "Anda para loco.
 Nos arroje vn bofetón."
 Ves aquí;
 beui el vn marauedi,
 tengo otro para altramuzes.
90 Vome de Valladolid
 otro día entre dos luzes
 sin cornado.
 Aquí me an burlado;
 mas dize aculla el refran,
 "sino quieres ser engañado,
95 no fies cuerpo de san."
 Baste ya.
 Señores, aquí verna
 vn poco de nobre gente.
 A decillo vine aca,
100 y on ora me vino a mi[ente],
 o que rudo!
 El primero es vn biudo,
 y este trae nobre gente:
 vn criado muy sesudo,
105 el qual es leal siruiente;
 y tras esto
 viene luego muy de presto,
 sin detenerse bocado,
 vn galan lindo, compuesto,
110 y Turpino, su criado.
 Mira al qual.

83. *chinflon*. Not found in the Spanish dictionaries to which I have access, but compare *chiflar*, fam. "Beber mucho y con presteza vino ó licores" (*Dic. Acad.*). For the epenthetic *n*, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§785, 789.

85. *nos* = *no os*? This line is not clear to me.

92. This line is too short.

93-95. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 22.

94. Read for the meter *quies*, or one of the short forms of *sino*. The fact that the printer seemed to have trouble with *quies* in l. 216 adds to the probability of its being the best correction here.

100. *on* = *aun*. The same form is found in ll. 671, 698, 1074(?), 1088. *An* is found in ll. 1194, 1295, 1297, 1365; *an que*, 829. Cf. Pietsch, "Notes on Spanish Folklore," *Modern Philology*, V, 100.

100. *a mí*. I am indebted to Dr. Pietsch for the reading *a miente*.

108. *bocado*. Here used as in Portuguese; cf. Moraes, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, 7th ed., "porção pequena, não só de cousa de comer, mas também de outras, de tempo, caminho, etc." This figurative negative may be added to those collected by Lang, *Modern Language Notes*, I, pp. 64-65; II, p. 186; and *American Journal of Philology*, VI, 80 ff. Cf. also Comfort, *Modern Language Notes*, XXIII, 61-62.

- 115 Cleriano cuenta su mal,
 que muere por vna dama.
 Su moço, no muy boçal—
 (vereys en fin lo que trama
 sin tardar)
 que quando van assacar
 la hija, sin mas rodeo
 salta el padre a lo estoruar,
 120 el qual se llama Lireo
 dolorido.
 La Radiana (o perdido!)
 es hija del enbiudado.
 Su padre, que aueys oydo,
 125 trae consigo otro criado
 muy discreto,
 el qual se llama Ricreto.
 Este estorua los amores
 a Marpina y Turpineto,
 130 que son los reuoluedores.
 La moceta
 a por nombre Marpineta,
 y Radiana, la dama.
 La moça como alcahueta
 135 concierta el galan y la ama
 sus amores.
 Luego vernan tres pastores,
 Juan, Pinto, tambien Girado.
 Mirareys los bien, Señores,
 140 que traen gran gasajado.
 Que habrar!
 y no lo se relatar
 como lo dira esta gente.
 Casi al fin vereys entrar
 145 vn crego, mal huego le entre
 con sus melenas.
 Repartese en cinco cenas
 la comedia singular.
 Assi ayays buenas estrenas.
 150 Todos haze por callar.

Alj

117. *que*.122. *o perdido*. The author was evidently hard pressed for a rhyme word.135. *concierta* = *concierta á*.135. *la ama*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 29; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §202.145. *crego* = *clerigo*.

155 No se os pierda,
a quien digo, gente cuerda,
todos calla, pues os toca;
son prega a Dios que de mierda
se os hincha a todos la boca.

JORNADA PRIMERA

Lireo, Ricreto

Lir. Estoy agora espantado
de mi mesmo y de mi vida.
Como estoy tan trastrocado,
y quan mal que me a pagado
160 la fortuna fementida!
O traydora,
de alegría robadora,
franqueza de mil pesares,
que cada momento y ora
165 de enejos me das mil pares!
Dimi pues
porque biues al reues:
que, al que te ama, le destruyes,
y, al que te trata al reues,
170 cien mil vezes le atribuyes.
Pues porque?
En verdad que yo no se
si te enoje vez alguna.
Perdoname si herre.
175 No me mal trates, Fortuna,
que, a mi ver,
no consintio mi querer,

152. *quien*. Cf. Cuervo, *Notas to Bello's Gramática Castellana* (1908), pp. 52-54.154. *son* = *sino*. *Sono* is found in l. 819.155. *baca*. Misprint for *boca*.165. *enejos*. Probably a misprint for *enojos*.166. *mi*. Cf. *ei*, l. 208. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 26, mentions the existence of *mi*, *ti*, *ei*, dative and accusative, and other examples from the manuscript of Valdés' *Diálogo de la Lengua* are given by Boehmer, *Romanische Studien* (1895), p. 468. An adequate investigation of such forms has not yet been made. In *mi* we may have a strong form, like the French *moi* used after the positive imperative, or simply an assimilation of *dime* to *dimi*. The supposition of Leonese influence to change final *e* to *i* is not elsewhere supported in this text. *Si* may be accounted for by the tendency to vacillation between pretonic *e* and *i*; cf. note to l. 42.170. *atribuyes*. The use of this word in the sense of *reward*, *favor*, with object of person only, is unusual.171. *pnes*. A misprint.

- mi voluntad serte varia.
 Porque me echas a perder,
 mostrandoteme contraria?
 O Ventura!
 no ay humana criatura
 que tal perdida perdiessse,
 ni quien con tanta cordura
 tantos trabajos sufriessse,
 ni es nacido,
 en los tiempos que yo he vido,
 quien perdiessse tal mujer.
 Lo ganado va perdido
 en tal perdida perder.
 No profana,
 nunca fue loca ni vana;
 nunca tal muger se vio.
 O que pierdes, Radiana,
 nunca tal muger perdio!
 En mal punto
 me vino tanto mal junto;
 en perder yo tal presea,
 mi triste muerte barrunto.
 Venga, que en mi bien se implea,
 vente, Muerte.
 No cures de detenerte,
 ni te apiades de mi;
 pues todo mi bien se vierte.
 Ven, que yo te espero aqui.
 Triste yo,
 quien para tal se caso!
 O quien nunca si dixera:
 "Quando Dios me la lleuo,
 llevarame a mi siquiera."
 No es razon
 que sigas tu esclamacion,
 pues no se te sigue al,
 si no doblar la passion,
 y assi viene mal tras mal.
 Quies mirar!

[Fol. 3r]

187. *vido*. Cf. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum*, p. 182.

206-7. These two lines appear as one in the Gothic edition.

208. *si*. Cf. note to l. 166.216. *quis es*.

- 220 ✓ Quien se quiere intitular
 de animoso y de prudente
 a de sufrir y passar
 qualquier soberuio accidente.
 Lir. No lo digas.
 Ric. Ruegote mas no prosigas,
 porque Dios tienta al fiel,
 y le da muchas fatigas
 225 por conocer que ay en el
 por tal suerte.
 Tu no desseyes la muerte,
 porque es a Dios omicida,
 y, guiando de otra suerte,
 230 pierdes dos vezes la vida.
 Lir. Que porfia!
 Yo pense que mas sabia
 tu ciencia y rearguir.
 Quien tal pierde, mas valdria
 235 que aboresciese el biuir.
 Ric. Eso niego.
 As de sofrir con sossiego
 qualquier bien o aduersidad.
 Lir. Yo digo que hablas ciego.
 240 *Ric.* Tu dizes, señor, verdad.
 Se entender
 que vna mala muger
 (sobre este punto me fundo)
 que basta a echar a perder,
 245 no vn reyno, mas todo el mundo.
 Lir. Pues la mia?
 Ric. Yo te digo que podia
 loarse entre mil mugeres.
 La corona merescia
 250 sobre quantas conocieres.
 Por llorar
 no la as de resucitar,
 avnque mas tristezas hagas.
 Vamos ora reposar.
 255 No renueues viejas llagas.

227. *desseyes*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 51.

254. *V. ora de r.* *Ora* = *ora d.* The *de* must be an addition of the printer. It may have been taken inadvertently from l. 252, or have been added to emend a seemingly incomplete sentence.

JORNADA SEGUNDA

Cleriano, Turpino, Marpina.

- Cler.* A lo menos, Cleriano,
bien te puedes alabar
que moriras mas hufano
que nadie puede pensar.
- 260 Bien heziste
en darte, como te diste,
a la dichosa prision;
pues que lugar lo touiste
en ponerte en deffension,
- 265 considera
que vna vida lastimera,
vn quexarte noche y dia,
aquesto siempre lo espera,
y no plazer ni alegria.
- 270 La esperança
me hara no hazer mudança
donde el coraçon dexe,
mas antes con confiança
costante me mostrare
- 275 de contino.
Ven aca; dime, Turpino,
que hare en este tal caso.
- Tur.* Quel amor falso, maligno
quiere destroçar tu vaso
- 280 de virtudes,
mi señor, jamas ayudes
a tu vario pensamiento;
mas si de ti le sacudes,
luego eres libre y esento
- 285 dese mal.
- Cler.* Ven aca, bruto bestial;
aquel que Cupido hiere,
avnque sea vn animal,
sanara si el no quisiere.
- 290 *Tur.* Es posible?
- Cler.* Avnque boluiesse a inuesible,
el amor es ya tan fuerte

AIII

274. *costante*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§809, 816.278. *maligno*. Cf. *malina*, l. 556, and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §815.284. *esento*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §817.

- que si le viesse mouible,
 haria por darle la muerte.
- 295 *Tur.* A señor!
 metido me as en temor
 en sentir tu graue quexa;
 mas por quitar tu dolor,
 aqueste cargo me dexa.
- 300 Te prometo
 trabajarlo muy secreto
 para auerte medicina.
 Sufre tu como discreto;
 dexame hablar a Marpina,
- 305 su criada.
 No me veran dar pisada,
 ni lo sentira su padre.
 Yo mirare bien la entrada,
 pues que ya no tiene madre
- 310 que guardaua.
 Cler. Si la madre la miraua,
 el padre la vela mas;
 si la madre la encerraua,
 con mil guardas la veras.
- 315 *Tur.* Pues huho!
 aquessa me quiero yo,
 pues Dios me de malos fines
 sino le muestro quien so.
 Si la topo en sus jardines,
- 320 si me escucha,
 o si quiere tener lucha
 y dar oydo al mancebo,
 veras si pesco la trucha
 sin que lleue mucho cebo.
- 325 *Cler.* Ven aca,
 porque orden se hara
 que tu no fuesses sentido.
- Tur.* Digo que ella se vendra
 al lugar que me as oydo.
- 330 Su criada,
 avnque sea mas taymada,

293. li. For si.

323-24. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 260 (also I, 229-30).Ni vemos que toma truchas
 Quien no se moja las bragas.327. *fnesses*.331. *seas*.

- tengo de la trabucar
que sea mi enamorada,
y huelgue de lo acetar;
335 y acetado,
esta ya medio tramado
y ando el medio camino.
Tu veras si tu criado
no haze perder el tino
340 a Radiana.
Prometote con fe sana
de hablar mi nueva amiga,
y hazer que vna mañana
podays hurdir vuestra liga.
345 Ora andar.
Vamonos sin mas tardar
donde vn rato reposemos.
Huelga tu de me dexar
lo que entre manos tenemos.
350 Vamos via,
que yo me bueluo otro dia
a començar esta trama.
Valame Sancta Maria!
Esta es la moça o la ama?
355 *Cler.* Es la moça.
Tur. El pelo se me alboroça.
Dexame, señor, con ella.
El coraçon me retoça
en veros tan linda y bella.
360 *Mar.* O traydor!
Quien os dio tanto fauor
que entrasedes al jardin?
Tur. Decirtelo he sin temor
el principio, medio, y fin.
365 Mi intincion
dio osadia a la razon
a que entrasse sin mandado,
y a que sin mas dilacion
me diesse por tu criado.
370 *Mar.* Que donoso!
Soys, hermano, algun raposo,

341. *confessana.*342. The meter permits either *hablar mi* or *hablar a mi* The direct object after *hablar* is not unknown; cf. Lope de Vega, *La Esclava de su Galán* (ed. Kressner, 1889). Act III, ll. 345-46.371. *raposo.*

- que buscays temprano muerte.
Tur. Soy el que ningun reposo
 se me siguió solo verte.
 375 Pero miento,
 que mucho contentamiento
 tengo en verte en mi presencia,
 mas doblaseme el tormento
 en conociendo tu ausencia
 380 *Mar.* Dime pues,
 como quisieron tus pies
 acercarte a mala muerte?
Tur. Boto a Dios, si vienen diez,
 que mi espada los despierte
 385 el morir!
 Yo le quiero rescebir
 si tu me lo quieres dar.
Mar. No cures mas de arguir,
 que todo es lisonjear.
 390 Vete fuera.
Tur. Mi vida muy lastimera
 fuera ira, mas quedare
 do quedara mas entera
 mi fe; pues a ti se fue
 395 de su grado,
 do morire sepultado
 en tu renombre y memoria,
 y que, si tu me as penado,
 muero; mas biue mi gloria.
 400 *Mar.* Ya lo vemos
 que nadays siempre sin remos,
 y os ahogays a la orilla,
 y fingis diez mil estremos,
 y penas por marauilla
 405 pues te mato.
 Acontecete algun rato,
 estando al mejor comer,
 de tenerte yo en el plato
 lo que tienes menester?

383-85. The parallel from the *Comedia Himenea* cited in the introduction is much nearer this text than the similar passage in the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (ed. Foulché-Delbos, 1902) p. 144.

401 ff. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 319,
 Todo fué nadar, nadar,
 Y ahogarme en la orilla.

410

Tur.

Matadora,
dexemos aparte agora
mis penas, que son sin tiento,
y, si as plazer en la ora,
te contare vn breue cuento.

Aiiiij

415

Mar.

Ve, bestial,
torpe, grosero animal;
no consigas tal locura,
no te redunda algun mal.

420

Tur.

Avnque me des sepoltura
de tu mano—

Mar.

Ora te creo milano.
Ta! ta! No me digas mas,
cuenta agora a passo llano
qualquier cuento que querras.

425

Tur.

Das licencia?

Mar.

Si, mas con poca audiencia;
no cures contar despacio,
porque tengo vna pendencia
que entender en mi palacio.

430

Tur.

Mira, hermana,
(assi biuas libre y sana,
y gozes tu gentileza)
que digas a Radiana
la muy crecida tristeza

435

y gran passion
que a sentido el coraçon
de Cleriano en querella,
y que le an dado la vncion
dos vezes por causa della;

440

mas que Amor
nunca fue consentidor
que muriesse Cleriano,
sino encendido en ardor,
puesto el fuego de su mano.

445

O Marpina!
que si Dios no lo encamina,
presto aura su monumento.
Si le viesses; desatina
mil vezes en vn momento.

450

Mar.

Ora andar;
propongo de no escuchar
tus razones varias locas,

- que si tal le quiero hablar,
pedaços me hara las tocas.
- 455 *Tur.* Por mi fel
de aqui no me partire
sin tu buen prometimiento
contarle lo que conte
delante tu acatamiento.
- 460 *Mar.* Soy contenta,
avnque no gano en la renta
para agujas ni alfileres.
O, en quanta passion y afrenta
os veys, cuytadas mugeres!
- 465 *Tur.* Vida mia,
reponderasme de dia?
Hablame, Marpina, hermana.
- Mar.* De noche me parecia
pero buelue de mañana,
470 y a de ser
que por me hazer plazer
no te alaues despensa;
mira, esto puede ser,
no rescibas dello offensa.
- 475 *Tur.* Bueno va,
esso bien cosido esta.
Da otra puntada mayor.
- Mar.* Voyme porque viene ya
Cleriano, tu señor.
- 480 *Cler.* Dime, di;
avn agora estas aqui
en platicas con Marpina? [Fol. 5r]
- Tur.* Oy se busca para ti
nueua y sana mediscina.
- 485 *Cler.* Di, que tal?
- Tur.* Quedo el amor tan igual
que, si me echaua a enpujones,
me prometio en lo final
de remediar tus passiones,
490 si pudiesse.
Avnque pensasse y supiesse
que las tocas la resgasse,
le dira quanto quisiesse,
escuchasse, o no escuchasse.

492. *resgasse*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §18(3).

- 495 *Cler.* Dixo mas?
Tur. A la fe, mas y remas:
 que, hablada a Radiana,
 que la respuesta sabras
 vn dia desta semana.
- 500 *Sera ansi.*
Cler. Turpino, haz tu de mi
 buena cera y buen pauilo.
 Que haras? triste de ti!
 que tu vida esta en vn hilo.
- 505 *Cleriano,*
 pienso serte bueno y sano,
 que tu buscasses la muerte
 y tomarla con tu mano,
 pues amor se muestra fuerte.
- 510 *Tur.* Necear!
Cler. Hazme vn plazer o pesar
 que no hables murmurando.
- Tur.* Antes quiero rebentar
 en verte a ti estar penando
 en tal congoja.
- 515 *Cler.* O pena que no me afloxa!
 Muerte, euita este trabajo.
- Tur.* Dar, dar habla con la roxa,
 doze dara este badajo.
- 520 *A señor,*
 boto a tal! esto es peor;
 salte presto, porque veo
 que viene a mas ya mejor
 el viejo ruin de Lireo.

JORNADA TERCERA

Lireo, Ricreto, Pinto y Xirado.

- 525 *Lir.* O mas inportuna vida
 que hombre humano sostiene!
 O vida triste corrida!
 O vejez mas abatida
 que hombre humano mantiene!

514. *penado.*

518-19. The following interpretation is suggested for these difficult lines: *roxa* = *rubia* and refers to Marpina. A pejorative meaning may be attached to *rubia*; cf. Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos Populares Españoles* V (1883), 222 ff. (post-scriptum of Demófilo). 519. It will strike twelve, i. e., your difficulties will come to an end, since the resistance of Radiana will be overcome with the aid of Marpina.

- 530 O Ricreto,
paje mas sabio y discreto
que de señor come pan!
si me tienes vn secreto
contarte todo mi afan,
- 535 pues ventura
me traxo a tanta estrechura,
y a darme tantos cordojos,
y a que tal mala ventura
oyesse y viessen mis ojos.
- 540 *Ric.* Mi señor,
dame cuenta sin temor.
Quien te da tanto pesar?
Que, plaziendo al redentor,
bien se podra remediar.
- 545 Sin mentir,
vn refran oy dezir,
y que aquel que esta escuchando
su mal acaece oyr.
- [*Lir.*] 550 Dios, pues tu eres de mi vando,
tu sabras
mi querella sin compas.
O vida que tanto afana
a vna noche que no amas!
Yendo a ver a Radiana
- 555 ya Marpina,
traydora falsa malina,
infiel a su señor
(no se que amor le encamina,
ni se quien es el traydor
que la sigue.
- 560 Quien es que assi me persigue?
O viejo desventurado!)
combatiola que se obligue
a tomar enamorado.
- 565 Yo escuchaua,
y mil vezes me tentaua
el diablo a querer entrar,
y despues me recelaua
solo por no perturbar
a mi hija.
- 570 Si yo entrara a la partija
turbarala el coraçon.

534. *contarte* = *contar te he*.

- Ric.* Ya no ay quien sufra ni rixa
 aquesta tan gran traycion
 575 marpinica.
 Muy bien se yo que se pica
 vn poco de requebrada,
 y que es propria y muy bonica
 para ser encorogada.
 580 Sin debate
 quiero tu merced me mate
 sino le trillo la lana,
 y sino doy vn combate
 a tu hija Radiana.
 585 *Lir.* Mira, ve
 alla a casa por tu fe,
 y estando hecha la cena,
 llama, que aqui esperare.
 Assi ayas buena estrena.
 590 Ve en volandas.
Ric. Señor, hare lo que mandas,
 luego boluere por ti.
 De todas vias y vandas
 te sirue, señor, de mi.
 595 *Lir.* Dios loado,
 pues la fortuna me a dado
 tal mala ventura y suerte,
 y pues se fue mi criado,
 quiero yo tomar la muerte.
 600 Ay de mi!
 En mal punto aca nasci,
 pues me siguio tal ventura.
 Tres generos trayo aqui
 para tomar muerte dura.
 605 Quiero yr
 sin la vida redemir,
 pues que nunca me fue sana.
 Que nuevas podras oyr,
 triste de ti, Radiana!
 610 Que haras,
 quando la nueva oyras
 de la muerte que me atierra?
 Pienso que trabajaras
 morir de tu propria guerra.
 615 Hijos! Hijos!

- Al nacer mil regozijos!
 Desque criados, hazeyas,
 por poneros en letijos [Fol. 6r]
 por a donde rebolueys,
 gran contienda.
 A vnos costays la hazienda,
 y a otros lo que an ganado,
 y a mi sola aquesta prenda
 honrra y vida me a costado.
 O mal mundo!
 ya no ay mi par ni segundo.
 O vario traydor mudable!
 que tu lago tan profundo
 vna ora nunca fue estable.
 Ay que hago!
 que ya no me doy el pago.
 Sal, puñal, que tu as de ser.
 De passar tengo este trago;
 no me cumple detener.
 Mas primero
 te ruego, Dios verdadero,
 que perdones esta injuria.
 Ya me trae al pagadero,
 Radiana, tu luxuria.
 Hija mia,
 piensa que mas te queria
 que a la lumbré de mis ojos,
 mas ya quiero en este dia
 dexar cumplir tus antojos.
Pin. A Girado,
 aballa, aballa priado;
 aguija, diablo majote.
 Mira que emparamentado
 que veras vn hidalgote.
 Hi de Dios!
 Voto a san que vastays vos
 ser proprio aquella que espanta.
 O cuerpo ora non de nos!
 Do hurtastes essa manta?

646. *priado*. Quickly.647. *majote*. Used also by Lucas Fernandez (see Vocabulary), but evidently the word has a broader depreciatory meaning than *guapeton*.652. *aquella* = *á aquella*.

653. Cf. l. 703.

- 655 *Gil.* Reuentado.
 Lir. Mucho mas es empleado.
 Pin. Que todo esso no es nada,
 desviate alla, Girado,
 frocarele vna pedrada. ✓ ? X
- 660 Sus, dezi;
 que diabros buscays aqui?
 Venis a hurtar ouejas?
 Lir. Duelete, hermano, de mi.
 Gir. Di que dexe las orejas. ^
- 665 Presto, presto!
 Lir. Mucho mas merezco questo.
 No cures darme pedradas.
 Pin. No llameys a nadie cesto,
 cos hare dar de nalgadas
 670 a traycion;
 y on por vida de Sanson,
 el cochillon me daras!
 Lir. Mas sacame el coraçon,
 y ansina le ganaras.
- 675 *Pin.* Si, hare.
 Dad aca, començare.
 Hince la rodilla al suelo.
 No medre, vuestra merce.
 Mandasme que os rape el pelo? } X 1109
- 680 *Lir.* Corta bien.
 No gastes mas almalzen,
 que me das pena crescida.
 Pin. O cuerpo de Santaren!
 Nos entiendo por mi vida.
- 685 Que dezis?
 Nos dexistes cos muris
 de terrible comenzon. A vj
- Lir.* Cierta tu estas hecho cris.
 No te dixes, neciaron,
 690 y rogue,

655-56. These lines are not clear to me.

659. *frocar*. Cf. Vocabularies to *Autos del Siglo XVI*, and to Encina, *Teatro Completo* (ed. Acad., 1893).

669. *cos* = *que os*.

672. *cochillon*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §16.

684. *nos* = *no os*.

687. *comenson*. Probably for *comeson*; cf. l. 83, note.

688. *cris* = *eclipse*. Cf. *Don Quixote*, Pt. I, chap. xli, and note of Clemencin I (1833), 246; Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación*, II (1886), 181, "se crisó el sol;" J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Revista Lusitana*, 4º anno, p. 61, *dis*.

- que quisiesses por tu fe
por solo euitar mi mal,
matarme, pues lo mande,
con el mi proprio puñal? — ✕
- 695 *Gir.* Sus, que os ate,
pues juro a san, sin debate,
de lo hazer muy ligero,
y on mala rauia me mate,
sino hago como el carnero.
- 700 *Pin.* Queres vos,
en las manos de los dos
vos dexares el pellejo.
O cuerpo ora non de vos,
echa aca esse cordelejo.
- 705 *Gir.* O que abarcas!
El pellejo a las comarcas
le doy por dos medios reales
o para aforro a dos arcas.
- 710 *Lir.* Acabad presto mis males;
Concluid,
y de los dos me herid
el que fuere mas artero.
- 715 *Pin.* Juro a sant, si viene el Cid,
no nos leuasse el cordero.
O mal grado!
que se nos auie olvidado
lo mejor, segun que creo.
Como te llamas, cuytado?
- 720 *Lir.* Llamome el triste Lireo.
Gir. O maldito!
Do al diablo que negro apito!
Teniamos por le matar.
Desata poco a poquito,
y tornemosle a soltar.
- 725 A señor!
Dinos ora tu dolor,
que, avnque aca somos pastores,
tenemos vn herrador
que enxalma de mil dolores

696. *juro*.716. *avie*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 117(2).721. *apito*. Cf. l. 731 and Foerster, *Spanische Sprachlehre* (1880), p. 67. *Apito* is found in Lucas Fernandez (cf. p. 36 and Vocabulary), and is the usual form in Portuguese.729. *enzalma* = *ensalma*.

730

Ved si es baço,
axaqueca o espinazo
o quillotre o mal dijada,
si es essotro quillotrazo.

Lir.

Sacude otra badajada.

735

Mi passion
llega dentro al coraçon;
no puede auer curugano
sino muerte por baldon.
Ea que el alto soberano—

740

Pin.

Nos entiendo.

[Lir.]

Yd nos lo agora diziendo
que se pudiesse entender
que mi mal se esta riendo
de tu muy poco saber.

745

Gir.

Hu, ha ha!

Ora pues, señor, mira,
si habras con antiparo,
a fe nosotros aca
siempre habramos muy craro.

750

Sea que quier;
nunca Dios me dexe ver
ni llograr a Marinica,
si yo vos puedo entender,
y entiendo a la mi borrica.

755

Lir.

Ve, villano.

Pin.

Par Dios, seros a mas sano
que nos digays vuestro mal.
Traere vnto de milano
y vn poco de vnto sin sal
y dialtea.

[Fol. 7r]

760

731. *axaqueca* = *jaquesca*; cf. l. 721, note.

732. *dijada* = *de ijada*.

737. *curugano*. Cf. Lucas Fernandez (Vocabulary), *surujano*. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, II, 241, writes *letijo*: *regocigo*.

740. *nos* = *no os*.

747. *antiparo* = *antipara*. Portuguese has the form *anteparo*. *Hablar con antiparo* is to speak obscurely.

760. The author here (ll. 725-60) recalls a passage from Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana*, *Propaladia*, II, 305 ff. The lines quoted are found on p. 311:

Gal.

El herrador,
Y el barbero, y la que enxalma,
Y el viejo saludador,
Que sana de cuerpo y alma.
Y á mi hermana
Que cayó la otra mañana,
La sanó Marina Gil,
Con una poca de lana
Y el aceite del candil.

- Lir.* Mucho mas questo semplea
en tan desdichado viejo.
- Gil.* Par Dios, yo traya mas, sea
y on vntazga de conejo,
765 dilo cedo.
- Ric.* Dios te haga alegre y ledo,
y te guarde, mi señor.
- Lir.* Soy tan triste que no puedo.
770 Responde, buen seruidor,
Es ya ora?
- Ric.* Vamonos, señor, agora,
y sentarte as a comer.
Alla escuche a la señora,
y hize por lo entender.
- Lir.* Que decia?
- Ric.* Decia que se perdia
Cleriano en sus amores,
mas decia que le cumplia
que le mostrasse fauores
775 Radiana,
y que viniendo mañana
conciertan de te dexar.
La vellaca muy hufana
no hazie sino tramar.
- Lir.* O amigo!
785 Al tiempo doy por testigo,
si el y ella no an su pago,
vayan con el enemigo,
que los metera en su lago;
790 que, a mi ver,
assi suelen succeder
estos negros amorios.
Vamos agora a comer.
Yo hare que queden frios.
795 Quedaos a Dios.
- Pin.* Con el vayades los dos.
Señor, guardaos de otra tal;
prega a Dios que guarde a nos
de todo teribre mal.
- 800 A Girado!
Esto esta desencombrado.

763. *sea* = *seda*. *Sea*, meaning *cerda*, is found in Rato y Hévila, *Vocabulario de las Palabras y Frases Bables* (1891).

764. *vntazga* = *untaza*.

- Durmamos, pesete al ciego.
- 805 *Gir.* Mas antes tengo pensado
que jugasemos vn juego.
- Pin.* Sus, por san!
Sienta que tiendo el gauan.
- Gir.* Pon cabe nos los barriles.
Trae la quajada y el pan.
Jugemos los chanbariles.
- 810 *Pin.* Ora andar;
Aqui me quiero assentar,
y as de jugar sin renzillas.
Quies primero merendar?
- 815 *Gir.* Juguemos las quajadillas,
y jugadas,
haremos las reuanadas,
y luego merendaremos.
No se vayan las manadas,
sono mal rato tendremos.
- 820 *Pin.* Echa, hermano.
Gir. Ora sus, echo por mano.
He vna en nombre de Dios.
Digo hao! si yo lo gano,
que lo comamos los dos.
- 825 Ya son tres.
Las quajadas van a diez.
He quatro.
- Pin.* Par Dios, mentis.
- Gir.* No, que al comer lo veres,
aunque agora lo refiis.
- 830 *Pin.* No hu nada.
He tres, por Santa Bauada,

809. *jugemos.* Written for *juguemos.*

809. *chanbariles.* This rare word permits of widely different interpretations. The most satisfactory meaning here is one given by Michaëlis, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*: "*chambaril*, a gammon of bacon." Unfortunately, little support for this definition is to be found in the larger Portuguese dictionaries. A passage in the *Comedia Aquilana*, from which a portion of this scene is taken (cf. l. 760, note) gives a hint of what we should expect here.

Gall. Que si quieres, almorcemos,
Aquí tengo pan y queso.

Dand. ¿Qué otra cosa?

Gall. Dos tasajos, con su grossa,
La mejor de Madrigal.

—*Propaladia*, II, 271.

The only other time I find the word in Spanish is in Lope de Rueda, I, 124 (ed. Acad.), where neither the context nor the definition given by Cotarelo y Mori helps us here. It is not impossible, however, that the word used in *Radiana* is a gaming term connected with *chamba* or *chamarillero*.

819. *sono* = *sino*.

- y ora tengo de hechar vno.
 835 *Gir.* Besad aca, gente honrrada, entendesme, vno a vno. *X ?*
Pin. Tres y siete. *rice ?*
Gir. Ya baco, vellaco asnete, auia quatro y ora quatro.
Pin. Mal huego quème al mamuete, mentir, mentir cada rato, diablo tocho.
 840 *Gir.* Siete y ora vna son ocho, anda, diablo, ya son nueue.
Pin. No mas por San Aguilocho, nos possibre que lo lleue.
 845 *Gir.* Tu, que auias?
Pin. Otras siete eran las mias, y ora las que mas hare. Tiro tres, por San Jemias; pague lo quessa mece.
 850 Saca el pan. Traes el quillotre de Juan Reuano, lo delgadillo.
Gir. Llega aca, pesete san, esse barril y el jarrillo de cuajada. *X*
 855 *Pin.* O que buena vellacada, traes por quajada leche.
Gir. Comamos, que no va nada.
Pin. Par Dios, encima os lo eche.
 860 *Gir.* No hares.
Pin. Pues yos juro a Sant Andres que estoy en hondos de hello.
Gir. Porque vos lo derrames,

836. *baco* = *vacuo*. Cf. Michaëlis, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung* (1876), p. 266.

838. *mamuete*. Cf. Portuguese *mamote*, stupid, silly, simple.

844. *nos* = *no es*.

849. The reading of the text may be correct: "lo quessa mece = lo que es su merced." For *sa*, cf. Hansen, *Das Possessivpronomen in den altspanischen Dialekten* (1897), pp. 8, 13, and *Sobre los pronombres posesivos de los antiguos dialectos castellanos* (1898), pp. 11, 13. Similar constructions are not unknown today; cf. Alarcon, *La corneta de llaves*: "¡Pues lo que es esta tarde, ha de tocar usted!"

851-52. These lines must refer to some popular saying which I have been unable to find.

862. *hondos* = *onde* + analogic *s*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 128 (4). *Hondos* may also be *onde es*.

862. *hello* = *herlo*; for *hacerlo*.

- no se me da este cabello.
 865 *Pin.* Helo ay.
Gir. En mal punto para ti,
 toma, don hijo del diablo.
Pin. O cuytado, mal de mi!
 870 pues mira que lo que habro,
 por San Gil,
 don vellacazo ceuil,
 dir, don maldito sabueso,
 a llamar el aguazil,
 cos lleue a la carcel preso.
 875 *Gir.* Pues anda.
 Ora sus, bueno sera
 caminar contra la greja.
 O que diablo viene ya!
 Par Dios, me semeja—

JORNADA CUARTA

Cleriano y Turpino, [Lireo y Ricreto], Pinto, Girado y Juan.

- 880 *Cler.* Ven aca; dime, Turpino,
 ya tu sabes mi cuytado,
 y sabes aquel camino
 que tenemos concertado.
Tur. Si, señor.
 885 *Cler.* Ya sabes el mucho amor
 que me tiene Radiana,
 dime agora, por tu honor,
 parescete si es galana?
Tur. Pese a tal!
 890 voto a Dios! no ay su ygual
 de aqui a muy larga tierra.
Cler. O mal tan descomunal,
 como me mata su guerra!
 Gran passion [Fol. 8r]
 895 siento en este coraçon,
 vn momento no me afloxa;

864. The idiom in this line is apparently unrecorded. The meaning is, "I cannot imagine why you are throwing it away."

872. *dir* = *ir*; cf. Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos Populares Españoles* I (1882), 113-14; H. Schuchardt, "Die Cantes Flamencos," *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, V, 311-312; Mugica, *Dialectos Castellanos* (1892), p. 13; Baist, *Vollmöller's Kritischer Jahresbericht*, IV, Pt. I, 301.

873. *aguazil*. Cf. Lucas Fernandez, p. 27, and Vocabulary.

877. *greja* = *igreja* = *iglesia*; cf. Encina, *Teatro*, p. 144, and Vocabulary.

- tenerla tanta aficion
hace crecer mi congoxa.
- 900 *Tur.* Señor mio,
es tan grande el poderio
que tiene este amor ciego
que su nombre y señorio
amata y enciende el fuego
en vn momento;
- 905 mas por dar contentamiento
a tu tan crecida llaga,
si yo estuue bien atento,
mira que mando que haga
tu merced.
- 910 *Cler.* Dilo tu, y escuchare
con el sentido despierto.
- 915 *Tur.* Dixo que por la pare
entrassemos en su huerto,
y que dentro
que nos pongamos al centro
alla en lo mas escondido,
y que nos saldra al encuentro.
- 920 *Cler.* Ques esto que yo he oydo,
y es verdad
que su crecida bondad
y su sobrada hermosura
quiere dar seguridad
a mi tan triste tristura?
- 925 Es possible?
- 930 *Tur.* Jesus, yo soy imbesible,
Dios poderoso y benigno!
O que loco tan terrible,
cuytado de mi, Turpino!
- 935 Quiero pues
que entre las dos y las tres
vamos a hazer su mandado.
- 940 *Cler.* Yo te mando sin reues
el mi sayo de brocado

925. *imbesible* = *imbécil*? Probably the author chose the word *invisible* (cf. l. 291) to fit the rhyme rather than the meaning of the text. In l. 877, for example, *greja* is thus used.

932 ff. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Comedia Himenea* (*Propaladia* II, 35).

Toma tú el sayón de raso,
Y tú el jubón de brocado,
Que otro día
Yo os daré mayor valía.

This is, however, a commonplace; cf. *Calisto y Melibea* (ed. Foulché-Delbosc, 1902), p. 12.

- y otra espada
 935 y avn otra capa frisada
 y otras mil buenas estrenas,
 pues solo desta jornada
 me traes nuevas tan buenas
Tur. A de ser
 940 que auemos de proueer
 quesperemos o huyamos.
 Si requiriere correr,
 que no huyan mas diez gamos.
Cler. Haz de vn arte
 945 que sepas bien conseruarte
 con las armas que te diere;
 que, si sabes menearte,
 no temas quanto viniere.
Tur. Bueno va,
 950 luego en menearme esta
 y en mandar bien la xoyosa,
 no ay mas sino heme alla.
 Quiero dezirte vna cosa,
 que en verdad
 955 no basta animosidad,
 ni blasones, ni porfia.
Cler. Pues que?
Tur. La seguridad
 de la razon que te guia.
 No soy viejo,
 960 soy en espiriencia anejo
 en plazerres y en pesares.
 Echa en tu manga vn consejo.
 Culpame si mal le hallares.
 La razon,
 965 si la tuuiesse vn lebron,
 y a vn leon le faltasse,
 con muy flaco coraçon
 no dudes que lo matasse;
 pues se a vido
 970 vn muy triste dolorido
 con vna razon que cobra
 condes auer combatido
 y salir con fama y obra.
 Miraras

[Fol. 8v]

- 975 que en lo que començaras,
 siempre a Cristo lo encomiendes.
 Mil vezes lo pensaras,
 si falta algo en que lo enmiendes;
 y mirado,
- 980 de sus yerros enmendado,
 sin questes pensando en al,
 con vn animo esforçado
 lo haz como liberal;
 y emagina
- 985 que aquel que se determina
 a hazer algo prestamente,
 si es quien vna vez atina
 otras treynta se arepiente.
 Ves aqui;
- 990 esto me paresce a mi
 que rescibas con fe buena,
 mas quiero saber de ti
 lo contado como suena.
 Sin embargo,
- 995 en lo demas dame el cargo
 que avnque venga el mundo todo—
 Cler. Aora hablas muy largo,
 despues pornaslo de lodo.
- Tur.* No, no, no!
- 1000 Boto a Dios, que me crio,
 sino passan de sesenta,
 de hazer que cobre yo
 doblada fama sin cuenta!
- Cler.* No mas ya;
 por la obra se vera.
 Ordenemos la venida.
- 1005 *Tur.* O Jesus! que bouo esta,
 que dizes bien por mi vida!
- Cler.* Anda vamos,
 que si en tiempo nos hallamos
 que la podamos sacar,
 prometo que la traygamos
 o morir o reuentar.
 Haz la guia.

✓ 976. *encomendaras*. Printer's error.

998. *pornas lo de lodo*. Not the meaning given by the Dictionary of the Academy.
 Cf. Covarruvias, *ponerlo de lodo, estragar, o errar el negocio*.

- 1015 *Lir.* Riereto, ya el otro dia
te descubri mi passion,
y la pena que sentia
en mi triste coraçon.
- 1020 *Ric.* No mespanto
porque, señor, sufres tanto,
pues al discreto y sabido
conuiene sufrir quebranto
como a hombre bien ardido.
- 1025 *Lir.* O señora,
madre de Dios, rogadora
por el que los dos criastes,
en esta infortunia hora
fauoresced mis desastres.
- 1030 Mal criado!
O Cleriano maluado!
Mira que tu mala suerte
y la fortuna a ordenado
que yo te de cruel muerte.
- 1035 Tu procura [Fol. 9r]
de conseguir tu locura
y sacar a Radiana.
Mira que ay gran estrechura,
guarte no dexes la lana.
- 1040 Luego, luego
hablaui el triste tan ciego,
jurando que Radiana
a de costar sangre o fuego,
y la de sacar mañana
a las tres.
- 1045 Escucha bien y veres.
Cria hijos con regalo.
- 1050 *Ric.* El proprio quererlos es
regalarlos con buen palo.
Bien pensauas
que porque assi la encerrauas,
seria mucho mejor,
y a vna suzia la fiauas,
hablando con saluonor;
pues tu dafio,
1055 quando receles engafio,

1027. *infortunia* = *infortuna*. For the epenthetic *i* cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, 86.

1043. *la* = *la ha*.

- y lo quieras euitar,
conoce primero el paño,
y despues hazlo cortar.
No se tal
1060 para euitar este mal
que adelante no pasasse,
sino que, como Anibal,
tu merced determinasse
de aguardar,
1065 poniendote en vn lugar
donde nadie no te sienta,
y en sacandola saltar
y ponellos en afrenta.
- Lir.* Sea ansi.
1070 Yo prometo desde aqui
de rescebir tu consejo.
- Ric.* Tomele, señor, de mi,
avunque yo no soy muy viejo.
- Pin.* On aon,
1075 aquel bellaco albardon
soncas el de aqui huyo.
Doy al diabro el mamilon,
la puta que lo pario!
Ha Juan, Juan!
1080 Aguija diabro albardan,
si quisieres ser mi amigo.
- Juan.* Que me quieres, ganapan?
O cuerpo de San Rodrigo!
Aca so.
- 1085 *Pin.* Pues quiero te contar yo
el vellaco de Jirado
endenantes me meoso,
y on no lo tengo vengado.
- Juan.* Pues que quieres,
1090 que si por dicha me vieres?
- Pin.* Assido con el al pelo
que le traues do pudieres,

1076. *soncas* = *acaso*, quizá.1076. *aqni*.1077. *mamilon*, formed from *mamar* on the model of *comilon*, *dormilon*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntes*, §899.1084. *a caso*.1087. *meoso*. The text is corrupt. The most probable emendation is *meó* for *meoso*, but *me(s)ó* is not impossible.

- y le echemos en el suelo.
El verna.
- 1095 *Juan.* Pardios yo le veo ya.
Escondete alla, zagal,
y en entrando sal aca,
y asgamosle por su mal.
- 1100 *Gir.* Compañero,
por Sant Florin del Otero,
que le tengo de abraçar.
Pin. Ha, don puto majadero,
que aqui me aueys de pagar
lo passado! [Fol. 9v]
- 1105 *Juan.* Sus! Ten paciencia, Girado,
pues tu no puedes her mas.
Pin. O que orillo tan honrrado!
Ponle las manos atras.
- 1110 *Gir.* Ay, hermanos!
Pin. Tus cabellos no son llanos,
y por ellos ygualar,
pelando como milanos,
te los tengo de pendar.
Juan, andar;
- 1115 no se a quien veo assomar.
Vno, dos, tres, que respingo
Ora sus! y os ampañar.
Aguijar, ola! Juan, digo.

JORNADA QUINTA

*Cleriano, Turpino, Marpina, Radiana, Lireo, Ricreto, Sacerdote,
Juanillo, Pinto.*

- 1120 *Tur.* A señor,
puedes entrar sin temor;
ninguno paresce aqui.
Como haze buen frescor!

1107. *orillo*? If the first suggestion in the note to l. 1087 is correct, *orillo* may mean "stream." Professor A. M. Espinosa informs me that such a meaning is found in New Mexican Spanish.

1111. *ellos*. For the use of the tonic form of the pronoun between preposition and infinitive in the Romance languages, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, § 722. However, no examples for Spanish are cited there, and those given by Zauner. *Altspanisches Elementarbuch* (1908), §171, are not exact parallels.

1113. *pendar* = *peinar*. *Pendado* for *peinado* is found in L. Fernandez and in Encina, *Teatro*; cf. Vocabularies.

1117. *ampañar* = *apañar*, with epenthetic *m*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 68, The *m* may be due to the influence of *ampañar*.

- 1125 Passemonos hazia alli
 y escuchemos,
 porque de presto veremos
 salir aqui a tu señora,
 y muy apunto estaremos.
 O como es propia ora!
 Cler. Oyete!
 1130 *Tur.* Mas oya vuestra merced.
 Bueno, bueno, o que veo!
 La moça es, por buena fue.
 Cler. Yo digo que no lo creo.
 Ella es.
 1135 *Mar.* Yo, señor, beso tus pies;
 albricias!
 Cler. Yo te las mando.
 1140 [*Mar.*] Quiero que os certifiques
 que mi ama esta esperando
 de verdad.
 Los dos aqui me esperad,
 que alli auemos de salir,
 y muy quedicos estad.
 Nadie os oya rebullir.
 Cler. Que graciosa!
 1145 Vala el diablo, que donosa
 es la moça Marpineta!
 Tur. Lo que no tiene de hermosa
 bien le sobra de discreta.
 No la alabo.
 1150 *Cler.* De alegria en mi no cabo.
 Yo no se que puede ser.
 Tur. Mas besame aca en el rabo
 quando me quiera p[e]er.
 Sabes que
 1155 yo te dire lo que fue.
 Barruntas el alegria?
 Cler. Mala pascua Dios me de
 sino se allega mi dia.
 Tur. Bueno estas.
 1160 Yo juro a Sancto Tomas,
 trabajo es ser centinela.
 Sientome, si tu querras,
 encima desta rodela.
 O que cuento!

1165 Ves, voto a Dios, ya me siento,
no me embaraça la cola.

Cler. Passito paso con tiento.
No rada mas vna bola,
no de veras.

[Fol. 10r]

1170 Por vn poco mas cayeras
do aprendiste a boltear.

Tur. Ay, ay, triste mis coderas!
ay triste voy me acostar!
que dolor!

1175 Yo juro a nuestro señor
que me remouia los dientes.
A señor, tengo calor.

Cler. Di, torpe, tu no lo sientes.
Ea! agora

1180 que ya viene mi señora,
Turpino, ponte en primera.
Alegraсте, triste, agora
con vista tan plazentera.

1185 Reyna mia,
no pense de ver el dia
de tal gloria para mi.

Tur. Boto a Dios, del alegria
tambien cabra parte a ti.

Cler. Cierito es tal.
1190 Tu, figura angelical,
que me heriste en vn dia,
que tanto senti mi mal
que de veras me moria.

1195 Y an no miento,
porque en verdad mi tormento,
mi gemir y sospirar
fue tanto que yo no siento
poderte nada contar.

1200 Mi fatiga
erame muy enemiga
que no lo querras creer;
erame muy enemiga
la alegria y plazer.

Rad. Para Cupido

1168. *rada* = *rueda*, or *roda* (Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion*, II, 2, *roda*: *boda*), but I cannot explain the form *rada*.

1177. *color*.

1198. *nadie*.

- 1205 me mando hiziesse partido
 contigo, pues te ganaua,
 y que no echasse en aluido
 a quien nunca me olvidaua.
- Puedes ver
- 1210 si te he querido querer,
 y querre como a mi vida;
 mas verguença me hizo ser
 contigo desgradescida.
- Mas Amor,
- 1215 como asoluto señor
 de todos los amadores,
 me mando que sin temor
 remediase a tus dolores
 quando via.
- 1220 *Cler.* Tu presencia y gloria mia,
 las vezes que te hablaua,
 doblada pena sentia,
 tal que nunca sosegaua
 mi viuir.
- 1225 *Rad.* Pues, quando os via venir,
 estaua esperando atenta;
 si de vos oya dezir,
 me hallaua muy contenta.
- Cler.* No lo creo.
- 1230 *Rad.* Cierta mi padre, Lireo,
 vn dia me pregunto:
 "Que as hija? Di sin rodeo."
 Mas nunca lo dixes yo.
- Mar.* Mas dixeras,
- 1235 triste, en que pena incurriera[s],
 mala fuera para ti!
- Rad.* Yo te prometo de veras,
 tan negra fuera para ti.
- Yo le quiero,
- 1240 mas prometeme primero [Fol. 10v]

1207. *aluido* = *oluido*. The change of initial *o* to *a* is not unknown; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §20 (3), yet this is probably a misprint.

1215. *asoluto*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §818.

1217. *tenor*.

1221. *tehas hablaua*.

1225. *via* = *veia*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 54. For examples of this period, see Rouanet, *Vocabulary to the Autos . . . del Siglo XVI*.

1227. *oya* = *oía*.

1238. This line is too long.

- ser leal como yo soy.
- Cler.* A fe de buen cauallero,
por tuyo y leal me doy.
- Mar.* Pues sus, vamos.
- 1245 *Lir.* Antes que de aqui salgamos,
sin tener mucha audiencia,
se a de saber que hagamos.
- Cler.* Pues, Lireo, con paciencia —
- 1250 *Lir.* Mas sin ella,
tengo de vos gran querella
de tan gran vellaqueria.
- Ric.* A la fe tened della
que yo lo mesmo haria.
Echad mano.
- 1255 *Cler.* No me hallares tirano;
lo que yo quiero, me dixo.
- Sac.* Mirad a Dios soberano
puesto en este crucifixo
con paciencia;
1260 tened mucha reuerencia.
A, señor tan excelente,
mirad el cargo de conciencia
que se sigue buena gente.
- Lir.* Soy contento
1265 de tener acatamiento,
avnque a sus pies me matasse.
- Cler.* No soy tal, ni tal consiento,
que ante Dios tal mal passasse.
- Sac.* A señor,
1270 decidme por vuestro onor,
avnque sea descortesia,
porque fue este rancor,
que assi tan mal se refia.
- Lir.* Yo he plazer
1275 de os lo hazer saber.
Sabed que este galan,
por tener en que entender,
quiso tener este afan
en que afana.

1252. It is necessary to read *de ella* with hiatus to separate the accented syllables;
but cf. l. 1262.

1262. Read *mirá* for the meter.

1280 A essa llaman Radiana,
mi hija que no deuiera,
pues que de su propria gana
tomaua tan ruyñ manera
de viuir.

1285 El quiso la requerir
de amores; ya la vencido.

Sac. Señor, yo quiero dezir
lo que a mi me a parescido.

 Con licencia
1290 me den vn poco audiencia.
Miren bien mi parescer:
tiene el valer y presencia,
y sea ella su muger.

Tur. Nos parece
1295 puede ser y an acaece
hazella alguna ventaja.

Lir. Y an quiza no la merece.

Sac. Sus, dexad essa baraxa,
y sed cierto

1300 que se a de dar vn concierto
antes que vaya de aqui.
Desposense en encubierto
si os parece sea ansi.

 Vos quereys?

1305 *Cler.* Yo hare quanto mandeys.

Sac. Y vos, señor?

Lir. No quisiera.

Sac. O, por Dios, no lo estorueys.

Lir. Ora hagasse que quiera.

Sac. Pues, amigos,

[Fol. 11r]

1310 yd y buscad dos testigos,
los primeros que hallardes.

Tur. Dos segadores de trigos,
los primeros que topardes.

Sac. Que acertar!

1315 Dios lo quiso assi ordenar.
El crucifixo es comprado,
y va para mi lugar,
quel concejo le a pagado.

1286. la = la ha.

- 1820 *Cler.* Mi señor,
Cupido, el falso traydor,
me forço ser descortes,
mas el passado horror
suplico que perdone.
Dios quisiera
1825 que yo nunca aca nasciera
antes que hazeros pesar.
- Lir.* Ora sus, ya hecho era,
Dios os quiera perdonar.
Ques de ti?
- 1830 *Rad.* Señor padre, vey's me aqui.
Pues yo cometi el error,
el sacrificio sea en mi.
No padezcays vos dolor,
mas mirad
1835 que, a la sapiencia y bondad
y al gran seso y gran sentido,
lo ciega la ceguedad
del niño ciego, Cupido.
No basto
1840 que me defendiesse yo,
ni inconuinentes mirasse.
Con su fuerza me forço
que por suya me entregasse.
Huso de cruel villano,
1845 y me mando ser penada.
si mandays, dadme la mano,
y sea yo perdonada.
- Sac.* Razon es
que, señor la perdoneys,
1850 pues conoce su pecado.
- Lir.* Toma, y nunca tal obreys,
ques caso muy afeado.
- Ric.* Vos, rabosa,
descreo, doña mocosa,
1855 si por vuestros lindos trotes
en vna burra sarnosa
nos hago dar cient açotes.
- Tur.* Sus, señores,
1860 he aqui traygo dos pastores
que bastaran por agora.

- Pin.* Hi de Dios, que ricas frores; — X
valasme, nuestra señora!
- Juan.* Voto al cielo
de sentarme en este suelo,
1365 y an luego lo quiero her.
O hi de puta, que pelo! — ? /
- Pin.* Hi de ruin podes vos ser,
do al demoño.
- Sac.* Ordenese el matrimonio
1370 de Cleriano y la dama.
- Juan.* Nunca tu llegues a otooño,
hi de puta, como trama.
- Sac.* Ay señor, inconuinientes
que manda Dios que se guarden
1375 por ventura son parientes.
- Pin.* Y os digo que le enaluarden.
- Tur.* No lo son.
- Sac.* Prometio ella religion,
o voto de castidad.
- 1380 *Ric.* Do al diablo el aluardon;
agora le enaluardad.
- Sac.* Es casada?
o dezime, es desposada,
o a dado palabra alguno?
- 1385 *Juan.* Mas miralda si es capada,
despues besalda en el culo.
- Lir.* No lo a sido.
- Pin.* Y si lo hizo escondido,
que no lo viessedes vos?
- 1390 *Lir.* Calla, diablo dolorido;
ni lo es, ni fue, juro a Dios.
- Sac.* Sin tardar
los tengo de desposar,
pues estan ya concertados.
- 1395 *Lir.* Quando se ayan de casar,
yo dare diez mil ducados.
- Cler.* Yo profiero,
a fe de buen cauallero,
que sin las cosas de casa,
de dar seys mil en dinero.
- 1400 *Juan.* Ox, que come aquella brasa!

1367. *hida.*1370. *Cleriaño.*

- Que seys mil?
Ora digo por Sant Gil
que miente desatentado.
- 1405 *Tur.* Sera verdad, don ceuil,
 Pin. Si, si, si, los a hurtado.
 Dad aca.
- Sac.* Pues vuestra merced la da
 por muger deste señor?
- 1410 *Lir.* Di si.
 Rad. Si.
 Sac. Si, sera,
 pues que plaze al redentor.
- Juan.* No as oydo?
- Sac.* Y vos os days por marido
 y esposo desta hermosa?
- 1415 [*Cler.*] Yo lo mesmo.
 Sac. Ya esta dado;
 abra[ça]dme aqueessa rosa.
- Pin.* Al lobazo!
 Doy al diablo el clerigazo,
 y como se regozija.
- 1420 *Tur.* Ven aca. Dame vn abraço,
 que nuestro es el dia, hija.
- Sac.* Sea oydo.
 Por merced, señora, os pido
 que biuays limpia y honesta.
- 1425 Sed muy leal al marido,
 y nota bien lo que resta.
 Mirareys
 que muy obediente esteys
 siempre a vuestro señor padre.
- 1430 Servilde, pues que le veys
 sin muger y vos sin madre.
 Cada ora
 le consolareys, señora,
 vos y el señor Cleriano.
- 1435 Tambien os guarda adosora
 de hufias de otro milano.

1408-9. As these lines are very corrupt, I reproduce them in their entirety.

pues vuestra merced señor
por muger de cleriano

1410. The line is too short. Read *Di que sí*, or *Si, sí, sera*.

1413. *b* in margin for *e* or *sa*.

1415. The rhyme is faulty. Perhaps the correct reading is, *Ya esto pido*.

1440 Demas desto,
 vos, buen señor, sed onesto
 y leal a la muger.
 Mira quel diablo es tan presto
 que os quera mal reboouer.

1445 No riñays,
 ni ningun mal la hagays,
 sino le ouiere çausado,
 avnque de fuera vengays,
 como otros, enojado.

1450 Si riñere,
 o començare, o quisiere,
 que lo digo a la rasa,
 que si nadie no lo viere,
 os acojays a mi casa.

[Fol. 12r]

Cler. Como que?

Sac. Digo porque la traere
 a ponerlos en paz luego.

1455 *Juan.* A cuerpo de Santo Tome,
 no miras el puto crego.

Pin. Digo hao!

1460 *Sac.* Dexa desse barambao.
 Pin. A, vos sois; no lo negues.

 Compañero,
 vamos auer el apero;
 no nos le ayan hurtado.

1465 *Juan.* Voto a Sant Juan, compañero,
 mas habraste que un letrado;
 pues yremos.

Lir. Pues sus, todos nos yremos.

Pin. Sea ansi por Sant Benito.

1470 *Sac.* Par Dios, primero cantemo[s]
 vn salado villancito.

Juan. Bien habro,
 mas queres cos eche yo
 el mi boz gordo por baxo.

1475 *Sac.* La puta que te pario
 ora te escucha, badajo.

Fin.

1441. *quera* = *guerrá*.

1455. Read *Sant* for the meter.

VILLANCICO

Haze amar y no es amor
el traydor,
haze amar y no es amor.

1480

Haze amar con aficion,
ya da contino cuidado.
Mete al amante en prision,
do muere desesperado.
Soy testigo yo cuytado,

1485

y mi dolor,
que haze amar y no es amor.
Laus Deo.

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ANACHRONISM IN SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM

Criticism forgets that Shakespeare wrote in the sixteenth century. As if he were for this age rather than for all time, it overlays the text, like biblical criticism, with the notions of our philosophy and science, the devices of our art, the sentiments and ideals of our morality. On the stage, as long ago as the latter days of Garrick, Shakespeare dropped the bagwig, rapier, and full court dress for historic costume; but off the stage criticism arrays him and rearrays him in the garb and fashion of the hour. So it has done ever since it took the poet for its own, from the eighteenth century to the twentieth; but as time passes the process becomes more curious and uncouth. Ours is the day of the historical method, a method, largely, of denudation. Other poets, as Homer and Dante, have yielded to it; the Bible, even the Koran is yielding to it now: fetichism is all that stands in the way. That Shakespeare—*fétiche monstrueux*, as M. Sarcey calls him—is still bedecked with the rags and tinsel of the cult is due largely to the fact that scholars have kept to the life of the playwright and the language and external history of the plays, and have left criticism, the conclusion of the whole matter, to poets, essayists, gentlemen of taste and leisure, not to mention a horde of the tasteless and leisureless—propagandists and blatherskites. The scholars have moved heaven and earth to get at the original text, and the critics have done no less to give it a modern meaning. It is an anachronism when, in naïve ignorance, mediaeval painters and poets turn apostles into bishops and antique worthies into wandering knights, or Shakespeare himself turns Romans into Englishmen; and what is it when the critics turn Shakespeare into a twentieth-century symbolist? It is hardly criticism.

The function of criticism is not to make the poet in question the contemporary of the reader, but to make the reader for the time being a contemporary of the poet. To criticize is not merely or primarily to analyze one's own impression of a work of art, as the impressionistic critics aver, but to ascertain, if possible, the author's intention, and to gauge and measure the forces and tendencies of

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his time. To do this one must know the author, know his time. Many of our critics have not this knowledge; many of them have not even felt it necessary to know and follow the text. Others have their vision troubled by the traditional, unhistorical point of view. Throughout the book by Professor Bradley,¹ whom no one would tax with lack of knowledge or of regard for evidence, the supreme authority recognized seems to be the experience of the reader. "The reader should examine himself closely on this matter," he repeats in various forms as he discusses tragic fate and the "substance of tragedy"; and so he frequently arrives at conclusions that on the one hand neglect the practical and conventional aspects of Shakespeare's dramaturgy, and on the other hand overwhelm Shakespeare's concrete, dualistic way of thinking with our prevailingly abstract, monistic one. Examine himself! Look in thy heart and write, as the poet was bidden! That, exactly, has been the method, and into what a maze of vagary and illusion it has brought us! Noble names have not been wanting in the history of Shakespearean criticism, from Coleridge and Hazlitt, Goethe and Schlegel, to Professor Raleigh and Professor Bradley himself; and their work, as everyone is aware, shows marvelous acuteness and ingenuity of interpretation and brilliance of expression: but it is the most bewildering thing in the world to read, whether taken as a whole or piece by piece. Truth is tangled with error, fact with fancy, criticism, in short, with poetry, and there is no test at hand to tell one from the other. The critics have examined themselves, and only their genius has made their irrelevant report worth the making. Not that the historical spirit has left recent Shakespearean criticism entirely untouched. Professors Bradley and Raleigh in particular, and foreigners like Dr. Brandes and Professor Brandl, have examined the poet as well, and the age he lived in, with such effect that their report is vastly more to the point than almost any other; but they have not taken up the historical spirit unreservedly and consistently or put impressionism or anachronism behind them. The focus is constantly changing as you turn their brilliant pages, and now and then your head swims. The landmarks of time shift and waver. Perhaps two dramatists, Mr. Shaw and Count Tolstoy, uncritical, unhistorical in temper,

¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London, 1908.

but divinely candid, and modern to the marrow, have done more than any of the critics, in their disgust at "bardolatry" and their rooted antipathy to the bard himself, to explode the notion that the thoughts and devices of the sixteenth century are not different from those of the twentieth.

But the historical spirit hinders few; the self-examining, the idolatry goes steadily on. Everybody has his own Shakespeare, in his own image and after his own heart. A sentiment transforms a feature. Dr. Furness, noblest, and sanest too, of devotees, has misgivings at Lady Macbeth's taking to drink, and, although the text is explicit, "will not listen to it." Or sentiment exaggerates the beauty and significance of features already there. Mr. Sidney Lee, for all the vast knowledge at his command, thinks that Shakespeare's ironical treatment of kings and kingship is a startling contribution to sixteenth-century speculation, and that his censure of sham, cant, and quackery, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, III, 2, 74-89, anticipates Carlyle's and Ruskin's by three centuries, and is more potently and wisely phrased. In reality, Shakespeare's comment on the hollowness and frailty of kingly pomp is a commonplace of his day, found, for instance, in the chroniclers and in Marlowe and Marston, and his censure of cant—what should it be else?—is three centuries behind the times. This is the cant of fair face and foul heart, but the cant of Carlyle and Ruskin is that to which men's souls awoke in the days of transcendentalism, the cant of virtue and respectability. A like error of idolatry is the taking of the play to be no story at all, but truth and verity, as if Hamlet and Othello were Caesar and Alexander—or had stepped out of the picture to the floor! A writer in a recent number of the *Nation* remarks that this is the prevailing attitude, and certainly oftener than you would think, questions are started such as why Iago had not done better by himself in the past, and why he is now a dependent and his wife a servant; why his wife Emilia is so stupid as not to put two and two together and clear up the matter of the handkerchief; and whether it is through stupidity or through subservience that the Danish court at the play fails to take the hint of Claudius' villainy. It is not through stupidity, subservience, or any other shortcoming of their own, but simply through carelessness of realism, of probability,

in the author. All the world's a stage, no doubt, but the stage is not the world. Yet in the faith that it is, so far as Shakespeare is concerned, idolatry has intrenched itself by declaring with Professor C. F. Johnson, for instance, that "we cannot pluck the heart out of Hamlet's mystery any more than we can from the mystery of life," and that "psychological analysis cannot be applied to men of the Hamlet type until it has developed much farther than it has today."¹ The *petitio* is as presumptuous as that of the theologians—that these things are spiritually discerned.

Idolatry is anachronism pure and simple, but of anachronisms there is no end. Modern notions are read into Shakespeare's text, as much out of place as Lapland and America, Noah and Adam and Henry IV, in the classical atmosphere of the *Comedy of Errors*. And as soon as one set of contemporary notions is abandoned, another more strictly contemporary takes its place. Thus your Shakespeare is kept up to date. First it was eighteenth-century mechanical psychology, then Coleridge's transcendentalism, then German idealism, then the thousand and one notions of our latter-day philosophy, art, and science.

One of these is heredity. Juliet, in her wilfulness, is a chip off the old block, Capulet; Laertes and Ophelia, in their sententiousness and liberality with advice, are chips off the old block, Polonius. Even in his day Lowell, as Professor Brander Matthews notes with approval, applies the principle to Hamlet: "He seems the natural result of the mixture of father and mother in his temperament, the resolution and persistence of the one like sound timber worm-holed and made shaky, as it were, by the other's infirmity of will and discontinuity of purpose." And in a vein still more fantastic he pursues the subject with regard to Ophelia and Laertes. By the same token Hamlet would have inherited from his uncle—for this sort of heredity modern science as well as world-old observation warrants to be quite as common—his vein of introspection, his craftiness, and his propensity for playing detective and making short work of anyone who gets in his way! As Mr. Bradley justly remarks, Shakespeare does not appear to have taken much interest in what we now call heredity, or to have attached much importance to it:

¹ *Shakespeare and His Critics*, Boston, 1909.

astrological influence—it is the stars, cries Kent, the stars above us!—is the explanation ever at hand. And even in a play strictly modern we have no right to find traces of heredity without better evidence of the author's intention.

Other twentieth-century conceptions that are being read into Shakespeare are those of the newer psychology concerning sub-conscious states, racial distinctions, criminal and morbid types. There is a strong vein of the subconscious, says a recent critic, in most of Shakespeare's characters; and on that basis another builds his conception of Hamlet. Whole chapters and volumes have recently been written upon the poet's portrayal of criminals and madmen—a book on the former, last year, by the head of the Danish police—in the light of modern science. And racial differences in physiognomic expression, leading to misunderstanding of character, are by Professor Bradley made one of the causes of the tragedy of Othello and Desdemona. The best answer to these theories is to be found in an article on Elizabethan psychology by Professor Dowden in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1907; there, in that elaborate scheme of humors and elements, souls vegetative, sensible, and rational, is presented all that Shakespeare knew of psychology as a science, since well forgotten. Whether Shakespeare ever deals with the subconscious, and whether he deals with the criminal type accurately in the light of modern science, are topics too far-reaching and shadowy now to enter upon; but one thing is clear, that critics who hold to the theory of subconscious, or unconscious, self-deception with respect to Hamlet and Iago play havoc with Shakespeare's technique. They make the soliloquy void and of none effect. In the Elizabethan drama whatever a character says in soliloquy concerning his motives is for the information of the audience and is necessarily true; so true, indeed, that often, as on the lips of villains, it is, as an expression of character, untrue, calling black black and white white with an estimable, but most unnatural, candor. Iago is a liar, no doubt, but it is to confound fact with fiction and to knock the props from under Shakespeare's dramatic framework to hold that Iago's soliloquies are lies¹—that he

¹ Cf. my article on the "Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare," *Mod. Lang. Pub.* XXII, 2, for evidence of Shakespeare's directness and frankness in dealing with the audience.

lies to the audience, lies to himself. His word concerning his motives, like the theological reason Hamlet renders himself for sparing the King at prayer, must be taken at its face value. There is no chance of the audience discounting it, for they have no other clue. In Hamlet's case repetition might have given one; but at the next chance to kill a man who, as he thinks, is the King, he *kills* him; and, all things considered, the audience might as well doubt the asides, or, if there were any, the prologue or the chorus. Indeed, like the asides and the final couplets of scenes, the soliloquy is one of the Elizabethan substitutes for the Greek chorus, and is almost as oracular. When one of Shakespeare's characters does deceive himself, it is he himself in soliloquy, as Hamlet when he falls a-cursing like a very drab, or Iago when for the moment he dallies with the notion that he is not playing the villain, that detects it.¹

As for racial psychology, it is very doubtful whether there is in Shakespeare a trace of any other than the conventional, popular sort.² The only bar between Othello and Desdemona is one of color and nationality, of which Iago makes capital to argue lasciviousness in her for choosing him instead of a fair-skinned countryman, and folly in Othello for not having expected of his wife what any Venetian would have had to expect. Mr. Bradley rightly rejects the notion entertained by Schlegel that "Othello is meant to be a study of a noble barbarian, who has become a Christian and has imbibed some of the civilization of his employers, but who retains beneath the surface the savage passions of his Moorish blood and also the suspiciousness regarding female chastity common among oriental peoples." The suggestion that Shakespeare should have presented such a problem in *Kulturgeschichte* is, as Mr. Bradley says, "hopelessly un-Shakespearean"; but Mr. Bradley's own suggestion, I think, is equally so. Neither, however, rises to such a pitch of anachronistic desperation as Mr. Watts-Dunton's conception of *Hamlet* "as the

¹ *Othello*, II, 3, 341-67: "And what's he then that says I play the villain?" etc. Coleridge's comment on this passage has always seemed to me amazing: "He is not, you see, an absolute fiend; or, at least, he wishes to think himself not so." Iago gloats over the fair veil of honesty his villainy is wearing, and in the words "Divinity of Hell!" etc., he tears it aside with a jeer.

² That the Welsh are hot-headed, for instance, and the French are weaklings and cowards. Here I have the warrant of Dr. Brandes, as on p. 360 (*William Shakespeare*, New York, 1909); but not that of many other critics almost equally scientific in spirit.

struggle between the ratiocinative side of man's mind and the suggestions of the ancestral blood coursing in his veins—the suggestion, I mean, of the millions of voices that sometimes echo or murmur or sometimes bellow, through half a million years, from the European halls and castles of the dark ages and farther back still, from the huts of wandering tribes, from the remote days of paleolithic man.” The sixteenth-century mind that made the play, very evidently, “has nothing to do with the case.”

How idle an undertaking it is to read our modern ideas into Shakespeare appears still more clearly when we consider that often those ideas to which he had access and which in the exigencies of the plot cry for recognition, he slights and even ignores. *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, and the English “histories” are political plays with the politics left out. It is of persons that they treat or groups of persons, of parties and factions, and of their cravings and conspirings. There is no cause at stake, no principle or policy greater than the man and faction to lift both to grander issues. The Yorkists and the Lancastrians follow or abandon their leader, stand by their blood or betray it, as their passions bid them. The Plebeians scheme and palter for power with no more notion of their rights than have the Patricians themselves. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius split the world in three as boys do a melon. The subtlest, and one of the most lofty, of all political characters, Julius Caesar, is fain to rant, strut, and play the hypocrite and humbug. And Brutus kills him, why, he hardly knows. As M. Stapfer observes, “this avenger of the Republic gives utterance to not a single republican sentiment”; and in *Coriolanus* “no attempt is made to give to each of the rival pretensions of the hostile factions whatever portions of truth it may contain or even to state clearly what they are.” Point of view, intellectual attitude count for little; cause and principle, republicanism or absolutism—or at any rate, republicanism, the principle of parliamentary government¹ or of popular rights, any principle but the conventional—count for nothing at all. It was Napoleon, I believe, who said that Shakespeare had no strategy—that his generals

¹ Dr. Brandes has pointed out that Shakespeare deliberately misrepresents Jack Cade and the Men of Kent, with their legitimate grievances, recognized even by the hroncler whom he followed; and that he avoids matters parliamentary or constitutional, as, for instance the greatest event in King John's reign, the granting of Magna Charta. In the same way he misrepresents the People in the Roman plays.

were but swordsmen—and of politics he had no more. With Machiavelli he had as little in common as with Bacon or Bruno.

So little interested in ideas as he is, Shakespeare is hardly the one to put them into his plot. He writes no plays with central ideas, as Grant White insisted years ago, still less a problem play, a *drame à thèse*. To mistake him at this point is to mistake for art of today—most insidious of anachronisms!—that of three centuries ago. It is to plunge Shakespeare into the company of Ibsen or M. Hervieu. It is to conceive of the *Merchant of Venice* after the fashion of M. Sarcey: “l'idée mère de l'œuvre, c'est que l'argent et le souci de l'argent sont ce qu'il y a au monde de plus vil . . . et que l'amour est le premier des biens!” M. Sarcey wrote from the heart of a dramatic world to which the idea is everything; but Shakespeare's interest—as has been recognized by Professors Raleigh and Baker, who have studied Elizabethan drama as a whole—lay in story. To us, of course, as to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the most interesting thing is the characters. But with the Elizabethans it was otherwise; and there is no other explanation for such anticlimaxes as in the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet*, for such dénouements as in *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well*, *Much Ado*, and most of the other comedies, for cases of “stupidity” such as that of Emilia or of “subservience” such as that of the Danish court, than that Shakespeare's art was on the same plane as that of his fellow-Elizabethans, the Greeks, and the Spanish, of all popular drama, indeed, before the nineteenth century, or, for that matter, much of our popular drama today, putting story first and character after.

In drama in which story is thus pre-eminent over character, what, then, of the underlying idea? At that stage of culture—except as allegory—it simply is a thing unknown. Every attempt to trace it in Shakespeare—the recent tactful ones as well as Schlegel's or Ulrici's—breaks down. In *Love's Labor's Lost* Professor Dowden, and others after him, have detected a “protest against youthful schemes of shaping life according to notions rather than according to reality, a protest against idealizing away the facts of life.” But at the end the King and his lords are sentenced to a year in a monastery, to do penance for breaking the vows of study and seclusion against which Shakespeare is here supposed to be protesting; and

there are many indications in the text that Shakespeare considers it more of a weakness, though an amiable one, for the King and lords to break their vows than to have made them.

Likewise the attempt breaks down with the "gloomy" comedies, *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*, which have seemed especially *tendenziös*. Professor Wendell¹ discovers a Calvinistic contempt for an evil world pervading the latter, and a profound sense of sexual evil pervading both. Views somewhat like are entertained by many; but, as Mr. Raleigh observes, "if the humorous scenes, in which most of the corruption comes to light, are needed only to present without disguise or extenuation a world of license and corruption, why are they humorous? . . . For Shakespeare this world of Vienna is not a black world; it is a weak world, full of little vanities and stupidities, regardful of custom, fond of pleasure, idle, and abundantly human." Only, at this point Mr. Raleigh is himself slipping into the error of a unifying mood or idea, and one a bit highflown for Shakespeare at that. A Vienna given over to carnal pleasure is demanded by the story—to provoke the Duke to revive the old law of death. The morality to which Shakespeare adheres in presenting this is but the rough-and-ready, conventional morality of the England of his day. The upper classes—Claudio, Juliet, and Angelo—are judged by it: the young pair confess and repent roundly and without reserve. Love does not count. The lower classes, on the other hand—the bawds and their various hangers-on—though they and Angelo are the really vicious ones, are treated, with Elizabethan amplitude, as matter for gibe and jest. Like the *homme moyen sensuel* today, Shakespeare looks askance at the lady for her prank and laughs at the maid; and, like Chaucer and the Elizabethan novelists, he enjoys saying more of either than his conscience warrants. Consistency, then, unity of principle, there is none; as appears, indeed, if nowhere else, in the case of the character of the novice Isabella, "a thing enskied and sainted," who is shocked into virtuous rage by her brother's prayer for life at the cost of her compliance, but who acts out that part, by means of the substitute Mariana, even to the point of crying aloud the loss of her virtue in the market-place.

¹ Generally, to be sure, Mr. Wendell is not to be reckoned among those who cling to anachronisms or perpetrate them anew.

And as for *All's Well*, "the cynical irony of a modern Frenchman" and "the miserable mystery of earthly love," which Mr. Wendell finds in it, are ideas incompatible with the indecent conversation in which, in the first scene, the heroine, nothing loath, engages with Parolles; with her businesslike method of taking possession of a husband; and with the dearth of passion—except for simple aversion in one case and frank affection in the other—evinced by either her husband or her. In the intention of the author, it seems to me, there is no cynical irony, no miserable mystery, for there is no disillusionment, or strife of passion, but the most unquestioning, unreluctant acceptance of the ways of the world and the flesh. What irony there is, is of the simple theatrical sort, such as arises from the heartless rebuff given the heroine by the man she worships at the moment when she seems to have won him: the lust which she later discovers in him neither surprises her nor for one moment deters her.¹ Still less is there occasion for sentiment concerning "Helena's sacred boldness in assuming command over Bertram's fate and her own," or her "healing of the spirit of the man she loves"; for from the hour that she receives his letter—"When thou canst get the ring upon my finger, which shall never come off"—her character is left to shift for itself, that, for the story's needs, by hook or by crook, she may fulfil the stipulations thus set by Bertram for securing him for a husband in spite of himself. The dramatic complication is solved from without, not from within, by an answer to a riddle. In both comedies, then, story carries it with a high hand. Gloom or bitterness over sexual evils, if the poet felt it, does not loom large enough to spoil the mirth and sport which these furnish, and ideas on the subject hardly put in an appearance at all.

Nor in this regard, as in most regards, is Shakespeare at all aloof from the spirit of his age. In Elizabethan plays, as in the Greek, there are plenty of principles enounced and morals pointed, but explicitly, and to improve an occasion, as in set speeches such as the Duke's to Claudio or in the Greek choruses, or as at the close of the *Antigone* and of *Doctor Faustus*, and frequently, in Elizabethan plays, in the final lines or couplet of the scene. The informing and

¹ Cf. III, 5, 71 f., where Helena's thought, strangely enough to our ears, anticipates her husband's lascivious purposes. Likewise Imogen is prompt to blame her husband's misdeeds on the arts of some courtesan.

pervading idea they do not know. Mr. Stuart Sherman, in an interesting essay, finds "problems" in John Ford. But Ford is now for the law-breaker, now for the law, and first and always for story and situation. There is no appreciable evidence of his celebrating a brave vice above a cowardly virtue or the promptings of the heart above passive acceptance. For the moment he may seem to do so, but, as with Annabella and Giovanni, Bianca and Fernando, the casuistry is soon lost in sophistry and ribaldry, or in a conventional whitewashing or repentance at the end. Now his heroines harshly repulse unlawful advances, now they woo them with passionate fervor; now they soar to the pinnacles of platonism, now they jest, ogle, or brazen out their shame as if it were shame indeed. Conduct such as this presents no problem, and Ford is but playing with morals, like a painter with pigments, a little more boldly than Fletcher and Massinger, yet, like them, only for thrills and complications. He has no cause at heart, most of the time no idea in mind, but only enticing story and the questioning, questionable figures of men and women.

What folly it is to trace underlying ideas appears from the fact that in general Shakespeare's art employs little suggestion—it is his "eternal unsuggestiveness," says the uncompromisingly modern Mr. Shaw, that vexes *him*—and like all early art, like the Greek drama for instance, it is explicit. The Elizabethan drama and the Greek have many other structural qualities and excellences, such as those of symmetry and continuity, emphasis, contrast, and parallelism, but not those modern ones of succinctness, pregnancy, point. By the chorus, as we have already seen, or substitutes for the chorus, by the choice of familiar stories for the fable, by the archlike structure with the climax in the center instead of our "strong curtains," by anticipation—omens, forebodings, disclosures—instead of our suspense and surprises, the matter in hand was accommodated to the needs of an audience that did little reading and, within a score of years or more, had delighted in childish interludes or their Thespian equivalents. Conditions were somewhat as those described in the story of the old London stage-manager, who said—I quote from Mr. Matthews' version—that if you want the British public to understand anything you must tell them you are going to do it,

next that you are doing it, and last that you have done it—"and then, confound 'em, perhaps they'll understand you." Everything—even the jokes—was explicit; often whole scenes were given over to explanation, as at the close of *Romeo and Juliet* and at the beginning of the third act of *King Lear*. In such an age, would such a poet leave his audience to its own devices with cases of subconscious self-deception, racial psychology, or underlying ideas on its hands? It has been suggested that in Iago's outcry at Emilia's treason—"villainous whore!"—there is curious proof of Iago's inability to hold by his creed that absolute egoism is the only proper attitude. Such subtle, mincing interpretation, in which Shakespeare criticism abounds, may be put to its shifts by an array of cases where Shakespeare, thinking the psychology a bit difficult, lets the character himself or another explain it; as when Desdemona stops in her badinage with Iago, while they wait on the quay, to remark that she beguiles the time to seem more merry than she is, or when Enobarbus explains Antony's affectionateness with the servitors as one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots out of the mind. To indicate the place of action and the character of the properties, the Elizabethan stage used signs and labels, and, for purposes of its own, the Elizabethan drama did not scorn to use them too.

The surface meaning, then, rather than the recondite, the larger meaning rather than the detailed and minute, no underlying idea, and, as a matter of course, no symbolism. All the symbolism there was in Shakespeare's day was that prim and palpable sort, allegory; and allegory, most critics will admit, Shakespeare eschews. But in this day of symbolism, when a second intention is apparent in the language of essayists as well as of poets, and even lyceum orators speak in parables, shall Shakespeare do less than these? Ariel, Prospero's familiar spirit, although interesting enough in his elemental qualities as a character, a sprite, and no more, is turned by Professor Churton Collins into a symbol of genius; Caliban and nearly all of the other characters, down to Trinculo and Stephano, into a symbol of something or other, too big or vague to be covered by a single word. The ghosts and witches, although they bear all the earmarks of superstition, have been refined away into hallucinations, into personifications of conscience

or a "sense of an egregious mistake," or into symbols of powers beyond the reaches of our souls. A like change has been wrought in whole plays, as *The Tempest*, and in many a passage. "But what is your affair in Elsinore?" asks Hamlet of Horatio at their first meeting, and jestingly adds, just as a Bostonian might with a reference to beans or a Kentuckian with one to horse-racing, "We'll teach you to drink deep ere you depart"; but Mr. Sothorn, oblivious of Danish plotting and wassailing, delivers the words as if Horatio were to drink of the cup of sorrow. In the same spirit M. Stapfer detects "an allusion to the glorious dawn of liberty" in the words of Casca as, to make talk, he declares that the high east is by the Capitol. So, too, the accessories—scene and background, portents and omens—are made by modern criticism to melt and dissolve, in symbolical significance, into the body and substance of the play. The storm in *Lear* is made a symbol of men's passions, the storm and portents and omens in *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar* are conceived as if they were as parabolic in purport as the storm in Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken* or as the portents and omens in Maeterlinck's *Princesse Maleine*.

In dramas nowadays all such matters, as well as every incident and every line of the text, may have a deeper meaning in relation to the deeper meaning of the whole. In such art there is something like the pre-established harmony that Leibnitz divined in the universe, and every monad mirrors every other monad. Nothing stands by or for itself, and there is a depth and spirituality, if one may use the phrase, an atmosphere or wealth of overtones, not to be found in poetry before this age of science and philosophy, painting and music. In the art of the Elizabethan drama, on the other hand, there is something solid, something impervious to thought. The figures are plastic, modeled in the round—like the actors themselves, who were stationed almost in the center of the house and seen from every side—instead of flat as in a picture, grouped in light and shade and in delicate harmony with background, incident, or one another. The omens and forebodings are literal, objective, binding; like the ghosts, they are there for the story's sake and are never etherealized into a symbol and lifted into the realm of ideas. Delicate interrelation of parts, cunning economy of resource, are not char-

acteristics of this art (which is, on the other hand, opulent, redundant, explicit) and details have not the modern momentousness and saliency. Even matters so large as Hamlet's melancholy and his love for Ophelia are, so far as Shakespeare himself discloses, unconnected; and the set speech, improving the occasion (but not the play), as Emilia's on husbands, Hamlet's on drunkenness, and Jaques' on the seven ages of man, is, we have seen, a common thing both in Shakespeare and in the Elizabethan drama generally. Such laxities of structure measure for us the gap between Shakespeare's art and our art for art's sake, especially between it and that succinct and intricate type of structure, as in the *Master Builder*, where detail ceases to be detail, and the ties of sense and logic are merged into the fine, impalpable web of symbol.

Yet many sympathetic readers of a play like *King Lear* involuntarily take it as symbolic, or at least receive from it a "mass of vague suggestion" not unlike that of the critics who do. This may even be a *sine qua non* of their appreciation, though appreciation it really is not. Is there no difference in form and tenor between Shakespeare's colossal tale, of pity and terror all compact, and the dramatic parables and adumbrations of Maeterlinck or Ibsen, which tease out us of thought as doth eternity? No one is justified in receiving a mass of vague suggestion from an opera of Mozart's as from one of Wagner's, or from a symphony of Haydn's as from one of Brahms'. And yet today there is no service done by critics like Swinburne, Mr. Watts-Dunton, or Mr. Bradley, who have the poet's gift, so welcome to the reader or, we may add, performed so generously, as this of eliciting the suggestion, of enveloping the bold and rugged Elizabethan outlines with atmosphere, and depth of light and shade. It is called interpretation—it is assimilation, rather, a process not unlike the editing and amplifying of the score of old masters such as Handel and Bach by moderns like Franz and Liszt. On the stage, however—even on our picture-stage, and how much more on the stage of the Elizabethans—this adventitious atmosphere is dissipated, and the huge solidity of *Lear* or *Macbeth* stares us in the face. That is why these poetical critics and the sympathetic readers commonly deprecate the acting of Shakespeare, Goethe even avowing that he prefers to listen to a

good reader, with eyes shut! A strange interpretation theirs, according to which the fulness of the dramatic effect and meaning is thwarted by the only means of securing it that, to judge by his neglect of text and publication, ever occupied Shakespeare's thoughts!

Nor has atmosphere been enough—some of the harsher outlines and more glaring colors have had to be softened. Falstaff, Shylock, Macbeth, Othello, Hamlet (if we dared to broach that subject)—how changed they are! Falstaff is held to be, not a robber, a coward, a liar, a boaster, or even a drunkard, *per se*, but all of these for the jest's sake and to set his wits above other men's. Shylock, the butt, has taken a black wig for the red—a "Judas color" it was—and now fills the scene as protagonist. The fears and horrors of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth have melted into remorse. And Othello, consistently exhibited in the play as jealous, though not "easily" so, has the name of not being jealous at all. Reckless alike of time and of text, a people finds in its poet, as in its Bible, what it has already in its heart.¹

Particularly when the poet is a dramatist and it comes to a question of justice and the moral order. In a recent article² in the *Atlantic Monthly* Professor R. M. Alden shows how variously and absurdly that question has been answered, in accordance with the prevalent ethical and artistic prepossessions, in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth; and himself sides with those who answer it, as it seems to me, in accordance with the prepossessions of the twentieth. The early eighteenth century complained that Shakespeare did not conform to the ideal of "poetical justice," that the wicked be punished and the good rewarded; and the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, by dint of much misinterpretation, found that he did. The later nineteenth century and the twentieth century, on the other hand, acknowledge that though in Shakespeare's tragedies the wicked are punished, the good are not rewarded, but suffer and die. So it ought to be, the critics declare, yet behind this pessimism they discern a sign of reconciliation in the spiritual

¹ I am aware that in this paragraph, as at other points in the article (*vide*, especially pp. 4, 5, 16, 17), I have not brought in evidence to support my assertions. The article is only preliminary to a more minute discussion, which I have planned, of Elizabethan ideas and technique.

² February, 1910.

life of the characters, towering above "the welter of suffering and death." Why this change in attitude? Moral notions have changed, aesthetic notions have changed no less. It is the day of Darwin, Nietzsche, Pater. We no longer believe as of old in compensation or retribution, and in a work of art we demand, not morals, but causes and effects, linked together in a relation as inevitable as in Nature itself. Inevitable, not merited, is now the word. But of all this Shakespeare had heard nothing, and, like the other serious playwrights of his time, he makes old-fashioned justice go as far as he can, farther in some directions than did the Greeks, often farther than our taste can follow, and beyond these limits he has recourse to an exterior fate, the stars, Fortune and her wheel.¹ And as for the reconciliation, all it amounts to is, that his heroes and heroines are such indeed. So much the more, then, "the pity of it," and nowhere does Shakespeare hold out the consolations cherished by Mr. Dowden or Mr. Bradley. They would baffle and defeat his tragic purpose. Transcendentalist to the core, Mr. Bradley discovers in the poet intimations of a larger world-order, wherein the outward is nothing and the inward is all, and what happens to a being like Cordelia does not matter—all that matters is what she is—and the more senseless and monstrous her fate, the less does it concern her. But it is on her fate—her calamity, which is Lear's and all the world's—that the emphasis is laid, the most terrific of which Shakespeare was ever master, and her loveliness of spirit serves but to give it point. Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, and *thou* no life at all? Bewail the dead bitterly, says the Son of Sirach, as he is worthy. And as there is no reconciliation, so we cannot say that there is pessimism. For the endings of Shakespeare's plays warrant no conclusions touching his views of life. They are not parables, as the plays themselves are not. Often they are perfunctory, often they are brought about by the intrusion of chance rather than by the operation of a tragic cause, and never do they break with convention in a way that intimates an ulterior meaning.¹ In comedy, after the precept and practice of the day, all ends in comfort and cheer, in tragedy all in gloom and disaster, and in

¹ See note above, p. 15. In this paragraph particularly I have had to refrain from undertaking to say all that is to be said.

neither do the wicked prosper or escape reproach. Life, then or now, is not like that. Nor is it like a poet to write at one time only comedies, and such comedies, at another only tragedies, and such tragedies, then, at the last, comedies once more, all from the bottom of his heart. For optimism or pessimism such as that, one, in turn, totally eclipsing the other, neither you nor I would give much; but a critic would—and neatly map out Shakespeare's inner life into the now prescriptive three periods, joyous, somber, and serene. John Webster, if they tried him, would fit the scheme as well. A hard lot the dramatist's in the sixteenth century, for between comedy and tragedy, immitigable cheer and gloom, he must make his choice, and then not only write his play but live it.¹

Some of the points of view presented in this article and others similarly historical have won acceptance with the aesthetic critics; but such a hold has tradition, or the sanctities of impressionism, that in several cases there has arisen a parallel to the Renaissance fiction—refuge of Pomponazzi and the other scientific skeptics—of the "twofold truth." Science is true and Scripture also is true, cried they, in fear of the stake or in horror of heresy; and the critics say the same of Shakespeare, modern and Elizabethan. Mr. John Corbin, who believes that there are comic aspects to the mad scenes, now ignored, nevertheless declares that "the modern Hamlet is the true Hamlet. In the truest sense of the word he is the Shakespearean Hamlet; and will continue so until new ages shall add new beauties to our interpretation." And Mr. Johnson maintains, with reference to an article which appeared two years ago in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*,² on the "Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare," that "the original intention of the author and the sense in which the Elizabethan audience took representatives of supernatural beings are of very little consequence in comparison with the plays themselves, enriched as they are by aesthetic interpretation for two centuries."³ Both writers, then,

¹ As a matter of fact, he wrote to suit the taste of his day. Cf. Thorndike's *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher* and my *John Webster*.

² Vol. XXII, No. 2.

³ Somewhat in the same vein Dr. Brandes (p. 372) speaks of "one generation after another throwing its imagination into the problem, and depositing in Hamlet's soul the sum of its experience." A strange inversion of procedure—imparting a meaning instead of deriving it—but heaven knows, that is just what has been done.

hold that the modern interpretation (if the singular can be used of a body of thought so confused and contradictory) must not be surrendered. Both seem to be of the opinion that what our best actors and critics divine or devise is true, and that the truest interpretation of a play is that which is the most satisfying. Truth such as this is a word, and criticism becomes the creature of a whim. Not content with affirming the validity of the poetic vision, the critics affirm the validity of the critical. That is the crying evil of the situation—not that we commit anachronisms, but that we are a prey to them, recognizing no criterion to judge between them and the truth of history or of text, and that we have the prospect of the twofold truth becoming a hundredfold as the new ages add to the most bewildering, bewildered body of literature under the sun. "Every people, every decade, every independent interpreter," to use Professor Brandl's unaffrighted words, getting "something new out of the thousand-sided symbolism of Hamlet," and duly recording it to the confusion and contradiction of all that had been got before! Science, history, any sort of criticism except the Shakespearean and the impressionistic, struggles and edges toward the truth, but this sort has not truth for its goal. And this, in almost all cases, not from principle—a convinced subjectivity like that of M. Anatole France or adherence to the doctrines of pragmatism—but from lack of principle.

"Chacun des différents arts," as M. Beaunier has recently reminded us, "est un moyen d'expression," and surely in literature, though Lowell and M. Stapfer have said the contrary, there can be no artistic effect apart from the intention, the meaning, and the personality of the author, or the spirit of his age. There may be beauties in his work of which he himself was not fully or, perhaps, at all aware—beauties of expression or of his own character coming to light spontaneously. But there can be no beauties, still less ideas, foreign to his nature, education, and time; and that a genius by some occult and mystic power can anticipate these, or will contrive to tickle to laughter the vulgar taste of his fellows with what is designed to move and thrill the hearts of ages yet unborn is, to me at least, as naïve a notion as the myth of "inspiration." Tragedy wrapped up in comedy were a cryptogram

indeed, and an *arrière pensée* such as this, if psychologically it be possible, is little in keeping with art so ingenuous, a temperament so engrossed with the life of his time, or an attitude so indifferent to the fate of his dramatic work, as Shakespeare's. What beauties or ideas our fathers and forefathers found in an author, moreover, matters not, except as a bit of sentiment or of history, if they were not there. Must we still find what our fathers found in Pope and Ossian, or in Carlo Dolci and the Apollo Belvedere? Criticism is not a cult, nor does it know authority or precedent. And comparisons of *Hamlet* to a "Cremona bettered by every master hand that plays it," or to a "cathedral softening in outline with the centuries" or "hallowed by the footsteps of generations," are wide the mark: these are natural, secular phenomena, producing an effect aesthetic, indeed, but not artistic. Still less matters what we today find in Shakespeare, in the fulness of our culture, the pride of our taste, and the reach of our artistic expression and cravings, except as we are able to slip out of the toils of these to Shakespeare himself. His works are his words. Any meaning put upon them which bears no relation to his personality and time is fantastic and illusory; any which contradicts what we know of these is by that very fact null and void. Hamlet, the Ghosts, Shylock, all the varied riches of his utterance must be to us, not what they have been or are, but that modified and corrected by whatever we can discover that they were to him.

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NOTE.—At the last moment I recognize on pages 11 and 13 traces, more definite than I care to pass by unacknowledged, of indebtedness to the work of Professor Lewis Campbell and Mr. John Corbin. From Mr. Corbin's Essay on *Hamlet* come the phrases quoted on this page.

A SOURCE OF *EUPHUES*. *THE ANATOMY OF WYT*

The popularity and influence of *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt* (1578) can hardly be ascribed to the didactic and moralizing matter which it contains in such abundance. Tedious to the modern reader, this matter needed something other than itself to render it palatable even to the Elizabethan. The pill must have been sugar-coated. Nor could the style alone—"Euphuism"—have so widely popularized a collection of dull diatribes on education, friendship, love, and theology. Euphuism, indeed, had actually been tried before without popularizing the dull works it had somewhat adorned. Characterized by tricks of antithesis and balance older than Gorgias, itself only a phase of the general European revival of the artificial rhetoric of antiquity,¹ it had, in particular, been quite definitely anticipated in English years before the appearance of *Euphues*. To retell a twice-told tale: Guevara's *Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio* in North's translation, *The Diall of Princes* (1557), gave Lyly not only much of his didactic matter, but, occasionally, a model for his style as well; while Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure* (licensed, and probably published, 1576) exhibited, as Dr. Landmann has also shown,² "to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism." Yet we do not hear that either of these works was notably popular; and it was to neither North nor Pettie that the imitators attached themselves, but to Lyly.

The reason is almost too simple. Lyly has a good long story to tell. It is a story which, though deficient in action, is full of interesting situations exhibiting contemporary manners; which in its attempts at characterization, crude though they be, effectively portrays certain universal types—the coquette Lucilla, the perpetual lover Philautus, *Euphues* the malcontent; and which, finally, is articulated with real skill, its material being artistically distributed

¹ Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 780, 786 ff.

² Introduction to his edition of *Euphues*, Heilbronn (1887), p. xxi. This, as far as I am aware, is Dr. Landmann's latest work on the subject. I therefore quote it rather than his dissertation *Der Euphuismus* (Gießen, 1881), or his paper in the *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society* (1885).

into successive stages and scenes that evolve naturally one from another. In a word, where North and Pettie offered respectively a series of edifying anecdotes and a series of short love tales from the antique, Lyly offers the first English novel.

Hitherto, however, the volume of Lyly's didactic and moralizing matter and the interest justly attaching to his style have tended to obscure the importance of his plot. The sources of the former have been found; while the source of the latter has never, as far as I know, been sought. Scholarship has scarcely thought the plot worth noticing at all. Dr. Landmann,¹ Mr. Bond,² and Professor Atkins³ are agreed that the story as such is inconsiderable, almost negligible.

Surely this opinion does but scant justice to a story which, in very brief summary, still bulks as large, and offers as much of interest, as the following:

Euphues, a young gentleman of Athens, during a sojourn at Naples makes friends with a Neapolitan, Philautus, who is the accepted lover of Lucilla, daughter of Don Ferardo, a governor of the city. In the course of time Philautus introduces Euphues to Lucilla. Euphues falls in love with her at sight, retires in confusion,⁴ and in a soliloquy weighing his love against his friendship determines that his love shall prevail. Philautus seeks him out at his lodging, and, finding him sick, asks his confidence and proffers his own good offices. Euphues deceives his friend by feigning that he is love-sick for Livia, one of Lucilla's companions. Having thus disarmed suspicion, he the more readily finds an opportunity to woo Lucilla, who after some hesitation admits that she returns his love. Shortly afterward, when her father urges her to marry Philautus, she declares in Philautus' presence that she prefers Euphues. A breach between the friends is the result. As Ferardo opposes the new match, Euphues must for a time avoid Lucilla. During his absence she falls in love with one Curio, and definitely jilts Euphues

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxii.

² *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 159; cf. 141, 162.

³ In *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York and Cambridge, 1909), III, 392.

⁴ At the same time Lucilla, likewise in a soliloquy, confesses to herself that she loves Euphues, and resolves to have him despite the probable opposition of her father.

when he next appears. Her fickleness forms the basis of a renewal of friendship between Euphues and Philautus. Euphues, now a confirmed misogynist, retires to Athens to resume his studies. Lucilla's marriage to Curio so grieves Ferardo that he dies; and, though she is left heir to his wealth, she comes to a disgraceful end on the streets of Naples. Philautus, it is hinted, is courting Livia. So closes *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt*.

Now in the sources of *Euphues* hitherto recognized there exists no trace of this plot. When Dr. Landmann¹ says that not only the style, but the "contents," of *Euphues* are imitated from Guevara, he is thinking of these contents as a collection of essays, moral lectures, treatises, and letters, not as a story.

But there does exist in a source accessible to Lyly the earlier part of the story of *Euphues*—its opening situation and almost exactly its evolution and articulation, together with hints for the later part. A young stranger, Tito, sojourning in Athens, becomes the friend of a young citizen, Gisippo; is by him introduced to his betrothed, Sofronia, a maiden of noble birth; falls in love with her immediately² and retires to his chamber; soliloquizes, determining that his love must prevail over his friendship; falls sick of love; is visited by his friend; receives his friend's request for confidence and offer of service; and, at first, deceives his friend. Such is the beginning of Boccaccio's tale of Tito, Gisippo, and Sofronia, *Decameron*, Giornata X, novella 8. Here the two plots part company;³ for Boccaccio's is a tale of true friendship, Tito at length confessing to Gisippo his love for Sofronia, and Gisippo yielding her to him,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxii. I have not had access to Guevara's work in the Spanish. Neither Lord Berners' translation, *The volume of Marke Aurelie emperour, otherwise called the golden boke*, which I have examined in Berthelet's edition of 1538, nor North's translation, *The Diall of Princes*, which I have examined in the first edition, 1557, contains any trace of the plot of *Euphues*. For the rest, it is to be presumed that Dr. Landmann has made out as strong a case as possible for Guevara as Lyly's source. In the absence of any citation by Dr. Landmann indicating the least indebtedness of Lyly to Guevara for his plot, I conclude that no such indebtedness exists. Mr. Bond, too, whose definitive edition embodies previous research from Morley (1861) to Child (1894), has nothing on this point.

² Here there is nothing to correspond to Lucilla's soliloquy (*ante*, p. 3, n. 1).

³ Except that in each there occurs again the *motif* of opposition, on the part of the young woman's kindred, to her marriage with a stranger (*cf. ante*, p. 3, n. 1). Ferardo disapproves strongly of his daughter's match with Euphues; the opposition of Sofronia's relatives to Tito is so violent that he is obliged to make them a long speech ending with threats of a Roman's vengeance. Indeed, this piece of rhetoric is one of the centers of interest in Boccaccio's tale.

while Lyly's is a tale of friendship betrayed and faithless love. But, as far as it goes, the parallel is exact.

Boccaccio's story was so famous during the Renaissance that he has the credit of adding another pair to the classical pairs of friends. Koepfel¹ speaks of "die berühmten Freundschaftstypen Titus und Gisippus, die im 16ten Jahrhundert in England nie fehlen dürfen wenn von Freundschaft die Rede ist"; and again:² "In der englischen Litteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts finden sich zahllose Anspielungen auf die Helden dieser Erzählung [i. e., *Decam.*, X, 8]; jeder Autor, der das Thema der Freundschaft berührt, nennt ihre Namen. Es wäre zwecklos, den Leser mit der Menge der mir vorliegenden Belege zu belästigen."

Lyly himself twice mentions Titus and Gisippus in the same group with Damon and Pythias, etc. Euphues, tendering friendship to Philautus, says (I, 198):³ "*Damon to his Pythias, Pylades to his Orestes, Titus to his Gysippus, Theseus to his Pyrothus, Scipio to his Laelius*, was never found more faithfull then *Euphues* will be to his *Philautus*."⁴ And again, in remonstrance (II, 102-3): ". . . all friendes that associate at bedde and at boord, are not one of disposition. *Scipio* must haue a noble minde, *Laelius* an humble spirite: *Titus* must lust after *Sempronia*,⁵ *Gisippus* must leaue hir: *Damon* must goe take order for his lands, *Pithias* must tarry behinde, as a Pledge for his life: *Philautus* must doe what he will, *Euphues* not what he should."

Though the *Decameron* did not appear in an English translation until 1620,⁶ the story of Tito and Gisippo was, presumably, accessible

¹ "Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Litteratur des XVI Jahrhunderts." *Quellen und Forschungen* (Strasburg, 1892), LXX, 23.

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ References are to volume and page of Mr. Bond's edition, in which Vol. I contains *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*, and Vol. II *Euphues and his England*.

⁴ "Four of these five instances occur together in Hyg., *Fab.*, 257, and the fifth (Titus and Gysippus) appears in a sentence of Pettie's *Pallace*, the exact form of which is here borrowed—'. . . neuer Pithias to his Damon, Pylades to his Orestes, nor Gisippus to his Titus was more true, then I wyl be to you' (f. 40r)."—Bond, I, 335 (note *ad loc.*).

⁵ *Sic* for *Sofronia*. The same slip in Mr. Bond's "Errata et Addenda," I, 542.

⁶ M. A. Scott, "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian." *Modern Language Association Publications*, X, 287-88; Koepfel, *op. cit.*, 86-87. The English *Decameron* of 1620 is reprinted as vols. XL-XLIV of the "Tudor Translations." David Nutt, London, 1909.

to Lyly in one or another of at least eight versions,¹ besides the original. Of these I have been able to examine only two, those of Beroaldus and Elyot. I find no evidence that Lyly drew from either of them; on the contrary, the following parallels, together with the similarities in situation and articulation, point directly to Boccaccio,

¹I. 1495(?). A Latin translation by Philippus Beroaldus: *Mithica historia Johannis Boccatii, postea laureati, de Tito Romano, Gisippoque Atheniensi, philosophias tironibus ac commilitonibus, amicitias vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum ex italico in latinum transversa*; 4to, Brit. Mus.; n. d.; n. p.; conjectured Leipzig, 1495.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—H. H. S. Croft, ed. of Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (London, 1883), II, 132, n. c. Croft reprints the version of Beroaldus, *ibid.*, 133 ff.

II. 1503-13. A Latin translation by Roberto Nobili, cardinal of Montepulciano: *Boccaccii Gisippus sive de Amicitia*, dedicated to Pope Julius II (1503-13).—Moutier, ed. *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Firenze, 1827-34), V, 71, n. 1, reproducing a note by Martinelli.

III. 1509. A Latin translation by Matteo Bandello: *Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. Mediolani, apud Gotard de Ponte, 1609*; 4to (so according to Warton).—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—*Titi Romani et Hegesippi atheniensis amicorum historia in Latinum versa. Mediolani 1509* (so according to Brunet).—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84.

IV. Before 1534(?). An English metrical version by Wm. Walter: *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus translated out of latyn into englyshe by Wyllyam Walter*. London [n. d., 4to]. By me Wynkyn de Worde [who died 1534?]. (Walter's source is uncertain; Brunet says it is Bandello's version).—Scott, *op. cit.*,—Koeppel, *op. cit.*

V. 1531. An English prose version by Sir Thomas Elyot: *The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie*. This is Book II, chap. xii, of *The Boke named the Governour* (1531). (Elyot's version differs from the original in several respects).—Croft's edition of *The Governour*, II, 132 ff.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VI. 1547-53. A Latin school-play by Ralph Radclif: *Radulphus Radclif . . . scripsit . . . De Titi et Gisippi firmissima amicitia, co. i. "Tenebricosa nocte hac procellis diris,"* etc.—Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Poole (Oxford, 1902), 332-33; who asserts that he saw the book of this play in Radclif's library. Bale's context shows that Radclif wrote the play to be performed by his pupils in the theater he had built in his schoolhouse.—Temp. *Edward VI* (1547-53), now lost. Miss Scott's suggestion (*op. cit.*, X, 288-89; XI, 447) that this may be identical with VIII (below) seems to me improbable.

VII. 1562. An English metrical version by Edward Lewicke: *The most wonderfull and pleasant history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frenshyp [sic], drawen into English metre. By Edward Lewicke. Anno 1562*.—So given by Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Shown by J. P. Collier, *The Poetical Decameron*, II, 84, 85, to follow Elyot's version closely.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Croft, *op. cit.*, II, 132, n. c.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VIII. 1577. A play (probably English) acted at court, February 17, 1577: *The Historye of Titus and Gisippus shoven at White-hall on Shroue-tuyedaie at night* [1576-77], enacted by the Children of Pawles.—Feuillerat, ed. *Documenta relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain 1908), pp. 270, 461 n.—Cunningham's *Extracts*, p. 114, cited by Bond, I, 335.

For some future time I reserve a discussion of Boccaccio's sources—the O. F. poem "Athis et Prophilas" (circa 1300), and Fabula II in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus (shortly after 1105), together with other versions of the "Legend of Two Friends." For the present it may be remarked, first, that as there are at least four points in which V (above) both differs from Boccaccio and agrees with *Athis and Prophilas*, I am led to suppose that Elyot was acquainted with the contents of the latter; second, that the whole series probably has two originals, the one oriental, the other a late Greek romance now lost.

or to some very faithful rendering of Boccaccio, as his immediate source.

Decameron X, 8

(Page-numbers from *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Montier [Firenze 1827-34], Vol. V.)

72-73. Publio Quinzio Fulvo, il quale avendo un suo figliuolo, Tito . . . nominato, *di maraviglioso ingegno*, ad *imprender filosofia* il mandò ad *Atene*.

73. E venendo i due giovani usando insieme . . . una fratellanza e una amicizia sì grande ne nacque tra loro, che mai poi da altro caso che da morte *non fu separata*. *Niun di loro aveva nè ben nè riposo se non tanto quanto erano insieme*. . . .¹

73-74. trovarongli una giovane *di maravigliosa bellezza e di nobilissimi parenti discesa e cittadina d'Atene*, il cui nome era Sofronia.

74. Gisippo pregò un dì Tito che *con lui andasse a vederla*, che *veduta ancora non l'avea*. E nella casa di

lei venuti, ed *essa sedendo in mezzo d'amenduni*, Tito . . . *la cominciò attentissimo a riguardare*, e . . . si

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

(Page-numbers from Bond, Vol. I.)

(The italics are mine)

184. [Euphues] dwelt in *Athens*.¹ Nature added to this comeliness of his body . . . *a sharpe capacitie of minde*. . . . This young gallant of more wit then wealth, etc.

286. [After his return to Athens, Euphues] gaue his minde to the continuall *studye of Philosophie*.

199. Their friendship augmented euery day, insomuch *y^e the one could not refraine y^e company of y^e other one minute*.

199. Don Ferardo *one of the chief gouernours of the citie*, who although he had a courtly crewe of gentlewomen sojourning in his pallace, yet *his daughter stained the beautie of them all* . . . *this gallant gyrl more faire then fortunate* and yet more fortunate then faithfull, *eclipsed the beautie of them all*.

200. [Philautus] came not as he was accustomed solitarly alone, but *accompanied with his friende Euphues*.

201. And so *they all sate downe*, but Euphues *fed of one dish which euer stooode before him, the beautie of Lucilla*. . . . Heere Euphues at the

¹ "Athens" may be adopted from Guevara. See Landmann, pp. xxiii-xxiv; Bond, I, 155, *ad fin.*, and note *ad loc.*, I, 329.

² Boccaccio adds (p. 73): "e in cotal vita perseveraron ben tre anni." Lyly's purpose is better served by making the friendship between Euphues and Philautus one that is easily broken, and therefore sudden in its beginnings. At the same time, he prefers to make Philautus a genuine and a constant lover of Lucilla, rather than, like Gisippo, a person content to let his friends choose him a wife. The long service of Philautus also renders Euphues' treachery the more heinous. Philautus says (p. 214): "Concerning Luia though shee bee faire, yet is shee not so amiable as my Lucilla, whose seruauent I haue bene the tearme of three yeares."

Decameron X, 8

fortemente di lei s'accese, quanto alcuno amante di donna s'accendesse giammai. Ma poichè alquanto con lei stati furono, partitisi, a casa se ne tornarono. Quivi Tito solo

nella sua camera entratosene seco cominciò a dire: dove e in che pon tu l'animo e l'amore e la speranza tua? Or non conosci tu per la intera amicizia la quale è tra te e Gisippo questa giovene convenirsi avere in quella reverenza

75. che sorella? Che dunque ami? dove ti lasci trasportare alla lusinghevole speranza? Da luogo alla ragione, raffrena il concupiscibile appetito. . . . E poi di Sofronia ricordandosi, in contrario volgendo, ogni cosa detta dannava, dicendo: le leggi d'amore sono di maggior potenza

che alcune altre: *elle rompono, non che quelle della amistà, ma le divine.*¹

Both Tito and Euphues now cite classical precedents, but Lyly substitutes more appropriate ones here:

Quante volte ha già il padre la figliuola amata? il fratello la sorella? la matrigna il figliastro?

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

first sighte was so kindled with desyre, that almost he was lyke to burn to coales.

205. But Euphues taking Philautus by the hande and giuing the gentlewomen thanckes for their patience and his repast, badde them all farewell, and *went immediately to his chamber.*

206. Amiddest therefore his extremities betweene *hope* and feare, hee

uttered these or the lyke speeches. . . . Was there euer any so fickle so soone to be allured? *any euer so faithless to deceiue his friend?*

(After two paragraphs more on this side of the argument, Euphues likewise makes a sudden turn, and takes the other side.)

Neyther is it forbidden us by *the gods* to loue; neyther do wee want remedies to recure our maladies, but *reason* to use the meanes. But why goe I about to *hinder the course of loue* with the discourse

209. of law? Yes Euphues, *where loue beareth sway, friendshipps can haue no shew.*

210. Did not Giges cut Candaules a coate by his own measure? Did not Paris though he were a welcome guest to Menelaus serue his hoste a slippery prancke?

(Lyly reserves Boccaccio's precedents for an occasion when they will be in point:)

¹ Paralleled again, and more closely, by II, 109: "slender affection do I think that, which either the feare of Law, or care of Religion, may diminish."

Decameron, X, 8

76. E da questo ragionamento, . . .
*tornando in sul contrario, e di questo
 in quello, e di quello in questo, non
 solamente quel giorno e la notte seguen-
 te consumò, mà più altri, intanto
 che il cibo e'l sonno perdutone, per*

debolezza fu costretto a giacere

*Gisippo se ne doleva forte . . . e
 s'ingegnava di confortarlo, spesso e
 con istanzia domandandolo della
 cagione de' suoi pensieri e della in-
 fermità. MÀ avendogli più volte
 Tito dato favole per risposta. . . .*

ecc.

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

231. [Lucilla answers Ferardo:]
 You neede not muse that I shoulde
 so sodeinly bee intangled, loue giues
 no reason of choice, neither will it
 suffer anye repulse. *Mirha was
 enamoured of hir naturall Father,
 Biblis of her brother, Phaedra of hir
 sonne in law.*¹

(Boccaccio's cases cited in the same
 order.)

(Could anything better describe the
 Euphuistic soliloquy, with its quick
 turns and "I but"s?)

211. Euphues hauing thus talked
 with himselfe, Philautus entered the
 chamber, and finding him so worne
 and wasted with continual mourning,
*neither ioying in his meate, nor
 reioycing in his friend, with watry
 eyes vttered this speach.* Friende
 and fellow, as I am not ignoraunt of
 thy present *weaknesse*, so am I not
 priuie of the *cause* . . . either re-

move the *cause* or reueale it. . . .
 If altogether thou maist not be cured,
 yet

212. maist thou be *comforted*. . . .
 Euphues hearing this *cōfort* and
 friendly counsaile, *dissēbled* his sor-
 rowing hart, with a smiling face,
answering him forthwith as fol-
 loweth.

210. [Euphues had already re-
 solved:] Let Philautus behaue him
 selfe neuer so craftely . . . *I meane
 a little to dissemble with him in wyles.*

Here, as has been said, the two stories part company. Yet it
 is hard not to believe that the last words quoted from Boccaccio—
 those "favole" with which Tito tried to deceive Gisippo until con-

¹ Partly repeated, II, 113: "And so farre hath this humour crepte into the minde,
 that Biblis loued hir brother, Myrra hir Father, Canace hir nephew."

strained to acknowledge his love—gave Lyly an important hint for his continuation. Let Euphues simply persist in his “favole”; let him actually deceive Philautus and take Lucilla from him: thenceforth the remainder of the tale will consist of a series of retributions growing naturally out of this initial wrong. Crude poetic justice will demand that Euphues’ treachery be punished by Lucilla’s desertion of him, and that, in turn, Lucilla’s infidelity be punished by her coming to a bad end; so that at last there will be left only Philautus and Livia as possible lovers.

However this may be—whether Lyly was or was not indebted to Boccaccio for the end of his story—it seems safe to say that he was indebted to him for the beginning, and for the articulation and evolution of it as long as Boccaccio’s tale would serve his purpose. That it did serve his purpose admirably is proved by his popularity and influence in his own time, and in ours by the more than historical interest, rather the “human” interest, which, apart from the philosophy and the style of *Euphues*, even now attaches to his plot.

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SOME SOURCES OF SEALSFIELD

In *Modern Language Notes* (XXIII, No. 6) I pointed out the source of the first chapter of *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre*, erster Teil (the separate title of the novel is *George Howard's, Esq., Brautfahrt*). At that time I again called attention to Sealsfield's evident familiarity with the American *Unterhaltungs-lecture*, pastime fiction, of the twenties of the nineteenth century.

By diligent quest along lines mapped out by me, my wife has succeeded in unearthing a considerable number of sources from which beyond a doubt Sealsfield drew directly and copiously for his pictures of American life. Some of these are herewith presented in the hope that students of the great German-American, now the subject of fast-increasing interest, may be enlisted in a general exploration of the field. Sealsfield's relations to his sources vary widely, from freest adaptation to wholesale adoption, from a wholly legitimate *rifacimento* to full-fledged and inexcusable plagiarism in the form of mechanical translation, sometimes vaguely acknowledged. In these notes the relation will be indicated for each case under consideration. Postl's versions are taken up in the order of their publication.

Tokeah (1829)

The Indian novel *Tokeah* was Sealsfield's first attempt at extended narrative. The romance was published anonymously, in Philadelphia, in 1829,¹ reprinted in London in the same year under an altered title, and several years later refashioned into the first of Sealsfield's German novels: *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833). The provenience of *Tokeah* is traced by Mrs. Heller to a short story by "Alcanzor," contained in the *Saturday Evening Post* IV, No. 40, Oct. 1, 1825, and reprinted in the *Edwardsville* (Illinois) *Spectator*, VII, No. 16 (December 17, 1825). The plot of the tale, which bears the title "The Indian of the Falls' Valley, or The Foundling Maid," is identical with that of *Tokeah*. In both stories we have

¹ See the writer's "Bibliographical Notes on Charles Sealsfield," *Modern Language Review*, III, No. 4, pp. 860 ff.

the richly clad infant brought on a stormy winter's night by an Indian chief to the tavern in the wilderness kept by Major John Copeland and his wife, a rugged and uneducated but most kindly and honest backwoods pair. Under the guidance of these foster parents and the Indian chieftain, who claims the foundling after a few years and brings her up as his daughter, the girl develops into a paragon of beauty, grace, virtue, wisdom, and culture. Her description in both stories is almost maudlin in its sentimentality. She falls in love with, and marries, a noble youth named Arthur. The heroine's real father turns up at last (in the earlier sketch he is a British officer, in the more elaborate version a Spanish grandee) and the recognition and identification are effected by the favorite and infallible amulet method. In many other points of minor importance the two stories show identity or strong resemblance. As for the higher literary qualities, they are conspicuously absent in both. Sealsfield's English diction appears colorless, and the phraseology throughout *Tokeah* stereotyped. On the whole, however, it is so free from the stilted artificiality of the magazine tale that one is not tempted to believe that "Alcanzor" was an early pen-name of Charles Sealsfield. As for the general conception of Indian character, *Tokeah* shares with the "Foundling Maid" the gushing sentimentality with which the noble red man was regarded in the age of Chateaubriand and Fenimore Cooper; a form of conventional falsehood from which our author soon recoiled with an almost unprecedented vehemence. While the realism of Indian life even in *Der Legitime* leaves very much to be desired, in all other respects this ultimate transformation of that flimsy and hueless newspaper sketch into a composition full of coherent interest and vivid color challenges our admiration.

George Howard's, Esq., Brautfahrt (1834)

CHAP. II

The second chapter of *George Howard* (2d ed., pp. 46-91; 3d ed., pp. 52-98) bears the heading "Eine Nacht an den Ufern des Tennessee." The first portion, as is known, corresponds closely to the English sketch, "A Night on the Banks of the Tennessee," previously contributed by our author to the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Gazette* (October 31 and November 7, 1829). The remainder

of the chapter describes a political rally, a stump speech by the shirt-sleeve politician Bob Shags being a central feature. Mrs. Heller points out the unmistakable model for this comical harangue. It is found in a sketch entitled "Barney Blinn," published over the signature of "The Wanderer" in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia, September 15, 1827 (XI, No. 24, whole No. 544), and there credited to the *Augusta* (Ga.) *Chronicle*. The sketch, under the motto: "'My voice is still for War'—Cato," begins with the description of a rough and typically western tavern.¹ In both stories an accidental visitor at the caucus is saved from rough handling by the grace of the candidate for election, who recognizes in the stranger an old acquaintance.

The speeches of Blinn and Shags are extremely similar in form and argument. In both cases the anti-Adams meeting ends in a riot caused by the discovery in its midst of an Adams man. The misjoined rhetoric of Blinn and Shags abounds in parallel passages: the same puns, mispronunciations, and ridiculous folk-etymologic perversions, as Creeks for Greeks, Ministration for Administration, Jimmaky for Jamaica (rum). Concurrences like the following cannot be accidental. Barney Blinn: "One Colonel [colonial] Trade which is one of your very rankest colitioners." A little further on "Ginral Government" is spoken of as though it were an individual. *George Howard*, p. 86, 2d ed: "einen Ginral Tariff, der einer der tollsten Aristokraten ist." Or Barney Blinn: "if he ha'nt more real blood in his little finger than would swim a horse." *George Howard*, p. 72: "der mehr reelles Blut im kleinen Finger hat als ein Pferd zu schwemmen hinreichen würde."

In the present instance the reproduction for once answers the pattern closely in technical respects, and our source, despite its obscurity, assumes a marked significance as yielding some of those elements which Sealsfield used for a wholly novel and unique articulation of the American manner of being. Yet the possibility of Barney Blinn being a product of Sealsfield's own pen is also worth considering.

¹ From which, by the way, the following details were purloined verbatim for *Tokesak*: "Over the door was nalled an old sign, embellished with the words (more like Egyptian hieroglyphics) 'Entertainment for men and beasts' and on the side of the house written with chalk 'Whiskey'—'Brandy'—'Tobacco'—'Post Office.'"

CHAP. III

The superscription of the third chapter of *George Howard* is "Der Kindesräuber" (2d ed., pp. 92-132; 3d ed., pp. 98-139). This harrowing tale of kidnaping and murder was founded on facts, as is averred in a footnote: "Ueber die so eben angeführte Tatsache, die sich zu Ende des Jahres 1825 zugetragen, findet man in allen Zeitungen des Mississippi-Staates ausführliche Berichte. Der Name des unglücklichen Vaters ist beibehalten." Although the date given by Sealsfield appears to be erroneous, the actual event cannot well be questioned, since it was treated as a *cause célèbre* by newspapers all over the country. The crime must have occurred in the winter of 1826-27. My collaborator came across the story in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia, August 25, 1827 (XI, No. 21, whole No. 541), where it is given under the title "The Lost Child." The article purports to be reprinted from the *Western Magazine and Review*, May, 1827. This, however, is a misnomer for the *Western Monthly Review*, of which further mention will have to be made as a source of Sealsfield. The article appeared in Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1827) of this short-lived periodical, under the same title. A comparison between this seemingly authentic press account, "gleaned from the journals, . . . and corrected from a long conversation with the sheriff at Natchez," and the finished product of Sealsfield demonstrates the provenience of "Der Kindesräuber" from this particular account of the tragedy. The taking over of such material was as legitimate as it was conducive to the central aim of the *Lebensbilder*. The boldness of the early realist is here kept in fine balance by his artistic reserve. Not one fictitious detail was added to a piece of truth which to the romance-fed German reader must have indeed appeared stranger than fiction, in its stern simplicity. And yet under the touch of genius, the human pathos of the naked fact was raised to a power unattainable for the mere reporter, be he of the matter-of-fact or of the sensational species.

*Christophorus Bärenhäuter*¹

The burlesque story of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter im Amerikanerlande" undoubtedly owed its inclusion among the *Transatlantische*

¹ For the bibliography of this story see the writer's "Bibliographical Notes on Charles Sealsfield," quoted above.

Reiseskizzen to our author's desire, as voiced in the preface to the *Kajütenbuch*, to contrast against one another different types of nationality. The story is practically out of reach for modern readers, since the first edition of the *Reiseskizzen* survives in but very few copies, and from subsequent editions (renamed *Lebensbilder*) the "Bärenhäuter" extravaganza was barred out, probably because it would have severed the thread which connects that long-drawn succession of novels. In a not too definite way, Sealsfield indicated the origin of his story, yet with both original and reproduction steeped in utter oblivion, the lateness of the identification is not to be wondered at. The facetious preamble to "Bärenhäuter" asserts the authenticity of the yarn by referring to the archives of Toffelsville, viz., an old family Bible, and then proceeds: "Die Quellen unserer Geschichte sind daher über jeden Verdacht erhaben, und ihre Authentizität wird noch mehr durch den Umstand erhöht, dass ein Extrakt von dem mehrerwähnten Archive seinen Weg, durch welche Mittel, ist uns unbekannt, in das Magazin eines westlichen Predigers (Flint, der zehn Jahre Prediger im Mississippitale gewesen ist) nun bedauerlichermassen verblichen, gefunden hat," etc.

Although only three volumes of Flint's magazine saw the light of day, the search for a complete file proved long and difficult. The vandal recklessness of earlier America in dealing with records of its civilization is again illustrated by the fact that even in Cincinnati, where that periodical was published, only one out of the three volumes appears to have been preserved. Mrs. Heller located the original of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" in Vol. I, No. 7, of *The Western Monthly Review*, edited by Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, November 1827. It runs from pp. 384-93 under the caption "Jemima O'Keefy—A Sentimental Tale," and was probably the editor's own work. Sealsfield has translated the English text with great fidelity, yet managed much to improve the story, particularly by touching up the silhouettes of the principal figures in a way calculated to bring them more distinctly into relief. The humor of the story, too, is heightened by his touches. The many curious features for which Sealsfield's style is noted manifest themselves here in an inchoate yet unmistakable fashion.

Das Kajütenbuch (1841)

"Der Fluch Kishogues oder der verschmähte Johannistrunk,"¹ a short story, belonging to the same grotesque genre as "Christophorus Bärenhäuter," is told by the Irish servant Phelim, at the Cabin symposium. It follows directly after the masterly narrative "Die Prairie am Jacinto," and fills, in the first edition, pp. 141-65 of the second volume (2d ed., pp. 121-44).

In substance it is hardly more than an elaborate anecdote, the *realia* of which and the *Galgenhumor*—literally taken—plainly bespeak an Irish origin. In the prefatory letter to the publishers (ostensibly written for the first edition, but not printed till the second) our author makes the fictitious editor of his works explain, on the "great unknown's" authority:

Auch bemerkt er ausdrücklich, . . . dass sämtliche Incidents sich auf Tatsachen gründen, etwa mit Ausnahme Kishogue's, den er als aus einer fremden Feder geflossen erklärt. Ob diese Feder eine freundlich bekannte, . . . wird nicht angegeben. Wahrscheinlich gefiel ihm die wilde Skizze irländischen Lebens und Sterbens, und er nahm sie auf, um die Gegensätze zwischen amerikanischem und wieder englischem und irischem Nationalcharakter mehr hervorzuheben, so den zweiten Titel "nationale Charakteristiken" zu rechtfertigen.

It is odd that the original of "Kishogue" has so long escaped identification, inasmuch as it happens to have been the work of a writer very popular in his day and even at this time deemed worthy of a complete and splendidly appareled edition of his writings. He was Samuel Lover, the Irish poet (1799-1868). "The Curse of Kishogue" (the alternative title is Sealsfield's) formed part of the *Legends and Stories of Ireland*, illustrated by the author and published in 1831. It is easily accessible now in *The Collected Writings of Samuel Lover* (Treasure Trove edition, Boston, Little, Brown & Co. [1903], VIII, 133-53; "The Curse of Kishogue," *Legends and Stories of Ireland*, second series, pp. 146-53). The translation, again, is on the whole close and exact. Such changes as appear were evidently dictated by Sealsfield's dictional idiosyncrasies, now fully developed, and they detract from the concise and grim comicality of the original Irish tale. This applies especially to the incessant repetition, with Sealsfield a favorite form of padding.

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¹ For sources of other parts of Sealsfield's *chef-d'œuvre* see P. Bordier, "Sealsfield, ses idées, ses sources, d'après le *Kajütenbuch*," *Revue germanique*, V, No. 3, pp. 273-300 and No. 4, pp. 370-421.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE OLD FRENCH *GUI DE WAREWIC*

The volume numbered xvi, I, 7 of the library of York Minster is a fine specimen of glossed Psalter of the thirteenth century. A recent scrawl in the library catalogue notes that "some pieces of French verse" had been bound in at front and back. These, on examination, proved to be four leaves of vellum containing fragments, hitherto unknown, of the Old French *Gui de Warewic*.¹

Through the kindness of the chapter clerk, Dr. J. Ramsay, I was enabled to examine the fragments more at leisure and later to obtain photographs. The leaves measure about 18 by 25 cm., with three columns of from 48 to 57 lines to the page. The total is some 1,200 lines, about one-tenth of the whole poem.

The leaves are misplaced as to sequence of text; two of them are very dirty, having been used probably as cover for another manuscript. I indicate the four leaves as found by *a, b, c, d*, but as to text they belong in the order *c, a, b, d*, with a gap between *a* and *b*.

Leaf *c*, *recto*, col. 2, ll. 1-6 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1013, ed. Zupitza, p. 58):

[G]ui cum corteys respondi
 sue merci
jeo receveray cest present
la sue merci mlt bonement
Sa druerie volunters recoil
Sun chevaler mes estre voil . . .

Ll. 31-32 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1043):

En engleterre sen alerent
Le conte en Warewyke troverent

Col. 1 of this page (which I neglected to copy, not suspecting then that the leaves were misplaced) would therefore correspond to Auchinleck MS, l. 940, or thereabouts.

¹ Several of the MSS of *Gui de Warewic* have missing leaves, but, so far as I can judge, the new fragments belong to none of those which have been described in detail. The latest list is that of J. A. Herbert, given with his account of the newly found *Edwardes MS, Romania*, XXXV (1906), 69-70.

Leaf *a*, *recto*, col. 1 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1271):

En le cors ert dune espeie naffré
Ke mlt li ad le cors grevé

Leaf *b*, *recto*, col. 1 (= Caius MS, l. 2593, ed. Zupitza, p. 157):

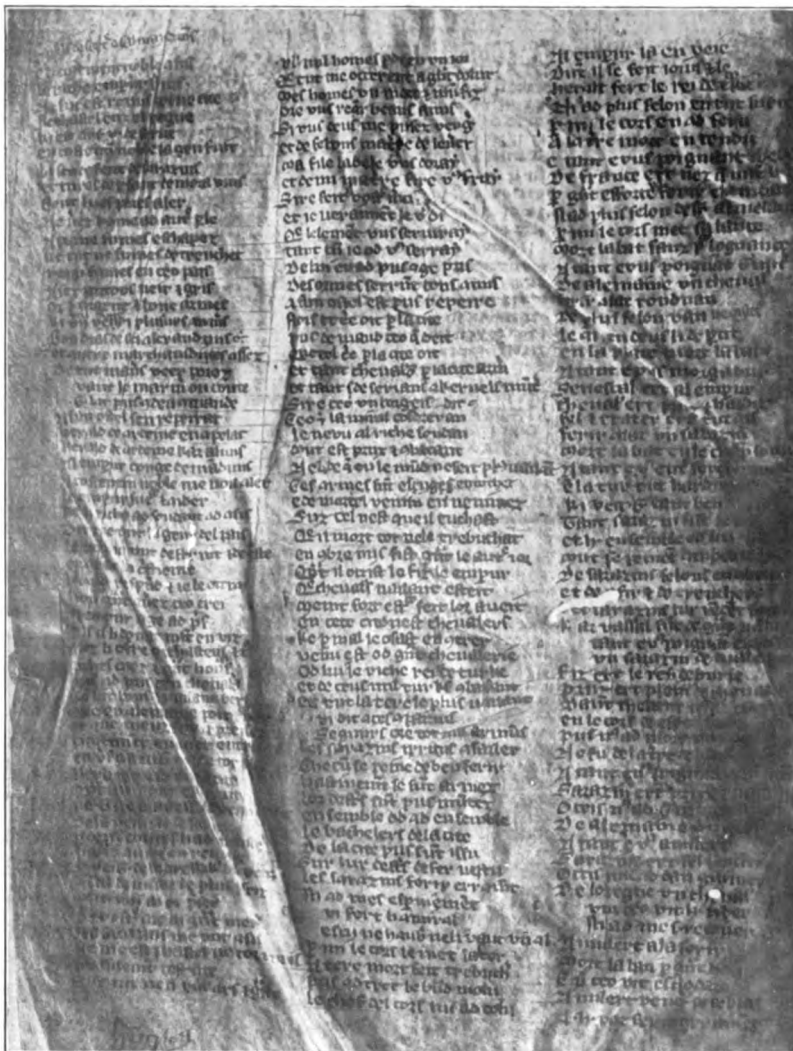
. . . . mi ces contes et ces baruns
. . . . rent de plusurs regiuns

Leaf *b*, *verso* (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2819 ff.). As the shortest way to the identification and classification of the York fragments, I have had this (the clearest) page reproduced in facsimile. Col.1:

En costentinoble assis
Le riche emperur Hernis
Na lui est remis tor ne cité
Ne chastel enz el regné
Ki est ars .v. destruz
en costentinoble la gen[t] fuit
La sen defent de sarazins
et turcs de persant de moravins
Cent lues porés aler
Ne verez home ad autre parle[r]
A paine sumes eschapez
Ke tut ne fumes detrenchet
venu sumes en ceo pais
Asez portuns veir et gris
Or et argent et bone[s] armes
Ki vertu unt [n vendi *expunged*]
plusurs maners
Bon[s] dras de sei alexandrins
[pels de sartre e salmandrins(?)]¹
et autre[s] marchandises assez
De tut maners veer porez.
[Q]uant le mariner ou[t] conté
.G. lat pus a deu commandé
A sun hostel sen repeirat
Herald de ardeine en apelat
Herald de ardeine kar aluns
Al emperur congé demanduns
A costentinoble me voil aler
le emperur sucur[e] et aider
Ke li riche [ad *expunged*] soudant
ad asis

Dit me(?) unt la gent del pais
Le regne unt destruit et degasté
Et abat[u] la crestienté.
Herald respund et je le ottray
Honur grant averez ceo crei
Al emperur congé ad pris
Mes il li donat mlt en viz
Asez li ofre [or *expunged*] chasteus
et turs
Riches citez et grant honurs
Pus ad pris cen[t] chevalers
Ke sunt bons et vailant bers
Que en alemaine poit truver
Et que meuz sunt a preiser.
Hastiment en mer entrat
envers costentinoble tot alat
Herbe[r]gé est en la cité
Quant al emperur ert conté
Ke .G. de Warewyke venu esteit
De sa venu lé se feseit.
Par deus contes li ad mandé
. . . grant amor en reisuné
Sire .G. de Warewike b vens
. . . munde le plus parfeiz
Mut vus ai oi priser
De vostre aie ai grant meter :
Les sarazins me unt asis
Ne me est chastel ne tor remis
for sulement cest[e] cité
Que tut nen unt ars et gasté.

¹ Line omitted here; supplied at the top of col. 1.



YORK MINSTER xvi, I, 7, fol. b, verso
Fragment of the Old French *Gui de Warewic*

Col. 2 (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2881 ff.):

.vi. mil homes perdi en un jor
 Qe tut me occerent a *grant* dolur
 Mes homes un[t] mort *et* mun fiz
 Ore vus *requer* beaus amis
 Si vus deus me pusez *venger*
 Et de feluns ma *terre* *deleverer*
 Ma file la bele vus *doray*
 et demi ma *terre* sire vus *fray*
 Sire fait [G] vostre *merci*
 et je *veraiment* le vus di
 Qe *lelement* vus *serviray*
 tant *cum* je od vus *serray*
 De lui en ad pus *congé* pris
 Desormes *serrunt* bons pris
 A sun ostel est pus *repeiré*
 Nois[e] et *crie* oit par la cité
 Pus *demand[e]* ceo *que* deit
 Que tel *crie* par la cité o[e]it
 et tant *chevalers* par la cité *armer*
 et tant [s *expunged*] de *serjans* a
 kernels *munter*.
 Sire ceo un *borgeis* dit
 Ceo *est* *lamiral* *cosdreran*
 Le nevu al riche *soudan*
 Mut *est* *pruz* *et* *combatant*
 Ne *quide* *quen* le *mund* ne *seit* plus
 vaillant
 Ces *armes* *sunt* es *cuges*¹ *entochez*
 e de *mortel* *venim* *envenimez*
 Suz cel nest *que* il *tuchast*

Qe il mort tot ne le *trebuchas*[t].
Encombre nus *fist* *grant* le *autre*
 jor
 Quant il occist le fiz le *emperur*
 Qe *chevalers* *vailant* *esteit*
 Meint fort *estur* *feit* lor *aveit*
 En cete cité nest *chevalers*
 Ke par mal le osast *encontrer*
 venu est od *grant* *chevalerie*
 Od lui le riche rei de *turk*[i]e
 et de cens mil *turks* *combatant*
 en tut[e] la tere le plus *vailant*.
 [G]ui dit a ces *compainu*[n]s
 Segnurs ore tot nus *armuns*
 Le[s] *sarazins* *irruns* *asailler*
 Checun se peine de ben *ferir*
 Hastivement se *sunt* *armez*
 Lor *destrers* *sunt* pus *muntez*
 Ensemble od [els] ad *ensemblé*
 Le[s] *bachelers* de la cité
 De la cité pus *sunt* *issu*
 Sur lur *destrers* de fer *vestu*
 Les *sarazins* *ferir* *errament* (?)
 Ni ad mes *esparniement*.
 [G]ui fert li *amiral*
 Escu ne *hauberc* ne li vaut un al
 Parmi le cors le met *lascier*
 A tere mort *feit* *trebucher*
 Pus ad tret le brand *molu*
 Le chef del cors lui ad *tolu*

Col. 3 (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2941 ff.):

Al *emperur* la *enveié*
 Dunt il se *feit* *jouis* *et* *lé*
 Heralte fert le rei de *turkie*
 Ni ad plus *felon* en tut *Surie*
 Parmi le cors en ad *feru*
 A la *terre* mort *entendu*
 E tant e vus *poignant* *theba*[ut]
 De france ert nez *que* mlt vaut

Par *grant* *efforte* va *ferir* *heke-*
 moan (?)
 Nad plus *felon* desk al *melant*
 parmi le cors met sa *lance*
 Mort *labat* sanz *purloignance*
 A tant e vus *poignant* *Gunter*
 De *alemaine* un *chevaler*
 Ferir alat *ronduan*

¹ *cuges* is perhaps *çoches*, mod. Fr. *souches*.

De plus felon uan ne oistes
 Le *quer* en deus li departit
 En la place mort labatit
 A tant e vus morgadur
 Senescal ert al emperur
 chevalers ert pruz *et* hardiz
 fel *et* trater ert tut dis
 ferir alat un sarazin
 Mort labat en le champ sovin.
 A tant [e vus *expunged*] entrefer-
 ent commu[n]abl[ement]
 En la tur vu[n]t hardiment
 Ki veit .G. tant ben ferir
 Tant sarazin fist le jor mo[rir]
 et .h. ensemble od lui
 Mut se peinent ambedui
 De sarazins felons encombrer
 et *deconfir et detrencher*
 Les sarazins lur rendent fort
 Kar vassal sunt de grant valor
 [A] tant e vus poignant esclodart
 un sarazin de male part

fiz ert le rey de burie
 Pruz ert plein de chevalerie
 Dant Thebaut nus ad tut . . .
 En le cors de espee feru
 Pus vus ad mort un *frances*
 Né fu de la terre de bleis
 A tant e vus poignant remirant
 Sarazin ert pruz *et* vaillant
 Occis nus ad Guinemant
 De Alemaine un alemant
 A tant e vus anulert
 Sarazins ert fel *et* culfert
 Occis nus ad dan guimer
 De loregne un chevaler
 c vus (*for Quant?*) ceo vit .h. li ber
 Ni ad mes recoverer
 Amulert ala ferir
 Mort labati par grant haïr
 Cum ceo vit esclodart
 Anulert venger se se[m]blat tart
 A .h. vat ferir errament . . .

Leaf *d.* (= Auchinleck MS, *ca.* l. 3000 to *ca.* l. 3375). The *verso* is hardly legible; col. 1, l. 17, however, can be identified with Auchinleck MS, l. 3209.

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